THE UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS
LIBRARY
052
EN
v.1


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

https://archive.org/details/englishreview1184unse

THE

ENGLISH REVIEW;

OR,

QUARTERLY JOURNAL

OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND GENERAL

LITERATURE.

VOL. I.

APRIL—JULY.

LONDON:
FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, & WATERLOO PLACE.

1844.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY URBANA

352
EM
v.1

INDEX

OF

BOOKS REVIEWED.

*** For remarkable Passages in the Criticisms, Extracts, and Notices, see the Index at the end of the Volume.

A Day in the Sanctuary: with an Introductory Treatise on Hymnology. By the Rev. Robert Wilson Evans, B.D., 231.

A Chronicle of the first thirteen years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth. By John Warkworth, D.D., 415.

A Church Dictionary. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D. (Fourth Edition.) 470.

**A Series of Essays, intended to illustrate the state of Religion and Literature in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Centuries.* By the Rev. S. R. Maitland, F.R.S., F.S.A., Librarian to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth, 362.

Æschyli Agamemnon, ad fidem MSS. emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit Carolus Jacobus Blomfield, D.D., 1833, 105

Agathonia. A Romance, 481.

Altars prohibited by the Church of England. By William Goode, M.A., 471.

An Act for carrying into effect the Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the state of the Established Church in England and Wales, with reference to Ecclesiastical Duties, Revenue, and Patronage, 6th and 7th William IV., 44.

Analecta Christiana, in usum Tironum edidit, &c. C. Marriott, M.A., 479.

Anglo-Catholicism. A short Treatise on the Theory of the English Church, &c. By William Gresley, M.A., 477.

Australia, its History and Present Condition; containing an Account of the Bush, and of the Colonies, with their respective Inhabitants. By the Rev. W. Pridden, M.A., 230.

Beiträge zur bessern Würdigung des Wesens und der Bedeutung des Puseyismus, durch Uebertragung einiger der wichtigsten betreffenden Schriften, nebst einer Einleitung, herausgegeben von Moritz Petri.

Biblische Mythologie des Alten und Neuen Testamentes, &c. Von F. Nork, 466.

Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien. Ein Beitrag zur Apologie der Evangelien und Evangelischen Geschichte vom Standpunkte der Voraussetzungslosigkeit. Von Karl Wieseler, 468.

Das evangelische Bisthum in Jerusalem. Geschichtliche Darlegung mit Urkunden. 458.

Das Leben Jesu. Eine pragmatische Geschichtsdarstellung. Von Werner Hahn, 455.

Debate on the Motion of Earl Powis for the second reading of a Bill to prevent the Union of the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor, 44.

De l'Etat actuel de l'Eglise Réformée de France; par Edmond Scherer, 460.

Democriti Abderitæ Operum Fragmenta, collegit, recensuit, vertit, explicuit, ac de philosophi vita, scriptis, et placitis commentatus est F. G. A. Mullachius, 455.

Dialogus de Ecclesia Angliçana et de regimine ecclesiastico. Auctore C. F. Weber.

Did the early Church in Ireland acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy? By Daniel Rock, D.D., 474.

Die Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst.—Kritische Abhandlungen zur Orientirung auf dem jetzigen Standpunkte der Forschung. Von A. E. Umbreit, 457.

Die neutestamentliche Rhetorik, ein Seitenstück zur Grammatik des neutestamentl. Sprachidioms. Von Chr. Glo. Wilke, 466.

Die vollständige Liturgie und die 39 Artikel der Kirche von England. Von Dr. Bernhard Gäbler.

Der Ritus der anglikanischen Kirche und die neun und dreissig Artikel, lateinisch und deutsch, nebst einer historischen Einleitung. Von Dr. Fr. C. K. Schüberth, Prof.

9 Se'14 BINDING 132 (2 v.)

Die Zustände der anglicanischen Kirche, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verfassung und des Cultus, dargestellt von Hermann F. Uhden, 145.

Discourses for the Festivals. By the Rev. J. B. Marsden, M.A., 472.

Ellen Middleton: a Tale. By Lady Georgiana Fullerton, 336.

Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. By Richard Chevenix Trench, M.A., 475.

Fifth Annual Report of the Lichfield Diocesan Board of Education, 390.

Fourth Annual Report of the Bath and Wells Diocesan Board for promoting the Education of the People in the Principles of the Established Church in connexion with the Incorporated National Society, 390.

Fourth Report of the Chester Diocesan Board, 390.

Fourth Report of the Salisbury Diocesan Board of Education, 390.

Fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge Board of Education, 390.

Histoire de France. Par M. Michelet. Tome iii. Paris, 1837, 1.

Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England, and the finall Recouerye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI. A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI. 415.

History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a preliminary View of the ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortes. By W. H. Prescott, 226.

Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg *and* Krapf, *Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, detailing their proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa, and Journeys in other parts of Abyssinia, in the years* 1839, 1840, 1841, *and* 1842, 221.

Lectures on the World before the Flood. By the Rev. Chas. Burton, LL.D., 473.

Lord John Russell's *Translation of the "Francesca da Rimini," from the Inferno of Dante, Canto V.* 73—142, 164.

Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with Appendices and Plans of School-Houses, 390.

Notes on the Episcopal Polity of the Holy Catholic Church: with some Account of the Development of the Modern Religious Systems. By Thomas William Marshall, B.A., 216.

Ordo Sæclorum. A Treatise on the Chronology of the Holy Scriptures. By Henry Browne, M.A., 473.

Parochial Sermons. By the Rev. G. W. Woodhouse, M.A., 472.

Pestalozzi, seine Zeit, seine Schicksale und seine Werken. Eine Schrift für Freunde der Menschenbildung und Förderer einer bessern Zukunft. Von Dr. T. Bandlin, 456.

Plain Practical Sermons. By John Wood Warter, B.D., 472.

Practical Sermons. By the Rev. G. D. Hill, 472.

Proceedings at a Meeting of the Clergy and Laity specially called by His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, 27th of April, 1841, *for the purpose of raising a Fund towards the Endowment of Additional Colonial Bishoprics,* 44.

Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Canons bis auf Hieronymus, &c. &c. Von Joh. Kirchhofer, 466.

Reisen in Irland. Von J. G. Kohl, 457.

Reiseskizzen, vornehmlich aus dem Heerlager der Kirche gesammelt auf einer Reise in England, Frankreich, &c. Von Dr. T. F. Kniewel, Archidiakon in Danzig. Erster Theil. England, 145.

Report of the State of the Northamptonshire Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, from January 1842 *to January* 1, 1843, 390.

Sechzehn Predigten, zu Rom gehalten. Von Heinrich Thiele, V.D.M. *Mit vorgedruckter Liturgie,* 462.

Selections from the Kur-án, commonly called in England the Koran. By Edward William Lane, 233.

Sermons on Duties of Daily Life. By Francis E. Paget, M.A., 478.

Sermons bearing on Subjects of the Day. By John Henry Newman, B.D., 305.

Sermons on the Epistles to the Romans, and others. By T. W. Allies, M. A., 460.

Sermons preached principally at Bognor. By the Rev. Edward Miller, M.A., 472.

Sermons preached to the British Congrega-

tion at Florence. By their late Chaplain, the Rev. Robert John Tennant, M.A., 471.

The Despatches of Hernando Cortes, *the Conqueror of Mexico, addressed to the Emperor Charles V. Written during the Conquest, and containing a Narrative of its Events. Now first translated from the original Spanish, with an Introduction and Notes.* By George Folsom, 226.

The Episcopal Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the Revolution. By John Parker Lawson, M.A., 481.

The Gospel before the Age: or, Christ with Nicodemus. By the Rev. Robert Montgomery, 480.

The History of England from the Peace of Utrecht. By Lord Mahon, 475.

The Life of St. Stephen, Abbot, Founder of the Cistercian Order, 475.

The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. From the Latin of St. Bonaventure, 479.

The Parents' School and College Guide; or, Liber Scholasticus. By Richard Gilbert. (*Second Edition.*) 232.

The Religious Life and Opinions of Frederick William III. King of Prussia. By R. F. Eylert, *Bishop in the United Evangelical Church of Prussia.* Translated by J. Birch, 474.

The Standard of Catholicity. By the Rev. G. E. Biber, D.D., 482.

The Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of Rome. By J. Endell Tyler, B.D., 479.

The Literature of the Church of England indicated in Selections from the Writings of Eminent Divines; with Memoirs of their Lives, and Historical Sketches of the Times in which they lived. By the Rev. Richard Cattermole, B.D., 229.

The Churchman's Sunday Evenings at Home. By the Rev. Alexander Watson, M.A., 470.

The Prayer Book, a Safe Guide. By the Rev. A. Watson, M.A., 470.

The Sayings of the Great Forty Days between the Resurrection and the Ascension, &c., in five Sermons. By George Moberly, D.C.L., 468.

The Natural History of Man; comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different tribes of the Human Family. By J. C. Prichard, M.D. 271.

Theophilus Anglicanus; or, Instruction for the Young Student, concerning the Church, and our own Branch of it. By Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Head Master of Harrow School, 180.

Third Annual Report of the Church Education Society for Ireland: 1842, 390.

Thirty-second Annual Report of the Incorporated National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales, 390.

The Voyages and Services of the Nemesis, from 1840 *to* 1843, *from Notes of her late Commander,* W. H. Hall, R.N.; *and Observations made in China and other parts,* by W. D. Bernard, Esq., A.M. 194.

The Chinese War; an account of all the operations of the British forces, from the commencement to the treaty of Nanking. By Lieut. John Ouchterlony, F.G.S., of the Madras Engineers, 194.

The Position of the Anglican Church, and the Work that is before her; being a collection of Occasional Sermons on the more important topics of the day. By the Rev. G. E. Biber, LL.D., 235.

Umriss der biblischen Seelenlehre. Ein Versuch von Dr. F. T. Beck, 466.

THE

ENGLISH REVIEW,

OR

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

APRIL, 1844.

Wortham. Trinity College, Cambridge

ART. I.—*Histoire de France, par* M. MICHELET, *Chef de la Section Historique aux Archives du Royaume, Professeur à l'Ecole Normale. Tome troisième.* Paris, 1837.——*Chapitre III.* "*L'or. Le fisc. Les Templiers.*"

THE recent restoration of two Temple churches to their original beauty, conducted as it has been with unexampled magnificence and correctness, and not less so in the more ancient house at Cambridge, than in the gorgeous ornament of the metropolis, has naturally attracted some attention to the history of that powerful order, to which these buildings once belonged; and a variety of publications have diffused much more information respecting the character and customs of the Knights Templars, than generally existed a few years back. It is not our intention at present to enter into any particular disquisition concerning these points; but presuming in our readers a sufficient acquaintance with such familiar learning, we shall carry them at once to the last days of the order, and investigate a little more attentively than usual the circumstances attending its suppression. The interference of might with right, even where a colour of legitimacy is given to the former, and a shade of doubt thrown on the latter, is always, for very obvious reasons, a subject of considerable interest, especially in cases where a confiscation of property is involved. For the private property of an individual, a certain security will always arise from the immediate interest which each man has in protecting his neighbour from that which in the next minute may be turned into a precedent against himself; and it is the want of this security alone which has exposed the property of corporate bodies—a property essentially no less sacred—to the attacks of avarice or malice. In using the term 'sacredness,' we apply it in its strictest sense to the life-interest in the property held

277507

by the possessors: a question *may* be propounded, as to how far the supreme authority of the land is justly competent to transfer to other uses, always with a due regard to the life-estates, property specially bequeathed for definite unexceptionable trusts. Doubtless, for the due provision against contingencies, such power must somewhere be vested; but it is seldom that the feelings, which alone can justify its exercise, are sufficiently active in the human breast to suggest it; stronger passions than philanthropy and charity, more tangible objects than reformation and improvement, lead to courts of augmentation, and visitations and suppressions; and out of all the instances which history supplies of such proceedings, scarcely one will be found which its impartial judgment has approved. The temptation, too, is strong, for the subjects of such experiments are generally defenceless; it is not often that the trustees of pious and charitable foundations, for the health of souls and the advancement of religion, are represented, as in the case before us, by fifteen thousand armed men. All the craft and subtlety of a most subtle and crafty monarch were required to crush such a formidable body; and the design and combinations of his unscrupulous attack we will, if the reader can follow us, endeavour to show.

In doing this, we must change the scene to France. France, emphatically the land of chivalry, was especially the cradle of the chivalry of the Temple; at the extinction of the order, more than one-half of the entire body were Frenchmen, and from this nation had been successively chosen almost all their grand-masters from the earliest times. The Temple at Paris was the centre, the chapter-house, and treasury of the order; the eight European provinces, of which England and Ireland formed one, depended on it, and its *enceinte* embraced one-third of the whole city. Little now remains besides its name; but up to the time of the revolution some habitable portions were yet standing, and employed, as will be readily recollected, in the scenes of those frightful days. It was the king of France who projected and accomplished the design of suppressing this strong and wealthy brotherhood throughout the world, in order that he might seize its possessions within his own dominions; our Edward the second was but a subaltern, executing (with no very good grace) the orders of Philippe-le-Bel, conveyed to him through his servant the pope. To France then we must go for all those previous incidents of story which render the catastrophe intelligible, though when thus much is done, we will return as quickly as possible to England, to scenes and names of more immediate interest. Conveniently for our French narrative, we have placed at the head of this article the name of one of the most eminent historians now

living; and none better than that of M. Michelet could introduce it. We are not now contemplating any essay on the genius and writings of this author, nor are we even going to draw exclusively or mainly from his pages the materials of this sketch; nor, again, are we going to treat him after that unceremonious fashion of reviewers, which prefixes the name and title-page of a writer to an original dissertation, and accords him no further notice in the course of its progress. We shall quote him occasionally, and follow him easily in the early part of the story; we shall record our agreement with some of his views, and our dissent from others; and we shall observe for the benefit of the uninformed, that in addition to those talents of learning, sagacity, and research, which have obtained for M. Michelet his position and consideration in his own country, he has the more singular merit of having written a history of France more romantic and graphic than the Notre Dame of Victor Hugo.

It is hardly possible for an Englishman, who can scarcely walk through his county town without seeing the gateway of an abbey, or the gable of a priory, to detail any such events as those presently to follow, without perpetually reverting in his own mind to the occurrences of 1536. Nor, indeed, did the advisers of Henry VIII. overlook the analogy between the proceedings of Philippe-le-Bel, and those contemplated by themselves, or neglect to allege in their own behalf so very respectable an authority. In fact, it was the *only* example up to that period, of any such confiscation of ecclesiastical property; nor can it be denied, that it was judiciously followed. Since that time, precedents have increased till they are no longer necessary. But, notwithstanding this similarity of spirit in the two transactions, there are yet points which offer the materials rather for a contrast than a parallel; not that the ends were ever essentially other, or the means generically different, but the lapse of more than two centuries had wrought a considerable change in public opinion, and the corresponding lines of conduct which this, as well as the personal characters of the two monarchs, rendered necessary, supply a variety of shades of sacrilege, and exhibit most delicate discriminations of rapine and murder. The reader will not imagine that all the following narrative is intended to be novel; the completeness of the story requires the mention of some very familiar facts, but other portions will perhaps be more strange to him; and, indeed, the whole matter has been either omitted, or treated with singular brevity, by those English histories which are in general circulation. It will be necessary to glance at the state of three important parties at the opening of the drama—the Templars, the king, and the pope.

At the commencement of the fourteenth century, the Templars were richer, mightier, and more numerous than at any previous period of their career. But though their valour was still unquestioned, it was almost the sole remnant of their ancient character; their simplicity and austerity had become luxury and pride, their dealings with the infidel were suspected, and what was worse than all, their arms had been unsuccessful. They had long since been expelled from the Holy City; and the fall of Acre in 1291 completed the destruction of their power in the East. The master and chapter had successively retreated from Jerusalem to Antioch, from Antioch to Acre, and from Acre to the Chateau Pélerin. At length they abandoned also this celebrated fortress, which Saladin instantly razed to the ground; the head-quarters of the order were removed to Cyprus, and the holy land of Palestine was in the undisturbed possession of the infidel. In 1297, Jacques de Molay, a grizzled old warrior of the Temple, descended from a poor, but knightly house in Burgundy, who had distinguished himself by his bravery in their last struggles, was chosen grand-master. The seat of this officer and his chapter was always in the East, whither the bulk of the order were naturally summoned by the duties of their calling, but latterly their noble domains in the West had detained a great part of them from the seat of war. In 1300, Molay, with a detachment of knights, made an effort to seize and hold the small island of Tortosa against the Mahometans, but he was defeated; and after this, the Templars appear no more on the field of battle. The other military orders found fresh work for their swords, the Hospitallers in Rhodes, the Teutonic knights in the north of Europe, but the staff of the Templars sate sullenly in Cyprus, inert, wealthy, and suspected.

At the commencement of the fourteenth century, Philippe-le-Bel, son of St. Louis, and king of France, entered upon the thirty-second year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. The general character of this prince will be pretty clearly disclosed as we proceed; we have now only to mention his previous acts and his present position. Before the sixteenth century, the most important relations of any crowned head were those with the pope; Philippe's were as follows. In 1303, his quarrel of fourteen years' standing with Boniface VIII. had reached its height; the papal court had excommunicated Philippe, and Philippe had presented a formal charge of sorcery, simony, and heresy, against the head of the Church. The pontiff was then at Anagni. On the 7th of Sept., just before dawn, Philippe's chancellor, William de Nogaret, appeared with 300 men before the gates, which were opened to them by a traitor; they entered, seized on the person of the pope, and for three days kept him a prisoner in his own

palace. On the fourth he was rescued by the inhabitants, and returned to Rome; but the insult and hardships were too much for an old man of four-score and six: he remained convulsed and speechless, refused nourishment, and one morning, when his attendant after an hour's absence returned to him, he was found cold and stiff on his bed, his mouth foaming, and his white hair soaked with blood. It has been concluded that he dashed his brains out against the wall. Four days after, Benedict XI. ascended the throne of St. Peter, a prelate of exemplary life and good intentions, but with too little support in the sacred college, and too little power at home, to risk the enmity of the sovereign of France. He absolved Philippe and his abettors, but only, it would appear, from the original sentence of excommunication; a clause in the bull alluding almost manifestly to the murder of Boniface, is justly thought to be an interpolation of later days. In fact, on the 7th of June, he issued a bull against these outlaws, citing them all (Nogaret by name) to appear before him for sentence. There was little doubt of this prelate's future course, if his power should ever be matched with his will, and his increasing independence promised ill for the king; but, on the 4th of July, 1304, after a reign of nine months, he followed his murdered predecessor to the grave. His death was ascribed to poison, and the poison to Philippe. A contemporary historian (Ferretus Vicentinus) makes no doubt of the matter; and details circumstantially the names of the agents, and the vehicle of the poison. Few monarchs have stood in *this* relation to two successive pontiffs. But Philippe, though young, was tired, and inclined to peace. There was another line of strategy too, which might be more advantageous,—to enslave the papal power to his own will, instead of abjuring it, and setting it at defiance. The parties in the college of cardinals were pretty nearly balanced between a Gallic and an anti-Gallic faction; ten months had elapsed without an election, when it was decided that one party should nominate three candidates, from which the other should select one. This proceeding threw it into the power of Philippe to choose Bertrand, archbishop of Bourdeaux, a prelate who had been nominated as notoriously disaffected towards his sovereign. But Philippe, instantly on receiving early information of this crisis, started for Gascony, and summoned Bertrand to a private interview. They were not long in coming to an understanding. On condition of being thus advanced to the highest dignity in Christendom, Bertrand readily acceded to the king's terms, which were comprised in six stipulations, viz. perfect reconciliation to the Church; re-admission to communion for himself and friends; the tithes of the French clergy for five years; persecution of the memory of Boniface; a cardinal's hat for two of the Colonnas;

and——a nameless grace, which was to be demanded hereafter, as time and place should suit. The agreement was solemnly ratified, the prelate's brother and two nephews were left hostages with the king, and himself presently advanced to the popedom as Clement V. His first act (perhaps a suggestion of Philippe's) was a most unpopular one. Instead of going to Rome, he summoned the cardinals to Lyons, to his coronation; it was clear enough that the apostolic see was to be an appanage to the crown of France.

But Philippe as yet had done little but provide a possible resource; he had got nothing in hand the whilst, and his condition was desperate. His quarrels with England, and his incessant wars with the Flemings, had drained his treasury, for he sent aid to the Welsh, and to Wallace, he hired a navy of the Genoese, and fought his battles with a thousand Genoese bowmen. Indeed, the chivalry of France had well nigh perished at Courtrai. His new system of police, his courts, his spies, his *gens du roi*, his officials, were as costly as a standing army. He had exhausted too all the customary expedients for recruiting his finances; he had imposed taxes till they produced nothing, and the revenue lost by their addition; he had seized repeatedly the tithes of the clergy; he had adulterated the current coin of his realm by successive admixtures of alloy, till he made one *livre* into four; but he had made no progress towards any relief from his embarrassments. He had returned from his last campaign in Flanders, a conqueror and a bankrupt; in 1306, his people rose against him in despair, and he escaped massacre only by taking refuge within the solid precincts of the Temple.

Le plus net des trésors de Philippe, son patrimoine à exploiter, le fonds sur lequel il comptait, c'était son pape. But the productiveness of this Italian estate was less than had been anticipated. And it was all in perspective, whereas the royal wants were immediate. Clement seems to have been willing enough to execute the commands of his patron; but he was so absolutely in the king's power, that this disposition may have been as much the result of necessity as fidelity. Philippe had a screw which he could turn at pleasure. The pope had undertaken to prosecute the character of Boniface; but if Boniface was a heretic, then the cardinals of his election, and Clement, the pope of *their* election, were falsely elected, and without any titles to their estates. The popedom was inextricably committed. Nor could Clement play the traitor to the king, and dismiss the cause, for he had created twelve new cardinals on the royal nomination, and these added to the original French party in the conclave, formed a majority amply sufficient to control the present pope, or—to elect a more obedient one. The new pontiff had

hardly seated himself on his throne, when the performance of this condition was pressed upon him, and his eyes opened to the consequences. *Le marché à peine conclu, le Diable demandait son paiement. Le servage de l'homme vendu commençait, cette âme une fois garrottée des liens d'injustice, ayant reçu le mords et le frein, devait être misérablement chevauchée jusqu'à la damnation.* Something must be done at once. The Jews in France were available property; they were kept, bought, sold, and exchanged. They were not attached to the soil precisely like villains, but were more in the kind of *feræ naturæ:* possession gave the best title to them. Like other property, too, they were occasionally stolen; and the legislature was compelled to enact laws against this shameless dishonesty. An *ordonnance* of 1230, declares that "no baron shall steal another man's Jew; and that if any man should discover his Jew on the estate of another, he might legally reclaim him, whatever time might have elapsed since the loss." Some general manorial rights seem to have been reserved to the pope; at all events, Clement made over to Philippe all the Jews within the realm of France, for his own absolute benefit and disposal. So complete a police had the king established, that when he made the seizure, it is said, not a Jew escaped. He sold their goods, and exacted rigorously the debts due to them from his other subjects. But all this was nothing towards filling his capacious bosom. Clement seems really to have been anxious to satisfy his craving patron by fair means, amongst which the above robbery might in those days be reckoned. And, indeed, notwithstanding this and many similar instances of rapine, the Jew upon the whole was nearly as well off in the middle ages as the Christian, though he was scarcely so favoured a subject as the author of *Mores Catholici* would lead us to suppose[1]. Still there were few exactions and cruelties for which he did not sooner or later obtain full compensation and revenge; and the attacks of the people were occasionally in retaliation as well as aggression. The poor pontiff was at Poictiers, sick in mind and body. He agreed to the revocation of the famous bulls *Clericis laicos* and *Unam sanctam;* he aided the establishment of Philippe's son in Navarre; he declared his brother Charles chief of the crusade; he discharged the king of Naples of an immense debt to the Church; he canonized one of

[1] Book xi. c. iv. It would require more than the learning and ingenuity even of this ingenious and learned writer to prove, that a characteristic feature of mediæval society was the persecution of the Catholics by the Jews; or that the dreadful treatment which the Catholics experienced from the Albigenses, in Languedoc, surpasses all belief. It may be true, that a Jew's life was secured in some countries under heavy penalties, but the protection was extremely analogous to that which a provident legislature extends to young plantations or growing timber.

his sons, and adjudged to another the throne of Hungary. *Philippe recevait toujours, mais il ne lâchait pas prise.*

The reader will not forget where we left the Templars. Between their order and Philippe there had been no particularly good feeling. They had grudgingly and indifferently assisted him against Boniface, when the rest of the Gallican clergy were so serviceable; they had openly expressed their disapprobation at his adulteration of the currency; they were rich and he poor; above all, they were his creditors, and rather troublesome. There were accounts too of longer standing than this; they had refused to aid in the ransom of St. Louis; but perhaps this was not a large item in the reckoning of Philippe-le-Bel. Still there had been no serious rupture between the parties; on the contrary, some interchange of civilities. The grand-master had carried the king's fourth son to the font; the king, in 1304, had published magnificent edicts in honour of the order, and augmentation of its privileges; in 1306 they had given him refuge within their walls. One circumstance is very remarkable; he had applied for admission into their order, and they had refused it. It is impossible to say when he first conceived his designs against them, but probably some years before they were executed. The sixth and secret stipulation extorted from Clement, has been often referred to this point, as may easily be imagined, but only from conjecture, and from the event. Philippe was now in the utmost extremity of need; the Jews were gone, the money unadulterable further, the people penniless, and so mutinous from oppression and hunger, that groups of more than five were forbidden in the streets. Just at this ominous period (June 6th, 1306) Clement dispatches a letter to Cyprus, begging that the masters of the Temple and the Hospital would cross the sea to him, as he wished to confer with them on matters of great importance touching the Holy Land; he added, that as there were very many of their knights at home they would not be compelled to bring a numerous train with them. It happened that the master of the Hospital, William de Villaret, was absent on active service, (in the assault of Rhodes,) but the last master of the Temple[1], confiding his charge to the marshal of the order, em-

[1] This assertion, that De Molay was the last master of the Temple, is open to an objection, that, perhaps, not all readers are aware of, though several will be vastly better informed on the matter than we are. It is known that a high and advanced class of Free-masons are called Knights Templars, and the tradition is either that these two societies were originally connected, or that on the dissolution of the order of the Temple, a number of its members entered that of the Free-masons. The legend continues to state that before the execution of De Molay, he formally nominated his successor, and that from him an unbroken series of Grand-masters has been continued to the present day. Whether the Grand-master of the Masons is also Grand-master of the Templars, or whether there is an *imperium in imperio*, it is difficult for one of the unaccepted to decide. Michelet is not inclined altogether to reject the tradition. He

barked for France with sixty of his noblest knights. He took also what would have ensured his ruin, even had his sixty warriors been six thousand, and their breasts triply steeled with innocence. He carried with him an hundred and fifty thousand florins of gold, and such a hoard of coined silver that it formed the load of ten mules. On his arrival he proceeded at once to Paris, where the king received him with the most marked and honourable distinctions, and presently repaired to Poictiers for his interview with Clement. The pontiff's communications were solely on the affairs of the East; he urged principally the union of the two orders of the Temple and the Hospital, whose rivalry had been so detrimental to their common object. This scheme had suggested itself frequently to others, and had been repeatedly proposed by former popes and sovereigns, but without success. Nor was Clement more fortunate; De Molay acknowledged the probable benefits of the design, but alleged other, and in his opinion preponderating, arguments against it. As to the recovery of Palestine, he asserted that it could be effected by nothing less than a combination of all the strength of Christendom. With this interchange of sentiments the conference ended; no hint of any crimination escaped the lips of Clement, and no suspicion seems to have entered the heart of the master, who returned quietly to Philippe and the metropolis. His treasure was deposited in the Temple. But towards the end of the year strange and mysterious rumours were afloat of charges against the order, either preferred or about to be so; and at length, as the murmurs grew sterner and louder, De Molay, in April 1307, again betook himself to Poictiers, accompanied by three chief preceptors, to clear himself before the papal chair. How far Clement was candid with them does not appear; perhaps not to any great extent, for though he seems to have informed them of the accusations lodged against them, yet he received their exculpations with a good grace, and dismissed them to Paris again, relieved from all apprehension. He was, in truth, a reluctant agent in this business, and very naturally so. The order, as a body, were always staunch supporters of the papacy, and much of their odium with Philippe had been incurred in its defence; they had rendered undoubted services to the cause of religion—services more appreciated in those times than at present—and it was very doubtful in what way the destruction of such a body might be received by Christian princes in general. But Philippe

observes, that Scotland, where the Templars were allowed most quietly to escape, is the head quarters of Free-masonry, from which most of its highest secrets have issued; and that the more exalted ranks and officers of the order have Scottish names. It is unquestionable, that the Templars had their secrets; it is certain that the Free-masons have theirs; both, in our own opinion, equally harmless, though we will not venture to say identical.

had fast hold of his chain; he poured in upon the pontiff an incessant stream of accusations against the Templars, and in the course of 1306, he had dispatched, privately, some commissioners to him to get the requisite powers. Clement tried every artifice of prevarication and evasion, till Philippe waited for him no longer. The grand-master and his associates had returned, and were living in Paris with increased favour at court, and accumulated honours. On Thursday, the 12th of October, De Molay assisted at the funeral of the king's sister-in-law as one of the pall-bearers. On the night of the same day he, and every other Templar in France, were seized suddenly in their sleep, and thrown into prison.

A royal letter instantly sped through the kingdom, commencing with abrupt interjectional sentences of the deepest alarm, and proceeding afterwards to detail the well-known charges against these unfortunate knights. They were accused of denying their religion, of selling it to the Saracens, of monstrous and unholy rites, of infamous debauchery, and of spitting on the cross! Even these alleged impieties were magnified by rumour; it was bruited abroad that the Templars worshipped a secret and nameless idol in the dark crypts of their preceptories; some said it was a bearded head, others described it as a figure with three faces; one statement averred it to be the head of a virgin, and of more than Gorgon power; whenever it was uncovered and turned towards the walls of a city, they fell flat on the ground; on its being once disclosed at sea, a terrific whirlwind tore the ship to atoms, and the very fish disappeared from the place. Other reports made a cat the chief object of idolatry, which appeared in the chapter to receive adoration. Meantime Philippe had rapidly followed up his blow. Proclamations were distributed throughout Paris; the burgesses were assembled by corporations and guilds in the royal gardens, where Dominican friars preached to them. Especial care was taken to ensure the support of the University, and to involve it, if possible, in the responsibility of the proceedings; they met in convocation on the morning after the arrest, and the king's chancellor read the act of accusation before them; and the assembly of the masters and scholars in each faculty were present at the first examination of the grand-master and his brethren. The reader will, no doubt, recollect a very analogous chapter in the history of England, to which we shall refer again presently. All this was *ad populum*. Philippe himself, within one hour after dawn, went straight to the Temple, seized its contents, and established himself and his officials in its precincts.

Whatever may have been the understanding between the pope and the king, it is evident that the former was totally unprepared for any such *dénouement* as this, and in his surprise and indignation

he forgot the chain which he was dragging from his neck. He suspended the powers of all Philippe's judges, of all the bishops, archbishops, and inquisitors of his kingdom. The king was not likely to bear much opposition; however, there was no need to poison Clement. After an exchange of missives, which perhaps were intended less as private dispatches than as proclamations to the people, the pontiff restored the judges to their powers. And now having brought the narrative to this point, we will cross over to England, and see the fate of our own countrymen.

On the very day of the arrest, Philippe sent off a messenger to his son-in-law, Edward II., (like Henry VIII. to James of Scotland,) detailing his late proceedings, and strongly recommending the example. Edward, like James, was indisposed to any such measures; and on the 30th of October, he wrote in answer to Philippe, that the charges against the Templars were incredible in the eyes of himself and his council, and that before taking any steps in the matter he must await further and more sufficient advice. For this purpose he had already written (26th of November) to his seneschal of Agen, *super facto illo et statu Templariorum*, and this officer was ordered to be present on Christmas-day next, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, with intelligence. Nor did Edward stop here; for on the 4th of December he wrote from Reading Abbey to the kings of Portugal, Castile, Sicily, and Arragon, stating that *quidam clericus* (this was Bernardus Peletus, the emissary of Philippe) *qui ad subvertendum ordinem, &c. apposuit ut videbatur omni studio quo potuit vires suas*, had laid before him the horrible crimes which were charged against these Templars, and had tried to induce him by these representations, and also *per literas quorundam quas nobis dirigi procuraverat ex hac causa*, to commit them all without trial to prison, but that he had hesitated to trust such accusations, and that he recommended these monarchs to ponder matters well, and not to give ear to informers *qui, ut credimus, non zelo rectitudinis sed cupiditatis et invidiæ spiritibus excitantur*. And on the 10th of this month he writes with great simplicity to *Clement* from Westminster, stating that terrible rumours had reached him concerning the master and brethren of the temple, to which he dared not give heed, as these persons were highly commended for Catholic faith, life, and manners throughout the kingdom; and he begs, therefore, that the pontiff will check such calumnies (*dignemini clementius obviare*) until legal proof be brought before himself or his legates.

But a bull of Clement's was now on the road, which was to change the face of things considerably. In this instrument, the pope states to the king that the master of the Temple had made a voluntary confession of the heresy of the order, and directs that all the Templars in England should be seized, and their goods

and lands put into safe custody, till the truth could be ascertained. One or two points in the bull may be noticed. Clement remarks, that as early as his first promotion to the apostolic chair, some suspicion of the Templars had existed. He says that the king of France had made the seizure at the requisition of the inquisitor-general of the kingdom. He orders that the seizure in England be made in one day, *prudenter, caute, et secrete;* and he does not presume the guilt of the order, but directs the safe keeping of their goods and persons; so that if they prove innocent, *cessabit turbatio, et secundum Deum joconditas orietur.* This bull is dated the 22nd of November. Edward, as we have seen, was so favourably inclined to the Templars, that he used some exertions in their behalf, being actuated, as Michelet hints, not more by a love of justice than by a spirit of opposition to Philippe. However, whatever may have been his motives, he hesitated no longer. He issued his briefs to the lieutenants of each county, ordering them, on the Sunday after the Epiphany, to repair with twelve or more trustworthy followers to a specified rendezvous, there to execute certain things touching the king's peace, as would be communicated in another brief. He then sent sworn clerks with a second brief, containing the ordinance, who were to exact from each lieutenant and his attendants, previously to their opening it, an oath that they would divulge its contents to no one before the execution thereof. The ordinance enclosed directed the attachment of all the Templars in the kingdom on the Wednesday ensuing, and included orders for their decent treatment and keeping (*non in dura et vili prisona*), for cataloguing and appraising all their goods and chattels, and for keeping their houses in good repair and condition till further orders. The first brief to the lieutenants is dated Dec. 15th, so that between that day and the 10th, Clement's bull had probably arrived, the receipt of which the king acknowledged on the 25th, and promised immediately to execute his commands. They were executed at the time and in the manner above mentioned.

The Templars were now in custody, but were treated with what, considering the times and the charge, may be termed lenity. Some were apparently allowed a kind of parole, for some writs appear by and by for the apprehension of stray Templars; and subsequently an explicit order is sent to the Archbishop of York to be more strict with the knights in his keeping, and not to suffer them to wander about the country. Careful stewards were placed in the Temple houses, and receivers appointed for the rents of their estates, out of which a sum was set apart for the maintenance of the captive brethren. In this state matters seem to have rested till the autumn of the following year, 1309. On the 13th of Sept. appears the ordinance for the examination of

the prisoners; the judges were the archbishops and bishops, and the two papal commissioners, Sicard de Vaux and the abbot of Lagny. The north country Templars were taken to York, the midland to Lincoln, those from the south, east, and west of England to London. Clement had already (12th Aug. 1308), by his bull, *Faciens misericordiam*, asserted positively the guilt of the order, and called for the co-operation of all Christian princes in the business. Towards the end of the year (Oct. 20), the examinations commenced. In the papal bull were included eighty-seven articles of enquiry against the Templars, with the substance of which most readers are now familiar. They may be ranged under the following heads:—1. Systematic denial of Christ on their reception into the order, accompanied with spitting or trampling on the cross. 2. Heretical opinions concerning the sacraments. 3. Reception of absolution from masters and preceptors, although laymen. 4. Debauchery. 5. Idolatry. 6. General secrecy of practice, which had everywhere given rise to notorious suspicion. On the 18th of March, 1310, forty-seven knights were examined in London, all of whom persisted in asserting the innocence of the order, and their utter ignorance of all the crimes laid to its charge; seventeen clergy and laity had previously made favourable depositions. Meantime, however, one set of twenty-four, and another of five, new articles had been propounded, and of a character more subtle than those originally sent. The chief points of enquiry were,—whether the forms of reception and other solemnities were the same in the chapters of all countries? whether orders were transmitted to England from head-quarters, or from *France?* whether the great prior of England and other officers were, in the respondent's opinion, worthy, and credible men, and whether he would stand by their depositions? The third and last articles of the original set were also put again with some change of form. The evident tendency of these questions was to implicate the respondent in the confessions of others, or to invalidate his evidence by procuring from him an admission that certain practices might exist in the order without his knowledge. The knights were repeatedly asked how many of the brethren they knew? how many they had seen received? whether this form was always the same? Especial desire was shown to connect the case of the English with that of the French knights, from whom, as will be seen presently, confessions sufficient for all purposes had been extracted. Little was gained on this point; but one Templar, William of Winchester, said that he had known two French knights in England, Aymo Darfilars and Dalphin Dalverike. Altogether, more than two hundred knights were examined, and upwards of seventy other witnesses. The evidence of these witnesses was such as not only would be inadmissi-

ble in our courts of justice, but would hardly be considered as conveying any information whatever. It was frequently given at second, third, or fourth hand. Sometimes it was a rumour which the witness remembered to have heard when a boy. Richard de Kocfield deposed that he had heard from Walter, rector of Hodlee, that the rector once heard from a vicar, that he (the vicar) had heard from Walter Bacheler, a Templar, that there was one article in the profession of the order which should never be revealed to any one. Thomas, abbot of St. Thomas the Martyr, near Dublin, had often heard that the Templars were suspected of heresy. William le Botiller, hearing mass at Clontarf, noticed that the Templars did not look up at the elevation of the host, nor attend to the reading of the Gospel. In June, 1310, Clement wrote to Edward, to complain that the torture was not used to promote these investigations. It was subsequently employed, but not severely nor commonly. Confessions, however, were obtained; a few on all the articles, several on the less important ones. Thomas de Tocci, a recaptured knight, being asked why he fled, said that, on his examination at Lincoln, the abbot of Lagny had asked him whether he intended to confess any more, and on his answering in the negative, had sworn with his hands on his breast that he would make him ready enough to confess before he had done with him. Some further quotations from this tautological mass of evidence will be given hereafter, when we consider the question of guilt. It will be sufficient now to state that, at the termination of the commissions in the summer of 1311, all the English Templars had, by some means or other, been brought to a confession, or at all events to such a state of mind that they were willing, on any terms, to be dismissed. The reader will not forget that they had been more than three years in confinement, often solitary, and seldom agreeable, even under the mildest hands. Several had already been reconciled; and at length, on the 14th of July, the remaining knights, prostrated on the steps of the western door of St. Paul's, solemnly bewailed their errors, and implored readmission to the bosom of the Church. The Bishops of London, Exeter, and Chichester, in full pontificals, there met and absolved them; such a measure of penance being awarded to each as his crimes or his confessions had merited, and different monasteries throughout the province of Canterbury being assigned as the scenes of their repentance and reformation. Proceedings exactly similar took place in the province of York. The great prior of England, William de la More, was reserved for the special jurisdiction of the pope. One knight only, a preceptor of some note, Himbert Blanke, remained obdurate; and the concluding memorandum of the notary, respecting his disposal, may show the nature of the

alternative which his brethren had so unanimously declined. "And, inasmuch as he doth always persist, both for his order and for himself in this denial, refusing to confess, and saying that he willeth not to abjure errors which he hath never committed, the council hath not yet ordained execution to be done upon his body, but he is ordered to be shut up in a most loathsome dungeon, bound with double fetters, and there to be kept till further order be taken, and occasionally to be *visited*, to see whether he be willing to confess further."

The reader will perhaps be curious to know relatively to *what* proceedings we have characterized these as lenient and temperate. For this information he must return with us again to Philippe and to France. Philippe at the outset had placed the inquisitorial duty in the hands of his confessor, Imbert, a Dominican monk, who lost so little time, that six days after the first arrest of the knights, he had commenced his session in the Temple at Paris. Out of one hundred and forty prisoners examined, he obtained the required confessions from one hundred and four, and the remaining thirty-six would probably also have been ready with their evidence, had they not unfortunately expired under the means employed to extract it. The same course was resorted to in the provinces, and with the same result. It was at this stage of the proceedings that the astonished pontiff ventured on the remonstrance before mentioned; but so rapid had been the movements of Philippe's officials, that his censure and approval were now alike nugatory; for the plea of guilt thus generally obtained was at once a justification of the first arrest, and a ground for the future enquiries. Nevertheless, the concurrence of the pope was indispensable to some of the ulterior measures, and the king had good security for its production. At present (early in 1308) he despatched to him the grand-master, the preceptor of Cyprus, and the great-priors of Normandy and Aquitaine. It seems, however, that the prisoners never actually reached the pope's presence, but stopped at Chinon, where two cardinals met them, received, as it is said, their confessions, and reported them to Clement. This was something, but not enough; and Philippe, who seldom spared himself personal trouble, repaired to Poictiers (May, 1308), to look after his own interests, fortified with a formal instrument abetting his cause, and signed by his principal nobles. Clement practically avowed his opinions of the king's proceedings and his own position, by attempting to escape from the city; but his carriages were stopped at the gates, and he was taught by most intelligible signs that he was as much a prisoner as the poor soldiers of the Temple. After thus securing himself a patient auditor, Philippe sent for his confessing prisoners, of whom he had an abundant supply, and paraded them and their

depositions before the pontiff and his court. Clement had no redress and no retreat; he gave the king his required consent, and proceeded to such acts as necessarily followed. On the 1st of August (the prisoners had been brought before him at the end of June), he appointed a commission for prosecuting the inquiries at Paris; and on the 12th appeared the bull, *Faciens misericordiam*, which has been before alluded to, and which recited the confessions taken by the cardinals at Chinon, as well as those just made at Poictiers. Arrangements were also made for summoning an œcumenic council at Vienne to terminate the whole affair. Thus ended the summer of 1308.

On the 7th of August, 1309, the pontifical commission at Paris commenced its session, about three months, it will be remembered, before the examinations in England. The grand-master, when brought up, strenuously asserted the innocence of the order. He complained of the precipitation of the holy see, and compared the case of the Emperor Frederic II., whose sentence was suspended for two-and-thirty years. He avowed himself prepared to defend that order from which he had received so much honour and advantage, though he feared his own inability and weakness; but he complained piteously that he was robbed of all means of defence, that he had no money and no assistance. The commissioners read to him what was termed his own previous confession, when, at the bare mention of the enormities contained in it, the old knight crossed himself, and said, that had any other than the papal delegates uttered such words to him, he would have answered them in a different manner. The judges sternly replied, that they were not of a sort to receive challenges, and that those whom the Church found to be heretics, she judged so, and delivered over the obstinate to the secular arm. On the bench, though not in the commission, sat a layman and a soldier, William Plasian, *l'homme de Philippe-le-Bel.* He was disconcerted at the evident impression produced by De Molay's bearing, and requested a private conference with him, urging that he felt for the prisoner, and would aid him *(diligebat et dilexerat, quia uterque miles erat).* At his instance, De Molay prayed for a remand till the Friday following, which was graciously accorded. On that day he reappeared, a changed man. In what way Plasian had treated with him, is left to conjecture; but when again asked if he had ought to say for the order, he replied, "No"—that he was but a poor chevalier, and that he asked nothing more than to be sent to the pope, for whose judgment he had by the apostolic bull been specially reserved. He added, that he had three words to say in behalf of his brotherhood. "First, that in no church was Divine service so decorously performed as in those of the Temple. Secondly, that he knew no religious who gave such bountiful

alms as the Temple brethren. Thirdly, that never did there a race exist who so profusely spilt their blood in behalf of Christianity as his persecuted soldiers; in particular at Mansourah, when the Comte d'Artois—" He was proceeding with that well-known instance of Temple gallantry, when a voice rang from the bench, "*Without the Faith all this worketh nothing unto salvation!*" His plea was as needless as the commission itself.

Meantime the work went on. On the 28th of March, 1310, all Templars were cited who wished to defend their order. The poor prisoners begged to be taken up *en masse*. The bishop's hall was not large enough to contain them, and they were assembled in the garden to the number of five hundred and forty-six. The articles of their accusation were read in Latin; but when the notary was about to add a French version of the indictment, they cried out with one voice, that such horrible things should not be said in the vulgar tongue. They then appointed seventy-two delegates, and four special proctors, two priests and two knights, from their number, to conduct their cause. Their protests and memorials, which are preserved in the original rude French, are exceedingly interesting. The unhappy soldiers complain that they are kept all night in a dark black ditch *(et somes en neire fosse oscure toutes les nuits)*, and that out of their miserable pittance of twelve deniers per day they have to pay for their passage across the water from the prison to the court, and to give something even to the smith who riveted and unriveted their chains! *Item pour nos fergier et desferger puisque nos somes devant les auditors* II. *sol. la semaigne. Item pour laver dras et robes linges chascun* XV *jours* XVIII *denier. Item pour buche et candole chascun jor* IIII *deniers. Item passer et repasser les dis frères* XVI *deniers de asiles de Notre Dame de l'altre part de l'iau.* These representations were backed by the pale and hideous features of the captives, their ghastly habits, and their limbs distorted by the executioner. Bernard de Vado, once a gallant soldier, produced in court two bones which had fallen from his feet whilst they were held over the fire. Even the judges were affected; and the populace naturally more so. They had been horrified at first by the crimes imputed to the Templars, but they now saw something worse, and, as Cæsar said in Catiline's case, *sceleris obliti, de pœna disserebant.* To increase this reaction the contemporaneous inquiries in other lands were proceeding favourably for the Templars. It was quite possible that matters might yet take a wrong turn, and Philippe rushed to meet the danger.

Clement, at Poictiers, had yielded a promise to the king's significant demand, that he would not quit France. However, in March, 1309, he had succeeded in getting away from Poictiers,

and throwing himself into Avignon, a kind of neutral town, of which the seignory was divided between the houses of France and Naples, and where the power of the pope virtually exceeded both. But he had not been there a month before Philippe's emissaries followed him, and the hateful subject of the process against Boniface was again set on foot. The pontiff was anxious to save both the Templars and the memory of his predecessor, but he could not do both. *Il livrait les vivants, pour sauver un mort. Mais ce mort était la papauté elle-méme.* The high contracting parties came to an understanding. Philippe gave up the persecution of Boniface; Clement, at the king's request, appointed Marigny to the vacant archbishopric of Sens. Of this archbishop the Bishop of Paris was a suffragan. On the 10th of May, within a month after the installation of Marigny, he convoked the provincial council of Sens at Paris; on the 11th he had the seventy-two delegates brought before him. Those who had never yet confessed were committed to prison again; those who confirmed their previous confessions under torture were liberated; those who retracted them were pronounced *relapsed*, and forthwith sentenced to be burnt. To the honour of the order it is to be said, that in this last class were fifty-four out of the seventy-two. On the following morning they were taken in carts to the stakes, on one side of which was standing a royal officer with a pardon for those who would confess, and on the other the executioners with lighted flambeaux. The knights passed on to the latter, raised the death-chaunt of the Church, and died like Christians and soldiers.

The original papal commission remonstrated in vain against these proceedings; the suspended power of the other courts was now restored, and the pope's delegates were powerless. They adjourned their sittings to the 3rd of November. In the interval, the example of Marigny and his assessors had been followed elsewhere, and several Templars had been put to death in the provinces: the king's will was every where influential. On the 3rd of November the papal commission again met, but with diminished numbers; four of the eight were absent, and three out of the four *on the king's service.* Their sitting was a solemn farce. Each day, after mass had been said, a *huissier* at the doors of the court proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, that if any person wished to defend the order of the Templars he was to come forward and do so. It may well be imagined that no champion answered to the trumpet of the challenger. Two of the Temple proctors, the knights William de Chambonnet and Bertrand de Saitiges, were still present, but their colleagues, the two priests of the order, Raynaud de Pruino and Peter of Bologne, had betaken them-

selves to flight, and the unlearned soldiers could not proceed without them. The 12th of May had alarmed both witnesses and counsel. Till the 11th of June, 1311, the commission prolonged its idle session. On that day it closed. A register of its acts, from which most of the foregoing information is taken, was deposited in the treasury of Notre Dame. It passed somehow from this sanctuary to the private libraries successively of the president, M. Brisson, the advocate-general, M. Servin, and the Harlay family, whose arms it still bears on the cover. In the middle of the last century it was bequeathed by these possessors to the library of St. Germain-des-pres. It escaped from the conflagration of this building in 1793, and is now deposited in the Bibliothèque Royale, where the curious reader may inspect a relic of the age of Philippe, the *Processus contra Templarios.*

It is only necessary briefly to allude to the proceedings in other countries. Those in Ireland and Scotland (where the order had but few possessions) resembled the English exactly. In Germany nothing was proved against the order. In Spain, after the application of the torture, they were pronounced free from heresy. In Cyprus, the depositions were favourable to their innocence. In Naples, under the kinsman of Philippe, some analogous confessions were obtained. In the papal states the witnesses were divided.

The time was now arrived for the decision of a greater tribunal, the assembled Church. On the 1st of October, 1311, Clement arrived in person at Vienne, where upwards of three hundred prelates were soon collected; and on the 15th the council opened. It seems almost a burlesque of the whole proceeding to remark, that the first act of a synod, convened for the suppression of the Templars, was to take into consideration the deliverance of the Holy Land from the hand of the infidel. Yet so it was; and all the Christian sovereigns present professed their intention of taking up the cross. After this preliminary test, the subject of the order was introduced, and a challenge was given, as before, to all such as wished to defend it. To the dismay of Philippe and Clement, and probably to the surprise of all, nine Templars presented themselves, who avowed not only their readiness to defend their order, but their character as representatives of fifteen hundred or two thousand knights who were lurking in the neighbouring mountains. The pontiff affected terror at the information, and probably felt real anxiety at the evident interest which the devotion of these soldiers had created in the assembly. Instead of hearing their defence, he ordered them to be arrested and thrown into prison. After this proceeding, he did not again call the council together, but detained its

members throughout the winter, inactive and far from their homes, hoping perhaps either to outweary them by delay, or to promote his cause more successfully by treating with them individually. For to the eternal honour of these prelates it is to be recorded, that they almost unanimously denounced such flagrant tyranny, and declared that they could pronounce no judgment on the Knights Templars till they had been heard in their own defence. So spake the prelates of England, Ireland, and Scotland; of Spain, Denmark, and Germany; of Italy, except one; and of France, except three. Such, however, was not a plan which suited Philippe, or in which he would indulge his pope. Clement, therefore, summoned the more obedient bishops and a few of his cardinals, and in private consistory abolished the order. On the 3rd of April, 1312, the council met again, and in its presence and the presence of Philippe and his three sons, the abolition was read. No voice was heard against the proclamation; and the Brotherhood of the Soldiery of the Temple ceased to be.

But though none might henceforth take the name, the vows, or the habit of a Templar, yet there remained a vast number of these discarded warriors, certainly cumbersome, and possibly dangerous, to their respective countries. Even in France the stake and the dungeon had left many of the seven thousand surviving, and in other lands they had suffered little from the late inquisition. The order of the Hospital was open to all, and received many. In Aragon the new order of our Lady of Monteza was founded, with a costume and rule similar to those of the Templars, and with an assignment of the Moors instead of the Saracens as their enemies. In Portugal the name was simply changed; and under the denomination of the Order of Christ it has even survived to these times. In England they were decently treated, and allowed a stipend from their property, which seems to have been both more liberal and regular than the pittance nominally settled on the poor scattered monks of 1539. Neither party were discharged from their vows, though each was robbed of its retreat, and banished from its sphere of duty. But the monks were driven into every-day life, without the power of sharing its enjoyments. The Templars had another military brotherhood to retire to; or if they preferred the quiet of a Carthusian abbey, it was at their own option. It was hardly however to be expected that many of them, especially the younger portion, who had been trained for such a life as that of a crusader, would readily exchange it for the cloister and the cowl. In 1319, John XXII. sent a bull to the Archbishop of Canterbury, directing him to check those quondam Templars in his province, who, forgetful of their vows, were living unascetic lives, to the extent, in some

instances, of contracting matrimony. And he orders him to see that all, within three months' space, enter some monastery, and take some religious habit, under penalty of losing the pension assigned for their maintenance. Whether these regulations were strictly enforced, does not appear: it is probable, from the high birth, gallant bearing, and acknowledged sufferings of the knights, that they met with due consideration from the prelates and the people. But gradually, of course, their numbers lessened, and their circle closed, till they vanished from the face of men.

Forsitan et Priami fuerint quæ fata, requiras! There is one character in the drama not yet disposed of, in whose fate some interest must needs be taken. We left the Grand-master in prison, with his three companions in sorrow, the visitor of France, and the Great-priors of Normandy and Aquitaine. Two years after the dissolution of the council, it was thought fit to convey to the prisoners the intelligence of their future fate. On the 18th of March, 1314, three papal commissioners arrived at Paris, and a high stage being erected in front of Notre Dame, the four noble captives were brought out in sight of the populace to hear their sentence. It was perpetual imprisonment. But the tragedy was not so to end. The commissioners were reading aloud the previous confessions which the torture had wrung from the prisoners, when, to the astonishment of all, De Molay stepped forth once more, and in a loud voice proclaimed that these depositions were utterly false, and only extorted from them by the extremity of bodily pain. He then asserted most solemnly the innocence of his order, calling on all present to witness that he did it with death before his eyes, but that he would not purchase his life by adding another falsehood to those which the rack had forced from him. One of his comrades supported him in his avowal; the other two remained silent. The commissioners were confused by so unexpected an interruption to their proceedings, and at length committed the captives to the care of the provost of the city, who was present, reserving the case for their more mature consideration on the morrow. But before the morrow all consideration was spared them. Philippe, on receiving information of this event, consulted for a short time with his council, no ecclesiastic being present, and without an hour's delay condemned both the recusants to be burnt that same evening. They were taken to a little islet in the Seine, near the royal garden, and there burnt alive by a slow fire, persisting in the assertion of their innocence, amidst protracted tortures, till death released them. A strange incident added to the horrible interest of the day. The Grand-master, from the midst of the fire, solemnly summoned both Clement and Philippe to appear with himself,

within one year from that day, before the tribunal of that Great Judge who alone knoweth the hearts of men. On the same night of the succeeding month the pope died, and by an accidental fire in the church where his corpse was lying it was nearly consumed in the flames. Philippe died also, as we shall presently see, within the fatal period; and it was the ordinary remark of the day, that all the chief agents in the persecution of the Templars came to unnatural and violent ends. Such is the testimony of ancient writers. It is an obvious exercise of incredulity to trace the prediction to the event, and to admit the several facts, though we discard the reputed connexion between them; but such conclusions are not often the most becoming, nor always the most philosophical.

Let us now glance briefly at the distribution of the Temple wealth; at the destination of those broad lands and full coffers which had so irresistibly tempted the spoiler. We saw that Philippe, immediately on the arrest of the knights, established himself and his people in the Temple; and it is of course needless to inquire into the fate of the sparkling treasure which the Grand-master but a few weeks before had deposited *there;* nor is there any reason to doubt that the convertible effects of the order throughout the kingdom were attracted to the same centre. Clement complained bitterly, in 1309, that he got such a scanty portion of the spoil (*modica bona mobilia*), not enough indeed to cover the expenses consequent on the proceedings. However, the king of Naples gave him half the personalties of the Templars in Provence, and he had not in the end much ground for discontent. These little dividends were easily arranged; but the fourteenth century, bad as it was in some respects, was not quite an age for a court of augmentation of the king's highness's revenue. The subject of the Temple estates was taken into the consideration of the council, and it was declared that the lands piously devoted to the recovery of the holy city, should still be applied in the most expedient way to that end; and accordingly, the whole were formally granted and assigned to the Knights Hospitallers throughout Europe. In Spain only the property of the Templars was conveyed to the new order which has been previously mentioned; and in Portugal it passed in like manner to the order of Christ. But this decision, equitable, *pro re nata*, and unexceptionable as it was, suffered considerable reversals as it came into operation. Clement and Philippe levied such large fines on the transfer of the property as almost to impoverish the lessees; the king moreover brought in heavy charges for expenses incurred in the custody of the Templars; and at length, in 1317, the Hospitallers were but too happy to sign a quittance of all accounts with

the royal exchequer. In England, the estates of the order were sequestrated, as we have seen, and receivers appointed to take the rents until further arrangements. But it was not likely, even in those days, that courtiers or barons could quite temperately keep their hands from the goods of the Church. As early as the spring of 1308, Clement was compelled to send a half conciliatory, half objurgatory missive to Edward, interdicting any such appropriations of property which the Church alone could dispose of; and not till several years afterwards did a formal vote of parliament confirm the sentence of the council. The statute, *de Terris Templariorum* (17 Edw. II.), is a very remarkable one. After reciting that the greater part of the king's council, including the judges of the land, had affirmed decidedly that the king and lords of the fees *might* well and lawfully, by the laws of the realm, retain the lands in question as their escheats, it proceeds to state nevertheless, that because the said lands were given for the defence of Christians and the Holy Land, against pagans and enemies of Christians, and canonized to the honour of God, and liberal almsgiving; *therefore*, that neither the said lords of the fees, nor any other persons, *had* title or right to retain the said lands, notwithstanding any law or custom of the realm. And the said lands were accordingly assigned and delivered to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. This tardy enactment proceeded very probably from a reluctant house; the conduct of the nobles had already been rebuked by a bull of John XXII., who, in 1320, complained that the dutiful intentions of the king were frustrated by the covetousness of the earls and barons who retained in their possession the consecrated property. While the principle of the restoration was thus publicly acknowledged, some little private arrangements were of course managed without much difficulty. The Lord Darcy got a few convenient acres in Yorkshire; a case which we select, because the descendant of this nobleman, three centuries after, forfeited to King Henry VIII. these very Church lands and his life, for heading an insurrection of which the principal object was the reinstatement of the poor monks and friars in those abodes and estates from which they had been recently ejected. The Temple of London was given to Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, whose widow afterwards founded the college of that name at Cambridge; and from him it passed to Hugh le Despenser, upon whose attainder, in 1 Edw. III., it reverted to the crown. Then at length it was delivered to its legitimate proprietors, the Knights of St. John, and by them leased to the students of the laws of England; in the safe keeping of which learned body, after the lapse of so many ages, it still remains. The rest of the Temple manors and

estates passed, with more or less curtailment, to the Hospitallers in due course; and in the hands of this order they rested till the confiscation, in 1539, of so much of the property which an obsolete and offensive piety had dedicated to the offices of charity or religion. Still they retained, through all the changes, the titles which a continuous tradition had preserved in the memory of the people; and there are many counties in England in which such names as Templeton, or Templestowe, or some similar compound, accompanied, perhaps, by an ancient stone homestead, or fragmentary grange, may connect in an antiquary's eye an obscure hamlet or secluded manor with the proudest and richest brotherhood the world ever saw.

Our narrative is here at an end. It remains only to discuss a few points connected with it; to remark on a few of its circumstances more discursively than the thread of the story permitted before, and occasionally to compare with its character, as far as practicable, that of the proceedings in our own country under Henry and Cromwell. The question which will first of course suggest itself to every one, is that of the guilt or innocence of the order; and yet it is one which is comparatively irrelevant, and of which the answer will but little affect the sentence due to the proceedings. Whatever heretical tenets may have been secretly cherished in the Temple preceptories, it is quite certain that neither Philippe nor any of his ministers cared for *this;* not if every one of the eighty-seven articles had been truly and justly proved against the order, would the French monarch have objected to the Knights, as loving subjects, had they been less wealthy or more obsequious. The same remark will apply to the suppression of monasteries in 1536. Of all conceivable conclusions none can be more incontestably true, than that neither Henry nor Cromwell, still less Doctors Lee, Leyton, or London, cared a single groat for the morality or laxity of any religious house in the realm. It is, indeed, just possible, from the peculiarity of Henry's character, that he might, while devoutly believing in his own decency, justice, and virtue, have considered himself a divinely-appointed censor of the conduct of others, and have been piously pained when told that the abbot of Langdon was of dissolute habits, or the grey friars of Reading suspected of incontinence; though even this supposition is hardly reconcileable with the furious passion into which he flew, when informed that even his own visitors were compelled to report certain poor houses as of unimpeachable character and most devout obedience. But as to Cromwell and his adherents—what state of things can be even devised, at which we are to suppose such men could be seriously shocked? The condition of the monasteries at their

dissolution, and the habits of their inmates for many years previous, are subjects of most interesting historical inquiry; of inquiry by no means easy, and often conducted on most unfair principles: the result may affect our judgment of the expediency of such foundations, and influence our feelings on perusing the history of their destruction; but it cannot touch the merits of those who destroyed them without one of the worthier motives which we can suggest, or which themselves alleged. It matters little to the purpose what was the character of the blood of Hailes[3], or what the contrivance of the rood of Boxley; such frauds, even if truly chargeable against the monasteries, did not cause, and could not have justified, their total suppression. But there is this difference between the cases of Philippe and Henry:—the former, an acute and unscrupulous historian might, by judiciously omitting circumstances, and detailing actions exactly as they were intended to meet the public eye, so dispose on the page as to give a colour of legitimacy to the whole transaction, and even of piety to the proceedings of the actors; but the latter, it is quite impossible for the most partial chronicler so to disguise. Even admitting all excuses, and receiving all statements as they are given, it cannot be done. Though the prosecutors were sincere, the indictment sound, the witnesses honest, and the verdict true, yet the sentence was extravagantly unjust, and the execution wantonly cruel. Nothing in the preamble of the statutes for the suppression, nothing in the reports of the commissioners, was urged or hinted at, which could warrant the confiscation and malappropriation of such immense consecrated property. But another tale might have been told in 1307. A pious and anxious prince is startled at rumours of systematic impiety and heresy in an order of Christian knights; he issues orders for their apprehension, communicates his proceedings to the head of the Church in his country, and with the aid of accredited commissioners from the apostolic see investigates the terrible affair. The guilt of the accused is openly demonstrated, a guilt legally incurring the heaviest penalties, which however are only exacted from such relapsed and obstinate delinquents as reject the offered clemency of the Church. For the consideration of so painful a subject, a General Council is summoned, in which the order is suppressed by the voice of Christendom, and its property bestowed in such a manner as

[3] Meantime, it may perhaps be worth while to remark, that recent researches have indisputably proved, that the original legend of the monks was not more untrue than the story about the blood of the duck, over which so many historians of the Reformation have successively shuddered. A letter of Latimer's, found in the State Paper Office, detailing the Visitors' examination of this relic, will appear in a forthcoming publication of that Bishop's works by a well-known Society.

to make it most available for the purposes for which it was originally bequeathed. Assuming the premises, the conclusion was both just and necessary; at all events, in the eyes of the world, the tribunal was properly constituted, and its decision accompanied with such apparent provisions as would check the imputation of any interested motives. All this, it is true, was *ad populum*, but still it was something, though indeed not much.

We have said that the question of guilt is not very important, with the knowledge which we have of Philippe's character, though if that monarch's sincerity were as clear as his villainy, it would be the cardinal point of the whole case. As it is, however, we will devote a few lines to its discussion. The charge of heresy at the beginning of the fourteenth century was indefinite and comprehensive, not in the eyes or language of the Church or the law, but in common opinion and practice. It might include almost every imaginable variety of moral depravity, as the multitude, unable to comprehend the dogmatical errors attacked by the Church, associated them in their own minds with corresponding iniquities of social life. Perhaps the intelligence of their superiors was not always such a corrective as it should have been. The charges against the Albigenses, against the Templars, and against Pope Boniface, all in these particulars resembled each other. The reader will recollect the substance of the articles exhibited against the Templars; of these the accusation of idolatry is the only one perhaps without some shadow of foundation; the others, though involving possibly little criminality, might in some degree be supported; but in forming our judgment we must be guided almost solely by probabilities, since the value of the evidence is so small as to be nearly unappreciable. Michelet lays some stress on the depositions of the English witnesses, as more independently given; and, compared with the *French*, perhaps they were so; but how little that admission implies, the reader is aware. The most generally acknowledged crime was that of contemptuously treating the sacred emblems of the Crucifixion at the time of reception into the order; and it certainly does appear hard to reject the repeated testimony we get to some such practice, although, on the other hand, it cannot be admitted without equal difficulty. For what possible purpose could such an initiation serve? Michelet's conjecture is ingenious and learned. He supposes that the whole ceremony was symbolical; that the candidate for admission was presumed to appear sinful and unworthy, and grovelling in ignorance and vice before the master of the order, soliciting aid and instruction,—a position and plea which was typified by his acting thus the part of a heathen or renegade; or that it was a symbolical representation of St. Peter's

denial of our Lord, one of those innocent mysteries of the middle ages, which, harmless in their design, were often rude and painful in performance; and he concludes that the symbol was retained after its meaning had been forgotten, assuming now an air of impiety, which was the more alarming from the secrecy in which the tradition was enveloped. This solution, at first sight, seems almost entirely satisfactory; but, on consideration, it is less and less so. Though the deponents to this ceremony were comparatively numerous, yet, after all, they were an exceedingly small minority of the whole order; and a far greater number of knights declared, even at the point of death, their innocence of any such deed. But, if this was the statutable form of reception, how is it that its acknowledgment was not universal? This obvious difficulty seems to have occurred either to an inquisitor or the respondent; for one witness, Stephen de Stapelbrugge, (*de ordine Templi*, *apostata fugitivus*) declared positively that there were *two* forms of reception into the order: one in which the usual monastic vows were tendered and taken, and the other including the ceremony of which we are speaking; and that after passing the first, he was compelled also to pass the second. It should be mentioned, that this witness also confessed to the greater part of *all* the crimes alleged in the articles. Another followed him on the same day, who testified also to the double reception. But what was the purport of this additional ceremony? Was it a further initiation, another step in the mysteries? nothing of the kind is alleged. Was it a passage to a higher rank in the order? On the contrary, its subjects seem, according to the depositions, to have been fresh and unimportant members of the body — the priors and preceptors all strenuously denied it. Was it literally a dramatic relic, a fragment of an old mystery preserved in the tradition of the Temple? If so, why make it so dark a secret even in the Temple-houses themselves? why take the terrified actor into an inner chamber, with only two brethren, and enforce its performance at the point of the sword? Why was not the rite acknowledged at once, and its allegory explained? Is it meant to be asserted, that in 1308 the spirit of symbolism was so utterly extinct, as to render hopeless any attempt at its interpretation? Or are we seriously to conclude that an order of Christian knights, professing the rule of the holy St. Austin, caressed by Christian princes, honoured by the Church, devoting their lives and venturing their bodies in its service, exacted systematically from all entering the order a denial of the first doctrines of Christianity, accompanied with the most revolting orgies, and all without a meaning or an object expressed, implied, or concealed? Let us admit, for the sake of argument, that the Templars were thoroughly

degenerate, infinitely dissolute, and utterly irreligious; — why should they invent a rite as useless as it was impious, as aimless as it was dangerous? why run the risk of outraging every indignant neophyte into disclosures which, in an age neither profane nor indifferent, must prove their destruction? Absurd stories were told of unholy conditions imposed by victorious Mussulmen. But if the Templars were as lawless as presumed in the premises, what imaginable vows could bind them to customs admitting no possible profit, and involving considerable hazard? The foregoing arguments apply of course not to the accidental guilt of individuals, but to the essential criminality of the whole order. It was *this* ground which Philippe took, and which he knew alone could give him firm standing. Could Henry have proved that the Benedictine rule had been corrupted by the Lollards, or that the vows required on admission to the Charter-house were those of intemperance, acquisitiveness, and riot, his position would have been equally tenable. The interrogations of the inquisitors disclose in every line their desire to identify the malpractices of the members with the tenets of the order; one witness was honest enough to add to his plea of guilty, that he had not been so taught by its vows (*nescivit tamen quod sic fuit in ordine injunctum*).

There is less perplexity attending the conclusion, that out of fifteen thousand knights, of all countries, some were of slow faith or false doctrine, or that they had occasionally suffered from the contagion to which their profession did, in some respects, expose them. The east was the hot-bed of heresy. It was there that the subtleties of Gnosticism, uncongenial to northern intellects, still formed a subject of discussion; and it was there that the apparently expiring stock of the Manichees suddenly gathered new life and increase, and disseminated afresh those principles which the Albigenses and others, amidst better and wiser opinions, did, if we are to trust all history, most undoubtedly include. Moreover, there was danger in constant communion with the Saracens, especially when the intercourse, as certainly in the case of the Templars, was carried to so discreditable an extent. These enemies were brave and generous; (their Sultan pre-eminently so;) eager for proselytes; princely in their promises, and faithful to their words. It should be stated in fairness, that but one instance is recorded of the apostasy of a Templar, Robert of St. Alban's, unfortunately for our country, an English knight. But though piety or other feelings might keep the Templar tied to his colours and his cross, yet his private belief might not always have been proof against the arguments or insinuations of the Moslem. The pure Theism of Mohammed, the grandeur of some of its doctrines, the simplicity of its

rites, and the remarkable union of practice with profession, which its votaries to this day exhibit, were powerful topics in the mouth of a Saracen, and gave him a strong position whence to attack those points in the bulwarks of the Church which corruption had rendered assailable. Some of the opinions imputed to certain Templars, savour more of Deism than any other form of heresy or infidelity. Still, such examples of perversion must have been rare; the great majority of the order were rude, illiterate knights, a little advanced perhaps in clerkly learning beyond their secular companions in arms, but utterly impervious to dialectics or metaphysics, and little likely to be seduced by such means into Gnosticism or Mohammedanism. We have seen that on their trial at Paris, they were unable to proceed when deprived of the aid of their two chaplains. The reader, in passing, will not overlook the utter incompatibility of any such persuasions as these, with the gross idolatry also charged to the order. They had yet another source of peril in the far distant lands to which their warlike duties summoned them. It has been well remarked, that the result of a personal visit to holy places, and a familiarization with sacred spots, may possibly be pernicious in the extreme, if undertaken and conducted without appropriate predisposition or due culture. Now the Templars, though in one sense Crusaders, were not often men whom strong religious feelings, or vows made in tribulation, or the voice of the Church, had sent forth to Palestine, to recover the Holy City. They had, it is true, devoted their lives to this end, and nobly they ventured and spent them; but the very fact of its being their profession, would render their daily recurring duties to a great extent professional and mechanical. The knight of Normandy or Northumberland, who had sold his hawks and mortgaged his manors, that he might cross unknown waters and strike one stroke for the city of God—the pilgrim who traversed uninhabitable wastes, and encountered incessant dangers, that he might wear with his lips the stones of the holy sepulchre, were actuated by feelings which it would be unreasonable to expect in the veteran militia of the Temple. We might as well look for the spirit of Bruce or Belzoni in a cavalry cadet on his overland journey to Bombay. A very remarkable reply attributed to a Great prior by one of the witnesses, seems to point to the influence to which we have been alluding. "Cui dixit magister, Male dicis et erras, erat enim filius cujusdam mulieris, et quia dixit se Filium Dei, erat crucifixus. *Et ego ipse fui in loco, ubi natus erat et crucifixus.*"

The consideration of these circumstances might perhaps induce us to give a less reluctant credence to such instances and anecdotes of impious or heretical sayings as are attributed to various

knights of the order, though here again we are checked and unsettled, by observing that accusations precisely similar were urged in Philippe's process against the memory of the poor murdered Boniface. But the extreme improbability, and, we were almost on the point of adding, the manifest falsehood of the depositions, consists in their asserting such tenets to have formed the creed of the order, to have been necessarily and didactically expounded by its preceptors and priors, and to have been abruptly forced on the terrified novice under penalty of death. *This* was the confession needed by the inquisitors, and to this end the fifth article of interrogation, as a leading question, was turned. "Item quod recipientes dicebant *et dogmatizabant* illis qui recipiebantur, &c." But is it possible to presume the existence of such a system? No Jacobin club in the French revolution ever exacted from its constituents a solemn act of embodied blasphemy. Even in the midst of Napoleon's staff, Druot was quietly permitted to read and to believe his Bible.

Another obvious enquiry on hearing these allegations is, when did these mal-practices commence? by whom were they introduced? and on what imaginable grounds? The account given by the original witnesses who speak on the matter, is comprised in sundry absurd versions of a most ridiculous story, about a certain Grand-master having been taken captive by the Saracens, and released only on condition of establishing these unholy rites. Of those modern writers who take part against the Templars, some, for obvious reasons, have made the chaplains of the order the guilty members, discreetly selecting for the Gnostic converts, such subjects as at all events could read and write. One author, a *German*, deliberately avers his conviction, that from the very foundation of the order its tenets and objects were always essentially wicked and heretical, that it was constituted *in alliance with Mohammedanism*, and for purposes destructive of the Christian religion. Perhaps these assertions may be allowed to characterize the whole hypothesis of the Templars' guilt, which thus compels such arguments in support of it.

We will now consider briefly some of the circumstances productive of this famous catastrophe, and attending its occurrence; noticing especially, as we proceed, the feelings subsisting between the order and particular classes of society, and tracing the share, if any, which they severally had in its destruction. It may be a matter of surprise at first, perhaps, that no resistance was offered by so powerful a body, trained to warfare, proverbially brave, and with abundance of money. But in France, where they were strongest, they were evidently surprised, and so completely too, as to preclude the chance even of flight. Though sinister ru-

mours had been for some time in circulation, yet it will be recollected that they had, to all appearance, satisfied the pontiff by their representations. They must necessarily have been confident in their own strength. They were flattered and caressed by Philippe; and even if their apprehensions from that quarter were not quite at rest, they certainly could little expect that he would commence his operations with such a *coup de main*. Michelet considers that the Templars had a serious presage of their approaching ruin. His authority for this supposition is the singular observation of one knight to another, quoted by an English witness. The deponent was asked by a Templar, "Art thou an accepted brother?" On his reply in the affirmative, "Then," continued the first speaker, "wilt thou see more evil and mischief before thy death, than thou wouldest discern from the top of the great bell-tower of St. Paul's." But Michelet has apparently overlooked the fact that this conversation took place just after the deponent's admission, which, he had stated, was sixteen years previous; a time at which there could hardly have been much reason for suspecting Philippe. It is, we think, far more probable that the witness meant his words to refer to the wretchedness which the alleged malpractices of the order produced in the consciences of the more timid brethren, for he had been acknowledging all kinds of guilt, and had just before stated his conviction, that no member of the order could possibly be saved. In the same spirit were other remarks of this kind made. Warnings were frequently given them, the deponent said, by the more ancient knights. "*Tu vides nos exterius, sed non interius*," was the dark speech of one of them. The reader will bear in mind that we are quoting from the unfavourable depositions. It may be added, too, that generally, throughout the record, a witness who comes up to confess at all, confesses to most of the material points on which he is interrogated. But even if the Templars had been forewarned of the coming blow, they could not have made head against their assailant, backed as he was by all the power of the pope, and destitute as they were of almost all sympathy and aid. They might, perhaps, in England have defended their preceptories for a few weeks, but only till the sheriff's retainers had been reinforced by the royal troops. Such, at least, was the result of their resistance in Aragon, where their numbers were greater, and their fortresses more secure. Had they foreseen the tempest early enough to have collected their chapters into a single formidable mass, they might, doubtless, have held Cyprus, or any other favourable post, against any force likely to be brought against them; but in this event, their deserted houses and manors would have been immediately confiscated, and with

their wealth would have vanished the means and the motives for the preservation of the order.

Throughout all the countries of Europe, not a single hand was lifted up in aid of the suffering knights; a fact more explicable in every case than in that of the nobles. But the Templars were cadets of the most ancient and honourable families; they were on good terms of companionship with all the barons of the land; and their Grand-master took place among princes. Yet in France, the great seigneurs of the realm, to the number of twenty-six, including the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, and the counts of Flanders, Nevers, and Auvergne, readily sided with Philippe against the order. In England, the prisoners found no support amongst their comrades or kinsmen, though in that class they must have been able to reckon half the secular knights in the land. The Templars had certainly countenanced the usurpation of John, and had bearded his son Henry, but they had taken no prominent part in the barons' wars, and could hardly be called politically obnoxious to either of the two parties of the day. There is little doubt about the motives of this privileged class in the times of Henry VIII., and perhaps even in 1307 there might be expectants for allotments like Covent Garden or Woburn; but, on the whole, it is quite as charitable, and little less reasonable, to attribute their conduct to an acquiescence in the ordinances of the king and the pope, a horror of the crime of heresy, and a little jealousy of the haughtiest soldiery of the age.

The conduct of the clergy is not surprising. In the eyes both of seculars and regulars the Order of the Temple must have been obnoxious and intrusive. The former saw its most sacred privilege invaded by the assumptions of the superior Templars, who claimed the power, whether laymen or priests, of confessing and absolving all within their order, and even of relaxing at their pleasure the penance which a secular priest had imposed. This right rested on a papal bull, and its existence was adroitly made one of the articles of inquiry which was specially urged, for it was a fact which no witness could altogether deny, and its admission enlisted on the side of the inquisition the great body of the clergy. The Templars, too, were a species of regulars, and between such and the seculars there has always, from the days of St. Dunstan downwards, existed a certain unhappy jealousy. In the sixteenth century it is traceable between the bishops and abbots up to the last hour, and will give, perhaps, the best explanation of that strange feeling which, during the debates on the monastic foundations, was evidently at work in the breasts of prelates who were opposed generally to the reformation, and staunch supporters

otherwise of the former system. There were abundant reasons, too, why the regular, and especially the Dominican, should regard the Templar with suspicion. He had stolen their sanctity, and whatever of impressiveness their vows threw around them, without the corresponding penalty of self-denial and seclusion. Yet the Mendicant orders were at first the stanch allies of the Templars, insomuch that they are said to have been in the habit of soliciting legacies for the order, on those occasions which their profession so frequently afforded. Michelet mentions, as a cause for the altered feelings of the Dominicans, the rise of a rival class in their own order, *I Cavalieri gaudente*[4]; but there is little need to look to any such insignificant source of enmity or ill-blood. The Dominicans were the sworn and unscrupulous servants of the Romish see, the natural enemies of mysticism in any form; and when the charge was heresy, and the prosecutor the pope, it mattered little who was the prisoner. The head of their order was Philippe's confessor, and inquisitor-general in France. Throughout the whole of the examinations in England, *inquisitors* are specially mentioned as assessors to the legitimately-appointed judges, the nature of the charges rendering it necessary that their attendance should be given. Very many of the witnesses, too, were of this order and that of the Friars Minors. But, eagerly as they prosecuted their task, we may fairly infer from their conduct a *dis*proof of the principal accusation against the order. Had the tenets of the Templars been systematically heretical, the process against them would never have been dictated at last by the penury of the French king. The jealousy of the secular prelates, and the practised keenness of the Dominicans,

[4] It is scarcely likely, we think, that this order could have operated in any way prejudicially to the Templars. Probably many of our readers have never heard of its name, and for their benefit we subjoin a short account of what was certainly a curious society. It was connected in its origin with that of the Dominicans, arising towards the early part of the thirteenth century in Languedoc, and consisting of knights who were crusaders against the Albigenses. It spread from Languedoc into Italy, where it found a ready reception amongst the turbulent Italian states. It was confirmed by Urban IV., and soon acquired the name of *La Cavalleria gaudente*. This title arose from a kind of *soubriquet* given the knights by the common people, who, observing their easy and fortunate manner of living, called them *I Cavalieri gaudente*. They were to be well born, and of decent property and substance; they might be married, and their wives formed another branch of the order. They wore the ordinary insignia of mantle and cross, the latter being a cross pattée with a star in each of the upper centres. They never obtained much notoriety, as Michelet admits, and a Dominican could hardly have troubled himself to advance such a class of his order. Any reader who has curiosity enough to enquire further into their history will find two quarto volumes written by Federici, a Dominican, and printed at Venice in 1787, which detail in most cumbrous Italian all particulars relating to them, including a biographical sketch of the grand masters and the blazonry of their arms. The last of these heroes is *Luigi de' Scotti*, a patrician of Treviso, whose arms show a clear affinity with those of Sir Walter's house, viz., *azure*, a bend *argent*, between two mullets *or*.

would long ago have detected it, and neither could be expected to lose so favourable an opportunity of displaying their own sagacity and orthodoxy at the expense of a suspected rival.

In connexion with these transactions, particular notice is due to the interference of another society, the University of Paris. It was at this precise period that the bounty of pious Christians began to be in part transferred from those monastic establishments, which were already numerous and wealthy, to the endowment of other foundations, originally little less religious, and then more immediately serviceable to the altered condition of the community. In the fourteenth century twenty-two colleges were founded in Paris, five at Cambridge, and four at Oxford; and so strongly did the tide set into this new channel of piety and munificence, that in our own country, during the century succeeding, the less bountiful practice obtained of converting to such attractive uses the property already appropriated to conventual uses; oftentimes, certainly, under the auspices of noble and glorious prelates, sincerely eager in a work of such fair prospect and goodly promise, or anxious to save for the Church, under some shape or form, her lands, which would otherwise have been utterly secularized and confiscated; but sometimes at the instance of more worldly and scheming men, who treated priories like palimpsests, sacrificing an ancient and unappreciated foundation to the fashionable work of the day, and earning the honoured name of Founder at the expense of a more rightful claimant, and without any pains or charity of their own. Of the great extent to which this system was carried by Wolsey, no Oxford reader can be forgetful. Whether the cardinal overlooked the momentous account to which his precedents would probably be turned, or whether his sagacity descried the future storm which he purposed to direct and adapt to his own designs, are points we shall not here discuss, but which we may possibly revert to on another occasion. The natural result of this spirit was the rapid erection of the universities into tribunals of great consideration and influence, especially in cases determinable by theologians and canonists, till they formed a kind of standing synods, whose decrees were almost of equal weight with those of provincial councils. From this date commence the theological censures of Oxford, which were so frequently called into operation in the course of the century. Wiclif had good reason for including in his objects of denunciation both universities and degrees. But of all universities that of Paris was the most famous and most powerful. Even before this period its celebrated faculty of theology had been associated with the bishops of Paris in the condemnation of heretical errors, and just now its increased strength and conse-

quence had enabled it to exercise its judicial and censorial powers independently of episcopal superintendence. The vital importance of such an ally as this, always at hand, and always ready for service, did not escape the penetrating eye of Philippe-le-Bel. He caressed this rather turbulent republic of science, augmented its privileges, and deferred to its opinions; and when Clement, like Wolsey, was ambitious of founding a rival university, and proposed to raise the schools of Orleans into a society able to compete with the metropolitan body, he interposed his royal veto, and nipped the obnoxious scheme in the bud. It will readily be imagined, then, that the masters and scholars of the university of Paris were prompt enough to repay past favours, and to deserve fresh ones, by ranging themselves on the side of Philippe against an order with which they had but little sympathy. Already before this they had steadily supported the king in all his measures of extortion against the clergy; and, although always favourites with the papal court, they had stood up so steadily for Philippe in his quarrel with Boniface, that they had incurred the penalty of an interdict, and retained their boldness and loyalty even under such a sentence. But in the present case they had nothing to fear from compliance, and every thing to hope; they obliged, by one and the same act, the two courts in whose dispositions they were most powerfully interested, and they confirmed their own reputation and influence by appearing in the character of referees and counsellors in so important a cause.

We have said little yet on the general feelings and conduct of the people observable in these proceedings. The affair could not in any way be withdrawn from their notice. The sudden seizure of the Templars in itself was sufficient to fix their attention on the examinations and their result, besides the universal interest created through the innumerable retainers of the order in every class of society. But until the gallant bearing and cruel fate of the captives had suggested more generous sentiments of admiration and pity, the feelings of hostility and horror were every where predominant among the people, and naturally so too. Between the Templar and the cottager there was no interchange of kindly offices, none of that every-day intercourse which so endeared the monk to many of his countrymen, as to produce the insurrections of 1537. The duties of the Templar, however religiously performed, were of a character and in a sphere beyond the comprehension of the vulgar, who saw but detachments of soldier-monks in their guarded preceptories, too often changing to leave much room for the formation of individual attachments, and presenting only high birth and haughty carriage as the generic

peculiarities of the order. Michelet considers the niggardly almsgiving at the wealthy Temple-houses as one of the chief causes of the people's disaffection towards the brotherhood; quoting as authority the statement of a Scottish witness, who deposed that the charity and hospitality of the Temple were bestowed in fear, and not in love; and on the rich and powerful only, and not on the poor. But throughout the whole voluminous evidence extant, this is the only deposition to any such effect; and if its assertions were true, it is hardly probable that the Grand-master, in his defence, should have selected this very point of bountiful almsgiving as one of the three on which he was willing to rest the character of the order, and as one, too, which formed a serious difficulty in the way of a union between the Temple and the Hospital, since the acknowledged generosity of the former would suit but ill with the parsimony of the latter. There is no need of referring to any such cause. The very word "heresy" was enough to rouse the startled simplicity of the people, particularly when urged by the friars, who, as we have seen, were set purposely to address them on the subject. But the circumstance which of all others gave the greatest occasion to popular alarm, was the secrecy in which the proceedings of the Templars were so notoriously enveloped; the closed and guarded gates, the nocturnal chapters, the clandestine receptions. This fact made one of the articles against the prisoners, and an interrogatory followed, as to whether a general suspicion had not been the consequence. It was impossible to deny it. Even independent witnesses, who exculpated the order on every other charge, were compelled to confess that they suspected what they could not ascertain; and a Great-prior candidly declared, that the throwing open of their chapter was the only reform the order needed. The *ignotum*, in this case, was worse than *magnificum;* it was all that the imagination could conceive of the horrible, including blasphemy, idolatry, and murder. When they assembled at night in the chapel of their preceptories, strange lights vanished and appeared, hideous and unearthly shrieks of laughter were heard, and phantoms of foul animals were said to rise to receive adoration and worship. One dark and shapeless rumour stated, that while holding a chapter, *they always lost one of their number!* no remarks were made amongst the brethren upon his disappearance; even conjecture never suggested an explanation of so frightful a mystery; but a serving-brother said that he had counted the knights and chaplains as they entered the chapter-house, and when they came out their number was always less by *one!* Instant death was said to be the inevitable lot of any one who should unintentionally witness their secrets. Even the

higher classes, the friends and relatives of the knights, were not exempt from these terrible impressions. Strange reports were abroad of dungeons in the Temple-houses, into which the refractory or the conscience-struck of the brethren were said to be thrown. One witness deposed with the utmost *naïveté*, and probable sincerity of feeling, that "his uncle had entered the order all gallant and gay, with his hawks and his hounds, and that three days afterwards he was dead!" (*sanus et hilaris cum avibus et canibus, et tertio die mortuus est.*) Even that remarkable charge,—that charge of all the most instantaneously effective in exciting to frenzy the women, and therefore the men, of any country; that charge which, from the Christians of Carthage to the cavaliers of Prince Rupert, both inclusive, has ever been brought against the objects of popular hate; that charge common alike to ghouls, Jews, ogres, Moors, astronomers, Irishmen, and anatomists;—the charge of killing and eating children, was levelled at the unfortunate Templars. Additional suspicion arose from the circumstance, that the head-quarters of the order were always in the East. Wild stories were brought home of doings in that distant land, of disobedient members sent out thither, of strange doctrines and discipline there prevailing beyond the reach of law or knowledge; much like the tales told some sixty years ago of our regiments on Indian stations. In the examinations, great efforts were made by the inquisitors to connect the practice of the home-chapters with that said to obtain *in partibus transmarinis*. It should be added here, that several of the witnesses confess to have heard of these definite rumours only *since* the commencement of the process. We have now said enough, we presume, on the various heads of the subject; and with a very few words more on the hero of the tale, King Philippe-le-Bel, our article shall be brought to an end.

It is not easy to say whether any complication of motives may not have actuated this monarch in his attack upon the Temple; and his principal and unquestionable motive is so entirely sufficient, that it may be thought superfluous to inquire much further. Yet other inducements, of considerably less power, and a little more decency, were not wanting. The expulsion of the Latins from Palestine, sixteen years previous, may have been regarded as probably suggesting, or even necessarily involving, the return of the Templars to Europe. It was certainly rumoured at the time that they had such a scheme in contemplation; and the anxiety of any sovereign would be naturally excited at the prospect of such a wealthy, warlike, and independent society settled in his kingdom. Michelet thinks that the order was not only dangerous, but that it had been long useless and obsolete in the eyes of

an enlightened world; and that, in fact, the crusade itself was burnt at the stake in the persons of the Templars. But we incline to doubt the justice of assigning such sentiments to so early an age as the commencement of the fourteenth century, and to believe rather that this writer has anticipated the feelings of a later generation. Avowedly, at all events, there was no trace of any such new opinions, nor any open relaxation of zeal. The council of Vienne itself, as was before remarked, commenced its session with an exhortation to the crusade; and perhaps a more undeniable indication of its sincerity was given by its assignment of the Temple property to the Hospitallers, as the fittest executors of the original trust. Had the public feeling been very strong against the appropriation of treasure and lands to such antiquated purposes, the Knights of St. John would hardly have been able so successfully to defeat the assaults which they, in their turn, had presently to sustain. More than a century after this, our fifth Henry, with his dying voice, interrupted the attendant priest, at the words of the Psalm, "Benigne fac, Domine, ut ædificentur muri Jerusalem;" and expired, declaring that it had always been his cherished intention to recover the Holy City. There is much in the conqueror of Agincourt to make us believe in the sincerity of his purpose, if not in the effectiveness of his power.

It may be a question how far any vindictive motives were influential with Philippe. A few instances have already been mentioned in which the Templars had certainly thwarted and offended him, and his memory was very probably retentive on such points; though what would be the strongest evidence to such a disposition, —his persecution of Boniface,—is materially invalidated by the circumstance, that in this process lay his strongest hold upon the court of Rome. Sismondi is inclined to attribute a considerable share of the catastrophe to the opposition which the Templars offered in his affair with Boniface (*seuls dans le clergé français avaient préféré l'autorité de l'Eglise à celle du roi*). But though they added protests to their signatures, yet they gave them, and their resistance was but insignificant compared to that which they might have offered. They acted, indeed, very much the part which the religious orders in England took in the matter of Queen Katherine's divorce. They suspected the dealings of the king, and were not sufficiently inclined to depreciate the authority of the pope; they did not admire the business, and perhaps expressed their disapproval of it; but they committed no acts of overt disloyalty, nor even evinced any such symptoms of constitutional disaffection as could either have prompted or justified such an act as their suppression, had no more influential considerations suggested its expediency. The reader will be struck with

one very characteristic and material difference between the acts of Philippe and Henry; or rather between the methods of proceeding which the times rendered necessary. Philippe's first attack was on the principles of the institution: he first proved (by some method or other) such charges against the order as inevitably secured its abolition. It was not until the voice of the Church had pronounced the brotherhood extinct, and forbidden any one in future to assume the name, habit, or vows of a Templar, that the spoiler stepped into the desolate inheritance. But in England the fundamental principles of monachism were left uncondemned. The session which gave Henry the lands of the suppressed houses passed also the act of the Six Articles. No one thought of asserting that the Carthusians disbelieved in the sacraments of the Church, or that the life of the Austin canons was hateful to God. It was not on such pleas that the commissioners swept away their spoil.

> Grandia templi
> Pocula, adorandæ robiginis, aut populorum
> Dona, vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.

The ancient gifts of founders were seized by men who solemnly put forth their decision, that private masses were good after the law of God, and that it consisted well with the due order of charity to pray for souls departed, and to make others pray for them in masses and exsequies, and to give alms to them for that end. Monk and nun were turned adrift upon the world, after a life of enfeebling seclusion, by those who had determined that to observe vows of chastity was a bounden duty, and that celibacy was necessary to all who entered on the service of God. And to what objects were these spoils applied?

In making these remarks, we leave untouched the question of conventual foundations. They may be beneficial or detrimental to a country; their destruction may be a serious infliction on us, or a great blessing gained, and one to be heartily rejoiced over, however we may disapprove of the means. We have considered the facts simply as they appear in history; and if the suppressed establishments had been sugar-manufactories or lunatic asylums, our conclusion from the premises would have been the same.

Though Henry the VIIIth was the first king for more than a century who ascended the throne with an undisputed title, yet it may be doubted whether his reign, on the whole, was not attended with as much misery and suffering as that of Edward IV.; and certainly the cold-blooded cruelty of the law arouses our indignation far more forcibly than the murderous madness which seems but an inevitable accompaniment of civil war. Yet we are not

intending to visit all the misdeeds of these forty years on the head of Henry. His position may in this particular be contrasted with Philippe's, that his councillors were his advisers, whereas those of the French monarch were merely his agents. Few of the broad and sweeping enactments of this eventful reign can be satisfactorily traced, or with probability imputed, to any privately formed scheme of Henry. The results of the royal reflections were seen not in parliament, but on Tower Hill. That long and dark list of victims, showing that neither the most unobtrusive virtue, nor the most congenial vice, could be weighed in King Henry's mind against the lust for blood, is the true monument of his unassisted genius. And yet, notwithstanding a series of acts unparalleled in the annals of any European kingdom, it is most unquestionable that the perpetrator's memory has been defrauded of the corresponding meed of universal reprobation. Sir James Mackintosh [5], it is true, has pointed a most quaint and killing period at him; but other writers have either related his acts with indifference, or even with exculpatory observations. And apart from the severer censure of history, the fact that he was not only regarded with unindignant, or even admiring eyes, by those very crowds who saw Bishop Fisher's head on London Bridge or listened to the frightful butchery of Margaret Pole, but that he lived in the mouths of succeeding generations as a frank and jovial monarch, of pleasant memory, is so indisputable, as to extort from the reflective mind of Mr. Hallam some suggestions explanatory of such a singular anomaly. But though his ingenious apologist has detected a vice which he did *not* possess—dissimulation; though he humbled France and held the balance of European power, yet more compensatory evidence is looked for by some reasonable inquirers. The truth is, that it is extremely difficult to attach any moral responsibility to one who appears to have been so utterly unconscious of it himself. We cannot contemplate murder and robbery apart from the homicide and the felon. No reader ever throws down his book in disgust at the revolting character of Bluebeard; few experience any personal abhorrence at the Emperor of Morocco, though his courtyard is ornamented with pyramids of human heads, freshly furnished every day. History is unfortunately nowise deficient in examples of graduated barbarity to suit any conceivable occasion; but its moral would be lost and its occupation gone if it could not also generally exhibit the temporal wages of sin. Even Caligula used to wander through the measureless and hollow-sounding corridors of the palace, followed by gibbering phantoms, and

[5] See the end of Chap. vii. vol. ii. of his History of England.

eagerly praying for the dawn. Even Nero started at the unearthly trumpet which sounded nightly over the grave of his murdered mother. Even Charles the IXth saw bloody streaks in the sky, and heard strange noises on the leads of the Louvre. But no remorse ever disturbed the rest or affected the dreams of Henry. No occasional misgiving that he was *not* the best king, the most faithful Catholic, the truest friend, and the most loving husband in Christendom ever crossed the royal mind. Wife after wife, friend after friend, counsellor after counsellor, perished by the axe of his slaves, but no troublesome spectres stalked through the groves of Richmond, or marred the tiltings at Greenwich. At last, his own familiar friend is condemned; but no blood-boltered Cromwell rises at the council-board, or shakes his gory locks in St. George's Hall. The unconscious monarch continues his murders and his marriages, troubled by nothing but the gout, and lamenting nothing but his poverty, and dies at last committing his soul to the Blessed Virgin with as much confidence and complacency as if he had lived the life of François Xavier. When we include in our recollections of this man the facts that he was destined for the archbishopric of Canterbury, that he gravely discussed theological questions, propounded and defended theses on divinity, and earnestly and vehemently disputed on serious points of religion; it is enough to confuse the gravity of our reason and judgment, and to give to the whole of his reign and actions the air of a grotesque and barbarous pantomime.

The gracile and beautiful figure of Philippe cannot be more strongly contrasted with the well-known representations of Harry Tudor, than can his character when living, and memory when dead, with the disposition and repute of the first Defender of the Faith. No exemption can be claimed for the French monarch on the score of unthoughtfulness or innocence, nor can any blame be shifted from his shoulders to those of his privy council. Philippe was always his own adviser, generally his own agent. Where Henry would have despatched his cardinal, or employed his vicegerent, Philippe proceeded in person, and acted himself. His presence is recorded at Courtrai and at Vienne; at all the battles and all the councils of his reign. He was not naturally bloodthirsty, but, like many respectable characters, would avoid, if he could, adding murder to robbery. If the Templars had given him the required admission into their body, he would speedily have appeared as Grand-master, and achieved all his ends quietly; and the order might have remained to have given Voltaire a subject for an essay, or to have defended the Temple against the forces of the faubourgs. Even De Molay was sacrificed only

to his own obstinate integrity; nor was Boniface kidnapped till after repeated attempts to bring him to tractable obedience. Though not deficient in personal courage, Philippe had no love for war; he would fight if he could not aggrandize his possessions by any other means; but he preferred cheating, or forgery, or usury, and generally made trial of them first. He treated his servants, on the whole, better than Henry did. It is true, he did not distribute Temple-lands among them, nor did he make them a grant of the lead and bells of half the churches of his kingdom, but he spoke civilly to them, paid them decently, and did not kill them. Henry, however, was, at all events, liberal, magnificent, and royal. If he seized with one hand, he spent with the other. He was noble enough even to gamble; and if he did steal the bells of a priory, yet he staked them on a single throw, and paid handsomely when he lost them. The convent which he condemned before breakfast, he gave most regally to the cook at dinner-time. He was as ignorant of his accounts or his estates as the most polished gentleman of a later school. He first spent all his patrimony (about 16,000,000*l.* of our money in three years), and then all he could get from parliament; when that was gone, he seized whatever was pointed out to him. It cannot be denied that he ran through a considerable fortune; but six marriages cannot be solemnized for nothing, and his general expenses must have been heavy. But Philippe could offer no such reasonable explanations to his creditors or his victims. He had no Field of cloth of gold to show. He gave no feasts nor dances. He cared no more for dress than Louis XI.; no more for pomp than General Washington[1]. He was utterly insensible to the ordinary allurements of pleasure; he was never profuse to others, nor indulgent to himself. He was staid and regular in his habits, and has not left the slightest record of any private expense. Every twenty-five days he balanced accounts with his chancellor of exchequer; he always went through them at once, and acquainted himself precisely with the particulars of his own insolvency. We have seen, in the course of this narrative, the pains which the royal bankrupt took to relieve himself from his embarrassments; but nothing seemed to enrich him, or to do him any good. Like an ill-conditioned animal, he was always craving and swallowing, yet always gaunt, needy, and impoverished. He robbed without mercy, and spent without show.

This interesting prince was educated by a Dominican, Egidio Colonna, who compiled for his use the treatise *De Regimine*

[1] Early in his reign he interdicted all tournaments under pain of arrest to those attending them.

Principum[2], in which may be traced some of the principles which the royal disciple put afterwards in practice. His designs were so cramped by his embarrassments, and so many of his acts were the compulsory results of his necessities, that it is not easy to discover at once what would have been the unbiassed tenor of his way. He seems to have been naturally an amiable, enlightened, atheistical monarch; a kind of early Frederick, with no decided conviction in favour of any religion, but with a leaning towards heresy and Judaism. The earliest acts of his reign were to exclude all ecclesiastics from the administration of justice, to put a high legacy-duty on all bequests to the Church, and to exempt Jews and heretics from spiritual authority or jurisdiction. But in 1298, when he was anxious for the support of his clergy against Boniface, he augmented their powers; he ordered all the royal and secular courts to deliver up heretics to the episcopal officers, and even took away from the prisoners the right of appeal. What he did with the Jews under his protection, the reader recollects. At first he attacked violently the privileges of the nobles; when they had been beaten so terribly at Courtrai, he seized half their silver plate throughout the kingdom for his mint; but afterwards, (while prosecuting the Templars) he restored them their seignorial rights—their rights of chase, their wager of battle, and all that they asked for. In 1287 he permitted them to follow their fugitive serfs even into the boroughs; in 1311 (after the council of Vienne) he seems inclined to abolish villainage altogether. His favourite ministers were bankers and moneyers, of whose professional assistance he availed himself in managing the coinage of his realm. So paltry and miserable had this at last become from incessant adulterations, that he had it proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, throughout Paris, that "his coin was as good as St. Louis's!" But even this official information was disregarded; and it was at last forbidden for any one to weigh or assay the king's coin under pain of death. It was, indeed, a difficult task to keep a body of costly mercenaries without army estimates, and an enormous police without county rates; but it was little consolation to a man in prison to know that his property was absolutely required to pay the man who arrested him. At last, Philippe, having

[2] In the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, is preserved a most beautiful contemporary MS. of this work. It is written in exquisite characters on the finest vellum, and might have even been finished for the royal use, as the margin of every page is profusely ornamented with the fleurs-de-lys of France dimidiated, alternately in gold and azure. Its title-page is superbly illuminated in colours, and bears a coeval coat of arms introduced into the ornaments—quarterly *gules* and *azure*, in each a lion passant gardant *or;* on a chief indented *argent* three pellets.

conquered all his other opponents, by the aid of his barons, turned against his allies. The grand seigneurs of his kingdom revolted against him, but just at this crisis he died. It was within a year from the execution of De Molay. The event was attributed by some to a fall from his horse, but a contemporary historian asserts that the king began to pine away in the flower of his age, without any fever or visible ailment, till at last, in his forty-sixth year, he went to his account. "*Se crut-il*," says Michelet, "*se crut-il secrètement frappé par la malédiction de Boniface ou du grand maître?*" The decision of this, and of other questions raised in these pages, we leave to our readers.

Archdeacon Manning

Art. II.—1. *An Act for carrying into effect the Reports of the Commissioners appointed to consider the state of the Established Church in England and Wales, with reference to Ecclesiastical Duties, Revenue, and Patronage. 6th and 7th William IV.*

2. *Proceedings at a Meeting of the Clergy and Laity specially called by His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, 27th of April, 1841, for the purpose of raising a Fund towards the Endowment of Additional Colonial Bishoprics.*

3. *Debate on the Motion of Earl Powis for the Second Reading of a Bill to prevent the Union of the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor.*

The two first documents at the head of this article present us with a remarkable contrast: the former being a statute by which it was enacted that the oversight of a resident bishop should be withdrawn from two ancient sees of the British Church; the latter, the report of a meeting at which his Grace the Primate declared the purpose of the Church of England to multiply her bishoprics throughout the Colonial empire of Great Britain. They indicate also two distinct epochs of public feeling both within and towards the Church.

The temper of the public mind on all ecclesiastical subjects, for five or six years after the change of political parties in 1830, is too fresh in the recollection of all to need any recital. A highly excited opposition against the Church existed at that time. People were goaded on by political and sectarian partizans, exasperated by the wildest exaggerations of our alleged enormous wealth, and equally enormous abuses. It was a time when our

bishops could hardly venture themselves in public places; when the very tokens of their order were a signal for contumely; when the Episcopal order, even in the High Court of Parliament, and by the first minister of the Crown, with tones of admonition nearly akin to menace, were bid to "set their house in order." No easy task in the calmest season: most difficult at a moment when the heated and unreasonable outcries of an opposing party were ready to open upon any scheme which in reforming the Church would restore its efficiency and power. The more truly wise the measures for purifying and strengthening the Church might be, so much the less palatable would they be to those who most loudly clamoured against her excesses and defects. It was at such a time that the Commissioners, appointed by his late Majesty, addressed themselves to consider in what way the Episcopal superintendence and control might be better distributed, and thereby more efficiently exerted. Whatever may be our own judgment at this time, it is not to be wondered at that, at such a moment, they did not propose for the Church at home the measure which has been since propounded for the Church abroad. The problems are not really *in pari materiâ*. The religious condition of our Colonies, the state of society in our distant possessions, the absence there of many difficult collateral considerations which surround the formation of new Sees in an old country such as ours, will readily explain how minds the most discreet and most devoted to the welfare of the Church, may move with decision and boldness now in applying to the Church abroad a principle which they hesitated then to propound for the Church at home. It is no simple or easy task to introduce new impulses, and to form new centres of action in an old and complex system; to adjust them to the manifold relations of existing institutions. An evident necessity will be required by wise rulers before they make organic changes. The founding of an additional See in such a state of society as ours at home, touches upon and awakens a host of feelings, good and bad; it stirs a depth which must be sounded to the bottom, if it is ever to be stilled again. Prejudice, jealousies, fears, and consequent opposition, must be expected from political and religious antagonists. It is a decided step; and, like all decided steps, will inevitably produce decided consequences. A multiplication of Sees in England would produce no negative effect upon the public state of the country. All these things being considered, it may be said that, perhaps, the only course practicable or safe for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, by reason of the then "present distress," was to recommend a scheme (may it not be called a provisional scheme?) by which the burden of the Episcopal office

might be more equally distributed without increasing the number of our Bishops.

But another epoch has now happily set in, and with it has come the multiplication of the English Episcopate abroad; a prelude, it may be hoped, to a multiplication of Sees for our vast and growing population at home.

Accepting this happy omen, let us now proceed to consider shortly the recommendations on which the act of parliament, 7 William IV., is founded, as it bears upon the union of the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor, and the question of multiplying the bishoprics of the English Church.

It is needless to recount the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and the general objects to which its attention was directed. These can be unknown to nobody. We will pass, therefore, to such parts of the first Report made to his late Majesty in the year 1835, as relate to the question before us. The Commissioners there state as follows:—

"Although various circumstances render it impossible to establish a perfect equality of dioceses, we are of opinion that the disparity which now exists between them will admit of considerable diminution.

"The extent of episcopal duties, while it increases in some degree with the population, is also materially affected by the number and distance of benefices within each diocese. It is not therefore to population alone that we deem it right to look on the present occasion. Attention must likewise be paid to other local circumstances.

"We are not prepared to recommend any increase in the total number of episcopal sees; but we are of opinion, that by the union of certain existing bishoprics, of which the combined duties will not be too onerous for a single bishop, by the erection of two new sees in the province of York, and by the transfer in some cases of a district from one diocese to another, an arrangement may be made for the general performance of episcopal duties more satisfactory than that which at present exists[1]."

In the body of the Report we find the following recommendations:—

"That two new sees shall be erected in the province of York, one at Manchester, and the other at Ripon.

"That the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor shall be united.

"That the sees of Llandaff and Bristol shall be united[2]."

The publication of this Report was immediately followed by earnest protests and deprecations from the clergy and the laity of the dioceses which were thus to be deprived of the undivided care of a resident bishop. Objections of so strong a nature were

[1] First Report, fol. 1. [2] Ibid. fol. 2.

shown, that the Commissioners were induced to reconsider their recommendation, and in their second Report to lay it before his Majesty in another form.

In the second Report the Commissioners say—

"Objections have been made to two of the propositions submitted by us to your Majesty under this head; viz., to the union of the dioceses of Llandaff and Bristol, &c.

"With respect to the former of these propositions; when the union of the sees of Llandaff and Bristol was recommended, we were not insensible to the inconvenience attending that union; and the representations which have since been made to us against it have operated so strongly in our minds, as to induce us, on reconsideration, to relinquish that plan. We now recommend that the city and suburbs of Bristol should be united to the diocese of Bath and Wells[3]."

But this recommendation was met by the same objections as the former, and the Commissioners in their third Report again remodelled it.

The words of the third Report are as follow:—

"When we recommended the union of the sees of Llandaff and Bristol, we were influenced chiefly by a desire to retain for the city of Bristol its ecclesiastical character; and to secure to it the advantage of a bishop resident upon the spot, or at no great distance from it. In consequence of the urgent remonstrances which were made against this arrangement by the clergy and other persons in the diocese of Llandaff, on the ground that it would deprive them of the benefits which they derive from the residence and personal superintendence of their bishop, we were induced to relinquish that plan; and in our second Report we recommended that the city and suburbs of Bristol, being within a convenient distance of the city of Wells, where the Bishop of Bath and Wells resides, should be united to that diocese.

"We have since learned that this proposition has occasioned much dissatisfaction to the inhabitants of the city of Bristol, who have represented, in strong terms, their objections to a plan which would merge their episcopal see in that of Bath and Wells; and their earnest desire to retain the advantages of the pastoral superintendence and example of a bishop resident among them.

"Being desirous of consulting, as far as may be consistent with the general principles of our Reports, feelings which are not less honourable to the citizens of Bristol than encouraging to the friends of the Established Church, we have been induced to recur to the suggestion which we adverted to in our first Report: we accordingly recommend that the city and deanery of Bristol (with the whole parish of Bedminster) should be united to the diocese of Gloucester; and that a house should be

[3] Second Report, fol. 1.

provided in some convenient situation near the city of Bristol, so that the bishop of the united diocese may reside alternately there and at Gloucester[4]."

In the year 1836 the bill cited at the head of this article was introduced, to carry these recommendations into effect. Not long after, on the voidance of the Bishopric of Bristol, it was united with Gloucester, and the diocese of Ripon was formed.

And here we cannot refrain from expressing our sorrow at the withdrawal of the presence and care of a resident bishop from the city of Bristol. Let any one go and take his stand in the south porch of St. Mary Redcliffe's church, the finest parish church in England, and look down upon the dense blackening mass of houses crowded together on each side of the river Avon. He will see a few noble towers reared in better days; the Temple and the churches of St. Werburgh and St. Stephen, looking mournfully down on the thronging moiling population which never rests below. They stand like towers overtaken by a flood: a vast town has formed itself all round them, and hemmed them in. Far and wide as you can see are the temples of the god of this world. Woollen manufactories, glass-houses, vast chimneys of brick, wharfs, warehouses, quays bristling with masts, all that betokens a lifelong and slavish worship of mammon: few and rare are the witnesses of a world unseen: throughout the newer parts of the city this world has almost undisputed sway. In that wilderness of dwellings there is a population of 103,886 souls; and out of that population, in 1831, burst an eruption of the most frightful and fiendish uproar. For three or four long days the city was given over to be scourged by the evil which it had cherished in secret. Plunder, bloodshed, and flames, ruled supreme. The city was baptized in fire and in blood. Many were cut down in the streets: throngs of living men, drunk with wine, were burnt in vaults and cellars; the number of the dead has never been told; the very inhabitants of the city can only guess at it. All the elements of a like outbreak still lie slumbering side by side; every form of municipal, political, religious strife is there in full sway; every allurement to grosser vice, as in a city which is half a manufacturing and half a sea-port town, is there to be seen abroad. And from such a population as this the oversight of a spiritual father has been withdrawn. Bristol was a simple town of a few thousand people, when our forefathers deemed it of magnitude and moment enough to entrust it to the charge of a resident bishop. It has now a population of more than 100,000 (not to speak of the *diocese*), and is preyed upon by spiritual evils hardly to be equalled in

[4] Third Report, fol. 1, 2.

Christendom. If this be not argument enough against the withdrawal of a resident bishop's care, let any one go from the porch of St. Mary Redcliffe's church through the careworn and downcast looking population, and at the south-west corner of the cathedral he will see a sight which warns the Church of Christ in England with a terrible admonition to restore without delay the spiritual powers of the apostolic office to that vacant throne. If he still need a reason why, with all due speed a bishop should be consecrated, who in toil and patience, in watchings and fastings, and with all the signs of an apostle, should live and die for the city of Bristol, let him go and stand in the ruins of the episcopal palace which in those same riots was burnt by the mob. Thus much we could not refrain from saying by the way.

Let us now return to the Report. It had been recommended in the second Report that the Bishopric of Sodor and Man should be merged in the diocese of Carlisle; but this recommendation, though it had passed into a law, was rescinded by parliament at the instant and unanimous petition of the Church [5].

The dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor continue still in their integrity; but the provision for their ultimate union has been already for six years recorded in the statute book. For six years Manchester has waited for the benefit of a resident bishop.

Most earnestly is it to be desired that the still imperfect purpose of uniting these two ancient sees may not be fulfilled. There is enough to absorb all, and more than all, the toil and care of a bishop in either of them severally. In Bangor there are 124 benefices, and a population of 153,344 [6], extending over about 1129 square miles. In St. Asaph 131 benefices, and a population of 197,392 [7], extending over 1886 square miles. Do not these dioceses each one severally demand the undivided care and devotion of a resident bishop? On what view of the Episcopal office can it be said that "the combined duties will not be too onerous for a single bishop?" Surely the merely mechanical and secular functions of the office are more than can ever be beneficial to the mind of the pastor that is charged with them. Surely it is onerous that one man shall be required henceforward to watch over and foster two dioceses equally well with two bishops, one resident, as hitherto, in each. It is truly onerous that a resident bishop's care should be exacted of him in two places at once; and this, in fact, is what is required, unless the benefits hitherto enjoyed by Bangor and St. Asaph are to be henceforward reduced by deducting one-half from each. We confess that we are not

[5] Second Report, p. 47. Oct.
[6] First Report, p. 13. N.B. The census of 1831.
[7] Ibid.

conciliated towards this form of plurality in bishoprics, when we remember what is said to be the origin of it. Dupin tells us that the practice of one bishop holding two sees began in the 10th century, and treats it as a violation of discipline[8]. Inett says it "would have been thought an unpardonable irregularity among the ancients." He says it began with the monastic clergy; and that the first instance in the English Church is St. Dunstan, who held at once the sees of Worcester and London[9]. We do not feel that the contiguity of dioceses, or the reduction of the united revenues, is a sufficient extenuation. A plurality which can be avoided is not to be excused, especially in the highest and most prominent form, *i. e.* in Bishoprics. Bath and Wells, which were united about the same period, we would also desire to see severed again.

It is very earnestly to be hoped that the proposed union of St. Asaph and Bangor may still never be accomplished. The clergy and laity of these dioceses, almost to a man, with an unanimity which is not to be found on any other specific question, urgently deprecate the virtual extinction of their respective sees. The clergy of the English dioceses, with an unanimity not at all less, and with an equal earnestness, have petitioned for the repeal of this enactment.

In the first Report the Commissioners observe, that they had need to regard other points besides that of population. There must of course be local considerations, such as the extent of the area, the face of the county, the facilities of communication, and the like. Now what can be more truly onerous than to impose on one bishop the oversight of six counties, *i. e.* the whole of North Wales, an area of more than 3000 square miles, the most mountainous and difficult in its communication in Great Britain?

Again, another "local circumstance" must necessarily be the religious state of the population. And here again is a pointed objection to the proposed union. The Bishop of St. David's in his late Charge speaks thus—"I wish simply to direct your attention to a few notorious facts. The foremost among them is this, that within a century past, a large part of the population of this diocese has been alienated from our communion, and is still in a state of separation from it[1]." This is not confined to the diocese of St. David's. On the contrary, dissent is miserably prevalent in North no less than South Wales. Let any one only travel from Chester to Carnarvon, and he will

[8] Dupin, Eccl. Hist. Cent. x. vol. ii. pp. 158. 191. fol.
[9] Inett's History of the English Church, vol. i. p. 340.
[1] Charge of the Lord Bishop of St. David's, p. 3.

see dissenting meetings and school-houses thick set on each side of the road. The whole of the lower population is, in fact, drawn away from the Church. The population of North Wales is about 396,234, and the number of meeting-houses is given at 187: while in the diocese of Chichester, with a population of about 300,000, the number of meeting-houses is stated to be about 422[2]; many of these, it is said, are declining, and some wholly shut up.

But it is not necessary to argue this point more at length; for it cannot be for a moment supposed that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had recourse to the expedient of uniting these Sees as a measure desirable in itself, but as one that seemed inevitable, as had been said, "by reason of the present distress." It was plainly and peremptorily necessary that Manchester should be erected into a see; but it was not, therefore, thought that the needs of Bangor and St. Asaph were diminished. The true cause was, it would appear, that it had been laid down as a first position, that the Commissioners were not prepared, for certain reasons, which we may believe to have been casual and transitory, "to recommend any increase in the total number of Episcopal sees."

Now this being so, we think it best to dismiss the discussion of the particular case of Bangor and St. Asaph, and to address ourselves to the question of the supposed ultimate number of sees requisite for the Church in England and Wales. We are more encouraged to do so, because we observe that the Commissioners do not so much as hint that they would regard otherwise than with the highest satisfaction an increase of Episcopal sees. All they have advanced is, that they "are not prepared to recommend" such a course. We have therefore no warrant for surmising that they would not desire it as earnestly as ourselves. We will not even say that they did not do wisely in abstaining from such a recommendation at that time: let it be even said that they counselled best for the Church at the moment when their Reports were laid before the Crown. And least of all may we infer, that because they did not recommend a multiplication of Sees at a time when the very being of the Church was threatened, when popular opinion was wayward and excited, and the relations of the spiritual and civil powers more embarrassed than at any time in the last hundred years—least of all we say ought it to be inferred, that they did not even then ardently *desire* what they were not prepared to *recommend;* or that they would not now most urgently counsel the course they thought it at that time safest for awhile to forbear. We have, therefore, good hope that

[2] Statistics of Dissent, p. 126—128.

in the views we are about to express, we shall have the countenance and approval of those who recommended that the sees of Bristol and Bangor should be put in wardship for awhile, until better times should permit them to resume their former integrity and independence.

From the tone of some who were chiefly engaged in the conduct of the Commission, in the debate on Earl Powis's motion for the preservation of the separate integrity of Bangor and St. Asaph, we are full of hope that the view we have here taken is correct. On that occasion, it was stated by the Bishop of London, that the argument derived from the inability to provide funds, otherwise than by the union of the two Welsh sees, for the erection of a see at Manchester, was without foundation. "The real fact is," his lordship said, "that there would be no difficulty in providing funds for the endowment of the bishopric of Manchester: the real difficulty in the matter is, in creating a bishopric, the holder of which should not be entitled to a seat in your lordships' house." To this point we shall advert hereafter. Again, the bishop said, "It was considered," abstractedly we suppose, "by the Commissioners desirable to increase the number of bishops; for it was plain that the number which was sufficient for 6 or 7,000,000 of people, was not sufficient for sixteen millions[3]." This, in fact, establishes all we desire to contend for; and the tone and termination of that debate lead us confidently to hope that a measure so universally opposed by the Church will not be carried out; and that a boon so universally desired, as an increase of bishoprics, will be speedily conferred upon our destitute and divided people.

Before entering, however, upon the reasons which require a multiplication of Episcopal sees, it will be well to describe in outline the office of a bishop, as it is set down in the Canons of the Church, especially of our own branch of it.

The episcopate is essentially the same with the apostleship. "Apud nos," St. Jerome says, "apostolorum locum episcopi tenent." It is the source of all spiritual power: all the inferior offices are derived from it: they are portions of its functions separated off and extended to distinct orders, for the more perfect fulfilment of its apostolical mission. In the Apostolical Canons the bishop is styled "the ruler of His (i. e. God's) people[4]." "He is pastor of his whole church, but specially of his clergy; who by ordination become his *subjects*. He was a pastor of pastors, a spiritual director, and teacher of those that direct and teach the souls of others: he was bound to confer frequently with them[5];

[3] Hansard's Parl. Debates, vol. lxix. pp. 795, 796.
[4] Can. Apost. 47.
[5] Elfric's Canons, Latin preface.

to hold a diocesan synod twice every year[6]; to prepare men, under his own eye, for holy orders; to visit his diocese in person every year[7]; to preach to the people at the place of visitation[8]; to hear causes in person; to visit in person the religious foundations under his jurisdiction[9]; to be the special reprover of great men[1]; to administer the alms of the poor and the funds of the Church[2]; to be almoner to the crown in his diocese[3]; to order his house as a place of study and instruction[4]; to keep a house for the reception of strangers[5]; not to concern himself in secular cares, on pain of deprivation, but to attend on reading, prayer, and preaching the word of God[6]."

In reading these quotations it will be perceived how close and familiar the relation was between bishops and their churches. The whole outline is that of a domestic state. The intercourse was personal and habitual; for the chief virtue of the Episcopate was held to be in the personal government and visitation of the several churches. And this specially deserves attention. The principle and practice of exercising episcopal functions by deputy had not as yet prevailed in the Church. We read of bishops visiting every parish in their diocese, year after year, in person, and on foot; living among their clergy, investigating and adjudicating causes on the spot where they arose.

In course of time, from whatsoever cause, the closeness of this relation was relaxed, and the frequency of intercourse consequently diminished. Intermediate officers rose up between the bishop and his flock. Archdeacons, chancellors, and vicars-general interposed between, and, with an apparent gain in efficiency, really went far to intercept the personal influence of the bishop. The effect of his example and teaching was in great measure lost. Now, it is against this disuse of personal government and visitation that Latimer and others, in the 16th century, chiefly inveighed[7]. The Episcopate had become a remote, secular dignity. The greater part of the Episcopal functions, especially the spiritual admonition and reproof of the clergy, being incommunicable to any inferior, if not discharged by the diocesan bishop in person, cannot be discharged at all. And this was, doubtless, one chief cause of the decline and corruption of the Church. One of the main efforts of the bishops of the 16th century was to bring the Episcopate back again into close, habitual, domestic relation to both clergy and laity of the Church. And

[6] Canons of Calcyth. 3.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Canons of Calcyth. 3.
[9] Canons of Cloveshoo, 5.
[1] Canons of Calcyth. 3.
[2] Excerptions of Egbright, 21. Can. Apost. 34.
[3] King Ethelstan's Laws, 1.
[4] Canons of Cloveshoo, 7.
[5] Excerptions of Egbright, 26.
[6] Ibid. 15.
[7] Latimer's Sermons on the Plough, pp. 12—14.

out of this arose Cranmer's proposal to multiply the sees, to which reference will be made hereafter. It may therefore be laid down, that the due exercise of the Episcopal office requires that as little as possible should be delegated to others; and that therefore the size of a diocese should be determined by its *moral extent*, that is, by the range and distance within which the average powers of a man may make his personal example and influence felt and obeyed.

The first and most obvious reason, then, for an increase in the number of Episcopal sees, is the increase of the population subject to the jurisdiction of the existing bishops. To multiply bishoprics in proportion to the multiplication of her people, has been the rule of the Church from the beginning. This principle has been publicly recorded in councils by the Church of England in particular, and acted upon throughout the course of her history. It may not be amiss to remind our readers of the progressive increase by which the English Episcopate has attained its present number. Although we find British bishops present in the early councils, as at Arles and Nice, we may pass over the period before the Saxon invasion and mission of Augustine, and begin with what may be called the historical period of the English Church, that is to say, with the year A. D. 590 or 600, when the foundations of our existing ecclesiastical polity were laid. Britain was reconverted to the faith by three several missions in the south, north, and west, that is, from Rome, Scotland, and Ireland. The mission under Augustine, which came up from the south, and was supported by the energy of Western Christendom, naturally, in the end, prevailed. The fact also of the supremacy of the kingdom of Kent, among the Saxon kingdoms, contributed to give to the Bishop of Canterbury the primacy, which he retains to this day. Gregory the Great directed Augustine to found throughout Britain twenty-six sees, two archiepiscopal, one at London, another at York, having each of them twelve suffragan bishoprics[8]. Augustine lived to found sees in Canterbury, Rochester, and London. After his death, the scheme of Gregory was but partially regarded. A bishopric was soon founded in York, though it did not become archiepiscopal till A. D. 736[9]. In the course of fifty years after Augustine's death, sees were founded in Dorchester[1], among the West Saxons; at Dumnoc, among the East Saxons[2]; and at Lichfield[3]. In the year A. D. 673, a council was held under Archbishop Theodore, at Hertford, in which we find recorded the following subject of deliberation: "We had a confer-

[8] Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. xxix.
[9] Inett's History of the English Church, vol. i. p. 163.
[1] Ibid. p. 50. [2] Ibid. p. 51. [3] Ibid. p. 57.

ence together concerning increasing the number of the bishops *in proportion to the number of the faithful*[4]." Within a few years the diocese of York was divided, and a bishopric formed at Lindisfarn; out of which, three years later, the see of Hagulstad was taken. About the same time a bishopric was founded at Lynadcester, or Lindsey[5] (A. D. 680). The multiplication of sees was again considered in the council of Hatfield, A. D. 680; and about this time bishoprics were founded in Leicester, Worcester, and Hereford, which were taken out of the diocese of Lichfield[6]. Winchester was founded A.D. 679; and Selsey about A. D. 681[7].

Within less, therefore, than eighty years from the death of Augustine, the Episcopate had increased to fifteen.

We may now proceed to about fifty years later, that is, to the time of Bede; and we shall find him, at that day, urging the necessity of multiplying the Episcopal sees even in our then thinly-peopled country. Inett says:

"In terms very passionate and full of concern he recommends the lessening the number of monasteries, and increasing the number of bishops and secular clergy to preach God's holy word in country towns and villages.

"For, saith he, there are many villages in the woody and mountainous parts, which for many years never saw the face of a bishop, and have none to instruct them in the common principles of religion or morality, and yet there is no place but what pays tribute to their bishop. And in particular, he desires of that bishop, that his clergy should take care to teach the people the Apostles' Creed, and Lord's Prayer in the English tongue, and says, that for that end he himself had translated them into English, and given copies thereof into the hands of several of the clergy.

"But, to perfect this great work, he tells Egbert, that he thought nothing so likely as to increase the number of bishops, and advises that for that end this prelate, with the advice of Ceolwulf, King of Northumberland, and his council, should erect several new bishoprics; and that, in order thereunto, they should take several of the monasteries, and in them erect the new sees; and that, by this means, York, according to the ancient platform of Gregory the Great, might be erected into a metropolitical see; and, if need require, he directs that they should take the lands belonging to other monasteries. Thus, saith he, 'those houses, of which we all know there are many unworthy the name of monasteries from serving the ends of vanity and luxury, may be brought to assist and bear a part in the burthen of the Episcopal office.'

"And the better to engage Egbert in this work he adds, 'There are many and very great foundations of this kind which, as is commonly

[4] Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 43.
[5] Inett, vol. i. pp. 90, 91.
[6] Wilkins' Concil. Magn. Brit. tom. i. p. 51.
[7] Inett's Hist. vol. i. p. 113.

said, are neither profitable to God nor men; for in them men are neither trained to live regularly, as monks, for the honour of God, nor brought up to arms to defend their country. And to take such places and convert them to bishop's sees, is so far from being a fault, that it is a great instance of wisdom and virtue; for how can it be unjust for some princes to employ the mistaken charities of others to better purposes[8]?'"

We will now present an outline of the English Episcopate in the four following periods.

FIRST PERIOD.

The number of sees had increased before, and in the time of Bede, A.D. 731, to seventeen.

1. In Kent.	1. Canterbury.
	2. Rochester.
2. East Saxons.	3. London.
3. East Angles.	4. Dumnoc (Dunwich).
	5. Elmham.
4. West Saxons.	6. Winchester.
	7. Sherburn.
5. Mercia.	8. Lichfield.
	9. Leicester.
	10. Lindsey.
	11. Worcester.
	12. Hereford.
6. South Saxons.	13. Selsey.
7. Northumberland.	14. York.
	15. Lindisfarn.
	16. Hexham.
	17. Whithern.
(In Wales.	18. Bangor.)

The population being probably between one and two millions.

SECOND PERIOD.

The number of English sees in the time of William the Conqueror still seventeen, the sites of some being translated as follows:

1. Canterbury.
2. Rochester.
3. London.
4. Norwich, from Dumnoc.
5. Winchester, from Dorchester.
6. Salisbury, from Sherburn.
7. Lichfield.

[8] Inett's Hist. vol. i.

8. Lincoln, probably from Leicester.
9. Ely, . . . Lindsey.
10. Worcester.
11. Hereford.
12. Chichester, from Selsey.
13. Exeter.
14. Bath and Wells.
15. York.
16. Durham, from Hexham and Lindisfarn.
17. Carlisle.

To these may be added—

18. Bangor.
19. Llandaff.
20. St. David.
21. St. Asaph.

The population being probably about 1,250,000.

THIRD PERIOD.

From William the Conqueror to Henry VIII., in whose reign the English sees were increased to twenty-two.

In the reign of Edward III., A.D. 1377, the population was about 2,500,000[9].

By the time of Henry VIII. it had increased to about 4,000,000.

It was proposed to erect nearly twenty sees, and of suffragan bishops twenty-six, making the whole number about *seventy:* the ordination of suffragans was partially introduced and laid aside: of the twenty independent sees five were formed.

1. Chester.
2. Peterborough.
3. Oxford.
4. Bristol.
5. Gloucester.

The average population of each diocese, therefore, was somewhat more than 150,000, which was higher than was, at that time, desired or intended.

FOURTH PERIOD.

From Henry VIII. to the present time the sees of England and Wales have continued to be twenty-six, the population having

[9] Quarterly Review, vol. x. No. 19, p. 159.

increased from 4,000,000 to 16,000,000, that is, *fourfold.* The dioceses, therefore, now stand as follows:

	Population Census, 1831.
1. Chester	1,883,958
2. London	1,722,685
3. York	1,496,538
4. Lichfield	1,045,481
5. Lincoln	899,468
6. Exeter	795,416
7. Winchester	729,607
8. Norwich	690,138
9. Durham	469,933
10. Canterbury	405,272
11. Bath and Wells	403,795
12. Salisbury	384,683
13. St. David's	358,451
14. Gloucester	315,512
15. Worcester	271,687
16. Chichester	254,460
17. Bristol	232,026
18. Hereford	206,327
19. Peterborough	194,339
20. Rochester	191,875
21. St. Asaph	191,156
22. Llandaff	181,244
23. Bangor	163,712
24. Oxford	140,700
25. Carlisle	135,002
26. Ely	133,722

We have here been compelled to use the census of 1831; that of 1841 not being, so far as we can find, distributed as above. At least ten per cent. must be added to the numbers here given. The diocese of Chichester, which stands above at 254,460, is now about 300,000.

Now, upon these facts there are some obvious remarks to be made.

About the year 1377 the population of England and Wales was 2,500,000. In 1575, two centuries after, it was 4,600,000, or almost double. In 1801, that is, after somewhat more than two centuries again, the population had been doubled once more. We may therefore fairly conjecture that the population of England and Wales, at the time of the Conquest, was one-half of its number in 1377, *i. e.* about 1,250,000; and in the time of Bede still less.

We find, notwithstanding, that by the time of Bede the sees

had increased to seventeen in England alone: by the time of the Conquest, or shortly after, the number, with the four sees in Wales, was twenty-one.

In the third period an increase of population to 4,000,000 was taken to demand a great increase of spiritual pastors.

In the fourth period, the population is *quadrupled*, and not one additional see has been founded.

In 1377, the average population of the dioceses, in round numbers, was about 120,000
In 1575, number not more than 180,000
In 1843, about 617,000

Now, if it be possible to suppose a case in which increase of population shall demand an increase of bishops, it is here before us. If not, we would fain know at what figure the population of a diocese shall be at length admitted to be too numerous for the charge of one spiritual ruler? At this time, the joint population of three dioceses, namely, London, 1,722,685; Chester, 1,883,958; York, 1,496,538; making a total of 5,103,181, is greater by a fourth than the whole population of England and Wales in the time of Henry VIII., when the twenty-one sees were increased to twenty-six. And it must still be remembered that in the above figures we have used the census of 1831, to which ten per cent. at least should be added. The population of the dioceses of London and Chester alone would almost equal the population of the whole country in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Again, since 1800, the population of England and Wales has increased by nearly 7,000,000—that is, nearly double the whole population at the time of Henry VIII., since which date *not one additional bishopric has been added to the Episcopate.* Is it possible to strengthen the argument derived from the increase of population? We think not: for if this be not enough, the matter is past argument, derived from this view of the Episcopal office and responsibility.

Let us now take another view of this point. One consequence of the multiplication of our people is the multiplication of parishes. The spiritual cure of the country at the time of the Norman Conquest being vested extensively in the religious houses, the parish churches were then about 4000. They have multiplied to 10,718; the clergy have of course multiplied in proportion—the whole Ecclesiastical system has become more complicated and detailed. The charge committed to each several bishop is therefore incalculably greater; the moral extent of his jurisdiction, and his consequent responsibilities, enlarged in an appalling measure; and this increase of people, parishes, churches, clergy, jurisdiction, and responsibility, has been and is even now proceeding more rapidly

than ever. Take the following statistics recorded by the second Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as a sample of this frightful fact, and as a proof in full, that the Church can hardly expect to cope with the unprecedented spiritual destitution visible throughout this country, until she multiply, by subdivision, her overgrown, and therefore self-obstructing, dioceses:—

"It appears, from the Report of the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission, that there are no less than 3528 benefices under £150 per annum. Of this number 13 contain each a population of more than 10,000; 51 a population of from 5000 to 10,000; 251 a population of between 2000 and 5000; and 1125 have each a population of between 500 and 2000. On every one of these benefices it is desirable that there should be a resident clergyman [1].

* * * * * * * *

"The growth of the population has been so rapid as to outrun the means possessed by the Establishment of meeting its spiritual wants; and the result has been that a vast proportion of the people are left destitute of the opportunities of public worship and Christian instruction, even when every allowance is made for the exertions of those religious bodies which are not in connexion with the Established Church.

"It is not necessary, in this Report, to enter into all the details by which the truth of this assertion might be proved. It will be sufficient to state the following facts as examples:—Looking to those parishes only, which contain each a population exceeding 10,000, we find that in London and its suburbs, including the parishes on either bank of the Thames, there are four parishes or districts, each having a population exceeding 20,000, and containing an aggregate of 166,000 persons, with church-room for 8200 (not quite one-twentieth of the whole), and only eleven clergymen.

"There are twenty-one others, the aggregate population of which is 739,000, while the church-room is for 66,155 (not one-tenth of the whole), and only forty-five clergymen.

"There are nine others, with an aggregate population of 232,000, and church-room for 27,327 (not one-eighth of the whole), and only nineteen clergymen.

"The entire population of these thirty-four parishes amounts to 1,137,000, while there is church-room only for 101,682. Supposing that church-room is required for one-third, there ought to be sittings for 379,000 persons. There is, therefore, a deficiency of 277,318 sittings; or if we allow 25,000 for the number of sittings in proprietary chapels, the deficiency will be 252,318.

"Allowing one church for a population of 3000, there would be required, in these parishes, 379 churches, whereas there are in fact only 69, or, if proprietary chapels be added, about 100, leaving a deficiency

[1] First Report of the Ecclesiastical Commission, p. 56.

of 279; while there are only 139 clergymen in a population exceeding a million.

"In the diocese of Chester, there are thirty-eight parishes or districts, in Lancashire, each with a population exceeding 10,000, containing an aggregate of 816,000 souls, with church-room for 97,700, or about one-eighth; the proportions varying in the different parishes from one-sixth to one twenty-third.

"In the diocese of York, there are twenty parishes or districts, each with a population exceeding 10,000, and with an aggregate of 402,000, while the church accommodation is for 48,000; the proportions varying from one-sixth to one-thirtieth.

"In the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, there are sixteen parishes or districts, each having a population above 10,000, the aggregate being 235,000, with church-room for about 29,000; the proportions varying from one-sixth to one-fourteenth[2]."

Now on these facts we had rather quote at length the remarks of Mr. Palmer than give any comments of our own.

"The abstract of the Population Returns in 1831, the Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into Ecclesiastical Revenues, the various Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, together with Gilbert's Clerical Guide, and the Clergy List for 1841, supply a number of data, from which some notion may be formed of our present wants in respect of clergy.

"The usual basis which has been taken in estimating the extent of religious destitution—namely, *the amount of church accommodation*, is, perhaps, not exactly that which ought to have been adopted. The number of clergy would seem to be a more correct standard in general. A parish church might contain 2000 sittings, and be sufficiently large for a parish containing 6000 people; but it might be served by only one clergyman, who would be wholly unequal to the care of so large a population. A parish, then, with sufficient church-room, might be comparatively destitute of spiritual aid. On the other hand, a parish with inadequate church accommodation, may be effectually guided and influenced by a clergyman, who is enabled by the size of his cure to communicate personally with all his parishioners.

"Speaking from experience, and from consultation with others, I should say, that the care of 1000 souls on an average, would be amply sufficient for the full employment of each clergyman. This, then, may be assumed as the basis of our calculations, which will be conducted under several forms.

"The population of England and Wales is, in 1841, about 16,000,000, which, according to our assumed basis, would require 16,000 clergy.

"Now, it appears from Gilbert's Clerical Guide, that the 10,718 benefices of England and Wales, are held by 7565 individuals. It also

[2] First Report of the Eccles. Com., pp 58–60.

appears from a Return made by the Archbishops and Bishops to her Majesty's Privy Council in 1838, that there are 4811 curates. Adding together the number of incumbents and curates, we obtain 12,376 as the total number of the parochial clergy. But this exceeds the truth; because two curacies are not unfrequently held by the same person, and the incumbent of one parish is sometimes the curate of another. So that, on the whole, there is reason to believe that the number of parochial clergy does not exceed 12,000, which shows a deficiency of 4000 clergy at present.

"Our deficiency is, however, still greater than this; for it must be remembered that many of our parishes contain very small populations. Judging from a rough estimate, it would seem that about 3000 parishes contain less than 300 inhabitants each, affording perhaps about 200 on an average, or a total population of not more than 600,000. Thus 3000 clergy are engaged in the care of 600,000 souls, while the remaining 9000 clergy are entrusted with the care of 15,400,000; showing a total deficiency of 6400 clergy, for the care of 6,400,000 people.

"This result is of such a nature that I should have hesitated to make it public, had it not been substantially confirmed by various examinations instituted with a view to test its general correctness.

"Another mode by which we may approximate to a knowledge of the deficiency now existing, is to compare the populations of cities, towns, and populous districts, with the number of clergy employed in them.

"It appears, from a Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, that thirty-four parishes in London and its suburbs, with a population exceeding 10,000 each, contained, according to the census of 1831, a population of 1,137,000, with only 139 parochial clergymen. According to our basis, this alone shows a deficiency of clergy for 994,000 people. But there were, by the same census, forty other parishes in London and its suburbs, with populations varying from 3000 to 10,000, making a total of 235,266, and served by only eighty-two clergymen. This shows a further deficiency of clergy, for about 153,000 souls; which, added to the former deficiency, presents a total of 1,151,000 people deprived of spiritual instruction in 1831. If we add twenty per cent. to represent the increase of the last ten years, (which would not, I believe, exceed the truth,) we have now in the above parishes of London and its suburbs a population of 1,646,400 under the spiritual care of 221 clergy, leaving, in the metropolis alone, the enormous number of 1,425,000 people unprovided with spiritual aid, and requiring for their care upwards of 1400 clergy in addition to the present ecclesiastical force of the metropolis. If, in short, the clergy of London were multiplied *sevenfold* at this moment, they would all have full and ample occupation.

"I have pursued the same mode of calculation throughout the country generally, and the result is that, in 118 of the cities, towns, and parishes, with a population exceeding 10,000, there were, in 1831,

about 3,308,655 souls under the care of 667 clergymen, showing 2,641,655 souls unprovided for by the Church. It also appeared that, in parishes containing between 2000 and 10,000, there were, on the whole, about 1,360,000 souls without clerical aid. Adding twenty per cent. to represent the increase in population since 1831, we obtain the following result:—

Destitute Population, 1841.	
London	1,425,400
Great towns, &c.	3,307,000
Lesser towns, &c.	1,632,000
Total.....	6,364,400

"With a view to test still further the general correctness of these results, a third mode of computation was resorted to. Having under consideration the population of each parish, according to the census of 1831, I commenced by calculating the number of new parishes, with a population of 2000 each, which would be requisite in existing parishes containing more than 4000 people; and the additional number which would be produced by dividing into *two* such existing parishes as range between 2500 and 4000 population. It would be of course impossible here to enter into details. The result was, that about 2600 new parishes, with a population of 4,800,000, were requisite in 1831. I further calculated that, in parishes with less than 2500 people in each, about 360,000 souls were unprovided with clerical aid. The population of England and Wales has increased by about two millions since 1831, one-half of which we may add to the previous estimate of spiritual destitution. The whole result will then be as follows:—

Destitute Population, 1831.	
In parishes exceeding 2500 population	4,800,000
In parishes with less than 2500 population.....	360,000
Total	5,160,000
Increase since 1831	1,000,000
Destitute population, 1841	6,160,000

"It seems probable, then, on the whole, that about *six millions* of the inhabitants of England and Wales (including the great body of the town and manufacturing population) are beyond any effective control and guidance of the Established Church with her present means; and that not less than 6000 additional clergy are requisite at this moment to place her in a state of *full efficiency*[3]."

"We are now to consider a branch of the subject the importance of which cannot well be overrated; I mean an increase in the number of our episcopal sees. That there has long been a general wish in the Church for additional bishops is unquestionable. The apparent or real

[3] An Enquiry into the possibility of obtaining means for Church Extension without Parliamentary Grants, by the Rev. W. Palmer, M.A., pp. 8—13.

difficulties, however, which have surrounded the subject, especially since the measures for re-distributing the dioceses, have induced a sort of despondent feeling on the subject. I cannot but think that the present is a favourable moment for reconsidering the question. The position of the Church is now widely different from what it was in 1833 or 1834, when continual efforts were made to remove the bishops from the House of Lords.

"The theory of our constitution recognizes the propriety of additional episcopal superintendence, for an act of Henry VIII. still remains unrepealed which would authorize the bishops and the crown in adding about thirty suffragan bishops to our present number. That power has indeed not been acted on since the time of James I., because it was found that the suffragans thus constituted were not sufficiently under the control of their diocesans; and the whole arrangement was one which seemed difficult, if not impossible, to be reconciled with the general rules of the primitive Church: still the *theory* of our constitution warrants us in saying, that an increase in the present number of sees is expedient and necessary.

"This is confirmed by the fact, that while the population of England and Wales at the passing of that act did not perhaps exceed two or three millions, it now probably amounts to sixteen millions.

"If we compare the duties of the English and Irish bishops, we shall find the latter, after the reduction in the number of the sees by the act in 1833, superintending on an average about one hundred incumbents each; while the English dioceses contain on an average 412 parishes each. If a Reformed Parliament judged one hundred parishes sufficient to employ an Irish bishop, why should England be so much worse provided for? If we were placed on a footing with the Church in Ireland, we should have 107 sees.

"England possesses, in proportion to her population, a smaller number of bishops than most of the European states. We have only twenty-six for a population of sixteen millions. France, even after her revolutions, has three times the number of our sees, with twice the amount of population. Before the revolution her episcopal sees were 145, and her population about twenty-eight or thirty millions; Spain, with ten or twelve millions, has sixty bishops; Greece, with less than one million, has thirty-six bishops; Portugal, for three or four millions, has fourteen bishops; Italy, Sicily, and the adjoining islands, have twenty-four millions, and 263 bishops, according to the *Notizie*, published at Rome in 1837. Romish Ireland has thirty bishops for about six millions. Ancient Asia Minor and Northern Africa, which were perhaps twice or three times as large as England and Wales, contained respectively 400 and 500 sees. Ancient Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, which probably never contained a population in any degree approaching to ours, contained 108 episcopal sees.

"Looking to the invariable rule of the ancient Church to place a bishop in every great city for the purpose of giving energy, unity, and consistency to the large body of clergy collected there, it seems strange,

indeed, to think that places like Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Derby, Newcastle, Bath, Plymouth, and many other towns of great population and importance, should have been so long left without resident bishops. Romanism has, with its usual quicksightedness, availed itself of our deficiencies, and fixed the residence of its pretended bishops in large cities where none of our bishops are stationed. Birmingham, Bath, Wolverhampton, Liverpool, and other important stations, are thus circumstanced; and in some of these places Romish ecclesiastics are gradually assuming a position, which can only arise from the want of bishops in those localities [4]."

We shall here leave the argument derived from the increase of population. The moral view of the case must be treated by itself.

Hitherto we have spoken only of numbers. There are graver matters yet to be discussed. The multiplication of our people, taken alone, is, indeed, a sufficient reason for an increase of spiritual oversight through a multiplication of the Episcopal sees. But a much more urgent reason is to be found in the moral state to which this country has been mainly brought by the increase of this un-tended population. We say mainly, because we are well aware that other causes have co-operated: and these will be subsidiary to our argument. There are, then, moral evils of a portentous kind following by direct consequence upon the increase of population; such, for instance, as frightful destitution of the means of salvation, aggravated and inveterate dissent, perpetual divisions, and actual and far-spread apostacy from the faith of Christ. For destitution of the means of salvation, let the facts given by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners suffice. For a century and a half we have been trading, and manufacturing, and building warehouses like temples, and dwelling-places like the palaces of kings: we have been making war and making peace, and spreading ourselves abroad in the east and west; and rearing an empire awful for its very greatness: we have been indulging ourselves in luxury, and courtly refinements, and polished selfishness. And all this while our barren tracts have become quick with crowded villages, and villages have swelled into towns; where a little while ago there was a homely church, and a solitary pastor tending a well-known and united flock, there are now Manchesters and Birminghams and Sheffields, of whose spiritual wickedness Christendom has perhaps never seen the like. We forbear to quote the horrible statistics of impurity and crime lately revealed in the face of parliament. The whole Christian world has nothing to equal it; human nature was, surely, never seen in a debasement so systematic and barefaced, since the years of men were dated from

[4] Palmer's Enquiry, pp. 26—29.

the salvation of mankind. We firmly believe that on the stock of our natural corruption there has been grafted a spiritual wickedness that the heathen had not the capacity to be guilty of; and that the spiritual wickedness of our destitute population bears upon it the token of the last apostacy and the brand of Antichrist. Let the witness of Lord Ashley in the House of Commons suffice. What is to be said, in this Christian land, of beings who have "never heard even the name of Jesus Christ?" What, of "as many as 1000 men in Darlaston who do not know their own names, only their nick-names [5]?" Men not only without Christianity, but without a Christian name;—not only not Christians, but hardly men; mockeries of human nature; outwardly, men in the semblance of natural form, —inwardly, without consciousness of their spiritual being or destinies beyond the grave, without hopes or fears, like the very "beasts that perish." This fact may have a parallel in those lands where the Asiatic and African Churches once walked in the light of faith, and for their sins have been blotted from the face of Christendom; but nowhere else, save in the dechristianized manufacturing towns of Great Britain. Take again the Collieries: there has been created in the midst of us, or rather under our feet, a new race of beings. There are, we are told, "tens of thousands of our countrymen living apart from the rest of the world, intermarrying,—having habits, manners, and almost a language peculiar to themselves,—the circumstances surrounding their existence stamping and moulding mind and body with a gigantic power. The common accidents of life are literally multiplied to this race of men an hundredfold; while they are subject to others which have no parallel on earth. It is not then a matter for wonder that their minds should borrow from the rocks and caverns they inhabit something of the hardness of the one, and something of the awful 'power of darkness' of the other; and that their hearts and emotions should exhibit the fierceness of the elements amidst which they dwell[6]." We must refer to the article cited at the foot of the page for the appalling moral corruption existing in our collieries and their miserable inmates. The Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of children employed in mines exhibits details of a physical debasement, of a degradation of the body even to deformity of the human shape, such as certainly no heathen nation ever beheld. In a late debate the following words were spoken in the House of Commons:—"Look at the accounts of thousands of men, women,

[5] Speech of Lord Ashley, Feb. 28th, 1843.
[6] "Colliers and Collieries," Quarterly Rev., No. 139, p. 159.

and children congregated together, without any regard to decency or comfort, in noisome sites and wretched hovels—of those who wear out their lives in the darkness of coal or iron mines, doing what was commonly considered the work of brutes, in a moral and intellectual state hardly raised above that of the mere animal[7]." Never, so far as we are aware, have women been so thoroughly stripped of their nature. It is one of the graces of Christianity to have raised woman again to the dignity her Maker gave her. But here is a degradation worse than the bondage or oppression of the heathen world. For women there suffered, and sorrowed; they were sadly conscious of their wrongs, and mourned over them in secret. But here they are parties to their own debasement. It has become natural, and unconscious, the very law of their condition.

We read in the article above quoted, and let us learn as we read:—"Romanism in many, though not in all parts of its empire, has flung its all-grasping discipline among such a race, dived with them into the earth, and intercepted with its matin or its even-song the miner as he emerges from or descends into his perilous place of labour: but our Protestant system has ever been defective in its machinery, as well as curtailed in its resources; and, moreover, the upper classes of Englishmen, speaking generally, have scarcely yet learned to be the companions of the poorer orders of society, however meritorious their claims as distributors of charity. These reports prove that the Wesleyan has followed them in every village, and gone from cottage to cottage, to leave in person his tracts and his discipline. Hence the English colliers, when they have any religion at all, are Methodists[8]."

It is plainly impossible to do more than touch upon this appalling subject. We will, therefore, notice briefly its leading features, and then point out in what way the only true remedy lies in the multiplication of the Episcopate of the Church.

We have already noticed the frightful corruption of those whom the Church has suffered to continue destitute of the means of grace. We will now turn to the condition of those who are nominally members of her communion. We will first refer to a class not prone to obey a spiritual rule, namely, the busy, thriving, prosperous men of the world; men of skill and science, of enterprise and mechanical dexterity, such, in fact, as compose the middle classes of our large towns. There can, perhaps, be conceived no temper of mind less akin to the temper of sub-

[7] Speech of Mr. C. Buller, Thursday, April 6.
[8] "Colliers and Collieries," Quarterly Review, No. 139, p. 167.

mission and self-mistrust, than that which is formed in the discipline of speculation and trade. It is distinguished by a perpetual activity, by a fearless, and entire reliance on a man's own powers of discriminating, judging, and acting, and by an isolating pursuit of his own private views and aims. Even religion with such a population is a matter of personal choice and discretion. Each man admits into his habits of thought and practice just so much of moral laws, or points of belief, as seem to him reasonable, moderate, and consistent with his own general scheme and view of life. The idea of the Church is reduced by each man to his own share of public worship. That is Christendom to him. We very much doubt whether to the greater number of our own people the name of the Church calls up any higher, broader, or other idea, than that of the public services of worship which they weekly frequent; or, it may be, of a system of general instruction and amelioration carried on by benevolent and exemplary clergymen. The idea of a living organized body, having government and unity of design, probably is never so much as thought of. The idea of control, and of discipline requiring submission from the individual will, forms no part of their view of the "Establishment." It is a system maintained by an income appropriated to it by law, for the purpose of affording to such as desire to partake of them the opportunities of public prayer, and of religious instruction. The late Mr. Knox expressed an opinion, that the Church of England exercises a wide, but a weak sway over her members. He says, "No Church on earth has more intrinsic excellence, yet no Church, probably, has less practical influence[9]."

Mr. Hallam also, in his Constitutional History of England, after speaking of the little concern with which the laity of the Church regarded the deprival of the nonjuring bishops by William the Third, goes on to say, "The Established Liturgy was, as it is at present, in the eyes of the great majority, the distinguishing mark of the Anglican Church, far more, indeed, than Episcopal government, whereof *so little is known by the mass of the people that its abolition would make no perceptible difference in their religion*[1]." When such a man as Mr. Hallam, familiar with letters and with the world, and in habitual intercourse with men, deliberately records his judgment in a work designed for posterity, and especially for the people of England, that the Episcopate of the English Church might be abolished, without producing any perceptible difference in the religion of the people,

[9] Knox's Remains, vol. i. p. 51.
[1] Constitutional History of England, vol. iii. p. 238.

it is time that all members of the Church, from the highest to the lowest, should begin to ascertain how far such a judgment be founded in truth, and if it appear to be in any measure true, by what causes the fact may be accounted for.

To us who believe the Episcopate to be a Divine ordinance, that Bishops are to the Church now what the Apostles were in the beginning, the divinely-commissioned pastors and rulers of the flock of Christ, to whose guidance, wisdom, and government He committed "the Church which he hath purchased in his own blood," this opinion of the author of the Constitutional History of England amounts to no less than saying that the highest and chiefest bond by which the people of this land are held in faithful obedience to the Church of Christ is already and absolutely dissolved. A part, and that the governing part, of the divine economy of the Church is thereby supposed to be practically extinguished. There would then be no need of any formal act to abolish the Episcopal order. Among a people to whom such an abolition would make "little perceptible difference in their religion" the Episcopal government would be abolished already. So far as it is a living and life-giving reality, the energies of which are felt penetrating and embracing, and thereby uniting and governing the flock of Christ, it would be already gone. The Church would be in a paralysis, beginning with the highest organs of mental or moral life; and the power which might seem to remain in the limbs, would be irregular, convulsive, and diseased. And as a failure of the highest faculties is a certain precursor of gradual failure in all, and of dissolution at last, it cannot be doubted that the people of England would, by this account, be far onward in a course of declension; the end of which would be, a state like that of countries where the rejection of the apostolical government has opened the breach for infinite diversities of opinions and practice in religion, by which the individual will has been exalted, the habit of faith destroyed, and Christianity all but extinguished.

If there be any truth in Mr. Hallam's opinion, it is this: that the mass of our people have little or no perception of the existence of the Episcopate, as a spiritual power ordering and disposing the Church, spreading throughout the land, penetrating into desolate villages and crowded cities; into manufactories and mines; into all the actions of life, and into the chambers of the dying; giving vigour, reality, and energy to the ministry of reconciliation, and to the discipline of repentance. If they are ever to have their perception, it can only be, by seeing their bishops oftener among them; by knowing their presence and their voice, and being edified by their words and deeds. This is just what the citizens of Bristol prayed that they might not be

deprived of—"the pastoral superintendence and example of a bishop resident among them." We may be assured that people need living persons, not bare titles—energetic realities, not theories of apostolical succession; that is, bishops with whom they may converse and sympathize, round whom they may gather, or at least whom they may see. Episcopacy, as a platform on paper, or a scheme of Church government, never yet stirred the heart of any man from the beginning of time. We have to deal with a population in part disunited, and in part so faintly impressed with the ideas of law and unity in matters relating to religion and to God, that they are held together far less by principle and conscious adherence to the Church in England, than by passive habits and traditionary customs.

Before we dismiss with peremptory reprobation the iniquities of socialism, chartism, and the like, let us first search into them, and see, lest peradventure they are bearing a blind testimony in behalf of some craving of men's hearts, which the Church was divinely ordained to satisfy. It seems to us that they are counterfeits got up by the author of evil, to allure men by the baits of equality and unity, which things are the inheritance of the Church alone. He is profiting by our forfeiture of these gifts. It must be confessed that the Church in this land has hardly succeeded in giving due expression to these great laws of the divine government: and, therefore, our people are open to be beguiled by any upstart society which plays upon sympathies of their minds, which the Church ought to have met and satisfied. This is not a mere theory, certain as it would be in speculation only. The most direct confirmation by facts will be found in Mr. Tancred's excellent Report on the state of the mining population.

"It is this religious feeling in the people, united to the want of proper guides and authorized means provided them for its regulation and indulgence, which enabled the Chartists to get a footing amongst them. The Chartists have seen the need under which the people suffer of the daily ministrations of religion, and of the mingling of its refreshing influences with their daily toil, as the best means of recruiting their weary spirits for their laborious and dangerous occupation. Thus, the above-cited Wesleyan minister of West Bromwich, after mentioning that one of the iron-masters there had lent O'Neill a large room, 'which used to be crowded to suffocation every Sabbath afternoon, from half-past two to a quarter-past four,' adds:—

"'O'Neill called himself a Christian Chartist, and always began his discourse with a text after the manner of a sermon; and some of our people went to hear him just to observe the proceedings, and were shocked beyond description: there was unmeasured abuse of her

Majesty and the constitution, about the public expenditure, and complete radical doctrines of all kinds. They have a hymn-book of their own, and affect to be a denomination of Christians.'

"This is the way they gained converts here by the name. There were very few political Chartists here; but *Christian* Chartist was a name that took. It is almost blasphemy to prostitute the name of Christian to such purposes.

"I afterwards had the pain of being present at a *Christian Chartist tea-party* at Birmingham, wishing with my own ears to learn the principles which this new sect (as they are regarded by the ignorant people) holds forth to seduce the neglected population of our land. The account which Mr. O'Neill and other speakers there gave of their principles seemed to me worthy of the serious consideration of all who wish to understand, 'What is it that the lower orders intrinsically mean?' His words were in substance as follow. He said:—

"'The necessity of their new church was evident, because the true Church of Christ ought not to be split up into opposing sects; all men ought to be united in one universal Church. Christianity should prevail in every-day life; commerce should be conducted on Christian principles, and not on those of mammon, and every other institution ought to be based on the doctrines of Christianity. Hence the Chartist church felt it their duty to go out and move amongst the masses of the people, to guide and direct them by the principles of Christianity: they felt it incumbent upon them to go out into the world, to be the light of the world, and the salt of the earth. The true Christian Church could not remain aloof, but must enter into the struggles of the people, and guide them. The characteristic of members of a real Church was, on the first day of the week, to worship at their altar; on the next, to go out and mingle with the masses; on the third, to stand at the bar of judgment, and on the fourth, perhaps, to be in a dungeon. This was the case in the primitive Church, and so it ought to be now[2].'"

Let the Church, then, only make herself seen and felt, as they did of old, among our perverted and divided people. Let her visibly lift up the cross and her pastoral staff in the streets of our crowded towns; let her choose out the strongest holds of Satan for her first invasions, and penetrate at once into the deepest haunts of impurity and guilt; let her go where the marks of the Lord Jesus must be speedily imprinted on her; and let her show herself not as a handful of isolated pastors, without bond or head, but as an heavenly society knit and compacted in one; let her make visible the law of unity by the daily exhibition, in the heart of every turbulent city, of her own subordination to a spiritual throne, and also the law of equality, in the mid-space between the unsympathising rich and the alienated poor, by the brotherhood

[2] Report of the Midland Mining Commission, ss. 608, 609.

of her pastors and of her people; and then, at last, we shall know how divine a virtue dwells in her to subdue, unite, and hallow the most lawless and divided people.

This is a matter which it behoves statesmen and politicians well to weigh. Let the names of Burslem, and Staleybridge, and Dukinfield, and Mottram Moor admonish us of a retribution which may yet overtake our neglects. The disturbances of the autumn of 1842, are a sufficient indication that some of the great moral laws which mitigate and repress the passions of men are abrogated in the dense population of our manufacturing districts. For weeks, law was powerless. It had no majesty to awe, nor persuasion to incline the wills of the people. There was a breach in the body of our social order; it was a state of direct rebellion. The supreme government was that of guns and tumbrils; and such we must expect, whensoever an increasing people, pinched by want, untaught in the laws of obedience, unused to the habit of submission, shall meet with a more than common pressure of necessity. The Bishop of Chester, on a public occasion, after describing the destitute state of a district of 400,000 people, spoke as follows:—"It is a remarkable fact, that the very district which I pointed out in the year 1841, as being the most destitute of all the great county of Lancaster,—that very district, which I pointed out as not having perhaps more than one clergyman to 10,000 people, which was nearly the same, you will allow, as having none at all,—that very district was the one where the tumults and disturbances of the last summer first made their appearance. And it was from that district that the numbers were recruited which allowed those disturbances to be continued longer, probably, than they otherwise would have been." Alas for the country where the moral habit of the people has not been first moulded to obedience by the Church! It is not in the power, as indeed it was never entrusted to the hands of civil rulers to train and discipline the first moral habits of a people, on which all obedience to law and loyalty to sovereigns must ultimately rest. What can be more dead and powerless than statutes and orders framed on principles which a people have not learned to revere and to obey? It is for the Church to form a people as men, and for the civil ruler to govern them as citizens. When will those who acknowledge the Church to be the chief stay of social order among us have faith and boldness enough to trust fully to her divine commission, and set themselves, by direct and positive co-operation, to unfold and perfect the action of her system and its principles?

Now it is certain that the Church does not, and cannot make full proof of the ministry committed to her, so long as she presents herself only as the public *instructor* of the people. By

her Divine mission, she exacts not only the attention of the ear, but the obedience of the will; or in common, though inaccurate, words, she is charged with a doctrine and a discipline; and her discipline is not a theory, but a kingdom; it is not in preaching about episcopacy, but in making the Episcopate felt, that she must win her people to render a glad and loyal obedience to her spiritual rule. And this is a subject worthy of a statesman's highest care, for the Church thereby lays the substructure on which he builds his civil order. Without it, legislation must ever be a harsh conflict with the popular will, or a miserable subservience to faction and intimidation.

We have hitherto said nothing of one of the most prominent features of our present state, that is, of religious dissent. Taking Romanists and Protestants of all kinds, there are probably about three millions of dissenters out of the seventeen millions of England and Wales. Many of these are not so much estranged from the Church, as separated from her; many, we trust, in purpose of heart, are members of her spirit, though they are not partakers of her body: for, doubtless, there are many who ardently desire to be members of the true Church, while, through error of fact, they fail to perceive that she is in this land the visible body of that one true Church which they are feeling after. No man can be condemned as a *formal* schismatic, but he who has had the obligations of unity sufficiently proposed to him; and in like manner, no communities of Christians are *formally* schismatical, but those to whom the Catholic Church has fully and visibly exhibited her unity in doctrine and in fact. Can it be said that the Church has, for a century at least, borne such a testimony in England? Can it be held that the hundreds of thousands who have not so much separated from her, as been thrust out from her precincts by multiplication of her people, have thus been taught the obligations of visible unity? We are very hopeful of success in regaining to her communion those that are in separation. We believe that hundreds of thousands now go to meeting-houses, either because they know of no evil in so doing, or because they have no church to go to, if they would. But of this we feel sure, that it is morally impossible to reclaim our separated brethren, so long as the tokens of visible unity are faint, or ambiguous, or only upon paper. We know no direct "deletory" of schism, as Jeremy Taylor would say, but the apostolical government of bishops; for we are told that the end for which the Episcopate was ordained was *ut semina schismatum tollerentur.*

Again: we have already noticed the vigilance of the Romanists in planting themselves in precisely the most destitute and the most important of our towns. In that they have done wisely.

Who can doubt that Birmingham, and Manchester, and Liverpool, must year by year increase in weight and importance; and that the heart of the middle classes is to be lost or won in those which may be called their metropolitan cities? The wide and weak sway of which Mr. Knox spoke will never hold out against the closely-drawn organization of an assailing communion. By the good providence of God the whole people of England is committed to us. We have received them as a nation, but we must retain them as individuals. It is not by a general influence on the surface of parishes, or households, but by imprinting on the consciences of our people, one by one, the obligations of unity, and by making them conscious that the blessings of communion with the one Holy Catholic Church are to be enjoyed under the pastoral staff of our bishops. It is in this point that the Roman controversialists most obstinately labour against us. They wisely choose their own ground: when they propound the doctrines of the Council of Trent, it is chiefly in the tone of apology and explanation. The tenets of Transubstantiation and of Purgatory are not doctrines whereby to make converts: they are rather embarrassments, needing elucidation; and, after all, to be received on trust from a Church, which has been already declared to be secure from error in defining the doctrines of the faith. The unity of their system, which is put forward as the one visible, living, life-giving Church, in which alone is salvation, symbolized and manifestly set forth before men's eyes, and brought home to each man's door in the orders of their priests and bishops,—this is the great force whereby they detach our people from us. Theirs is a strictly *practical* controversy; an earnest contending not so much for tenets, as for men: they care less for victory than for captives, and their weapon is the unity of the visible Church. Now it is not more true that this is the most prominent point in their practical theology, than that it has been the least prominent in ours. Our preachers and our writers have dwelt at length on every other article of the Creed. Our doctors have written against Transubstantiation, against Invocation of Saints, against Purgatory, against the Creed of Pope Pius; they have well used the Theologia Destructiva: they remain for the most part unanswered to this day. The Romanists know mankind better. They know that negatives do nothing; that all the books in the world will not withstand a well-organized system, which shows visibly its form and unity; and, waving all controversy on details, applies itself to the consciences of living men. If we would not lose piecemeal the victory we have won in the field, we must meet and withstand them on the ground they have so wisely chosen. They challenge the succession and consecration of our bishops. The best answer to their controver-

sial pamphlets against the English succession is twenty new sees, developed out of the line of Matthew Parker, and planted in the heart of their strongest positions[3].

[3] The following is an instructive document, and indicates to the English Church in what direction she ought to prepare herself. It appeared in "The Tablet," a Romanist Newspaper.

Document A.

In consequence of a circular addressed to the clergy of the London district by the Rev. Dr. Rock, the following priests met on November 24th, 1842:—Rev. A. M. Baldacconi, U. J. D., Joseph Bower, J. Bowman, W. Bugden, P. Collingridge, M. Conway, J. Coyle, C. D'Arcy, Jeremiah Harrington, John Hearne, Edward Hearne, James Hearsnep, R. Horrabin, W. Hunt, W. Kelly, J. Maguire, D.D., Edmund Norris, R. North, James O'Neal, Jul. Picquot, D.D., T. Reardon, Joseph Robson, D. Rock, D.D., T. Sisk, J. Telford, W. Wilds.

The Rev. Dr. Rock having addressed the meeting on the advantages that would follow from the restoration of the hierarchy in this country, and proposed the formation of a "brotherhood," with a view to that restoration, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

That a brotherhood, under the patronage of our Blessed Lady and St. Thomas of Canterbury be established to labour for the recovery of the hierarchy of Great Britain.

That the secretary send a copy of the address and resolutions to each one of our much revered vicars apostolic, as well as to every priest in each vicariate, inviting them to join the brotherhood.

That a copy of these resolutions be presented by the president, in the name of the brotherhood, to our much esteemed vicar apostolic, the Lord Bishop of Olena, as a mark of our respectful regard, with a hope that ere long we may be allowed the satisfaction of addressing him by the title of an English Bishopric.

The elections for officers, &c., having taken place, the following were chosen:—President, Rev. W. Wilds; secretary, Rev. Dr. Picquot; treasurer, Rev. Jas. O'Neal, council (provisional), Rev. R. Horrabin, Rev. Dr. Rock, Rev. Joseph Robson, Rev. Dr. Maguire.

At a subsequent meeting, Nov. 29th, it was decided that the names of all who should have joined the brotherhood by the time the address was circulated should be affixed thereunto.

Document B.

London, December 8th, 1842.

Dear Rev. Brother,

It cannot have escaped your notice that there has been felt for a considerable time a growing wish among the Catholic body of this kingdom, but more especially among the priesthood, for the restoration of our long-lost hierarchy. This wish has been distinctly uttered, both in public and in private, through various channels, clearly exposing and deeply regretting the many inconveniences resulting from the want of a canonical form of church government. We, your undersigned brethren, have long ardently felt the same wish, and often have we sighed for the day when we might hail the revival of our ancient and venerable institutions. But this feeling is quickened within us by other and higher considerations, the oftener and the more deeply we look into this important subject. As priests of God's one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, the thoughts uppermost in our minds must ever be the forwarding of the true faith; and the wish nearest to our hearts, the salvation of souls, *salus animarum suprema lex*. Now, independently of the hierarchy being the form of government most in accordance with the spirit and canons of the Church, though, like St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, a bishop might number only seventeen faithful in his diocese, it is our strong conviction that our sacred ministry would become much more available with our separated countrymen through the workings of a hierarchical government. It would, moreover, go far towards removing the principal inconveniences and embarrassments of the present anomalous and perplexing system, alike painful to those who govern and to those who are under the control of such governments. Truly, there is a sad want

As there is so much talk and fear of Romanism at this day, it may not be out of place to say a few words more on the subject. There can be no doubt that, in the last fourteen years, Romanism has arisen to a visible form and consistency unknown for more than a century and a half. It is not necessary to re-open the question of admitting them to political power. That is now matter of history. Its consequences, however, are evident. Never since 1688 have they shown so united a front, or avowed so plain a design. We fairly say that we think the better of them for telling us that their aim is the re-conversion of England. With their avowed belief it would be the highest sin against charity not to endeavour to bring us under the obedience of Rome. As we see them turning their powers upon England, increasing the number of their vicars apostolic and bishops coadjutors, re-organizing their ecclesiastical arrangements, founding colleges and monasteries, building sumptuous churches, and the like, we hope the more of them: they begin to seem to us less of the unreal and pseudo-liberal body we have hitherto thought them. They seem in earnest, and to be realities. All this gives, we think, good promise. For not so much as a moment do we dream of their subduing the Church of England to Romanism. The thought is a mere illusion; they were never further from it than now: never were the characteristics of Romanism more calmly

of organization amongst us; and to meet this evil, a plan of reform has lately been placed under the eye of the Catholic body. But as the attempt appears rather to combat than to promote the hierarchy, it is not one that can pretend to countenance from us. No; grant us the boon in the first instance, and organization will follow as a consequence from a principle, as an effect from a cause; an organization which, being in strict conformity with the practice of ages, the decrees of general councils, and the discipline of the canons, will gather the scattered ruins of our ancient Church, and build them up again into a whole body, compacted and fitly joined together, by what every joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, making increase in the body, unto the edifying of itself in charity. (Eph. iv. 16.) With these views on this important subject, and encouraged by the late happy establishment of a hierarchy in Australia, by the present sovereign Pontiff, who, in his paternal regard for the Catholics of Great Britain, seems to vie with his great and sainted predecessor, we earnestly call upon you to add your name to the brotherhood, and to afford your zealous co-operation towards the attainment of so beneficial an object. With every kind wish for your success in the holy ministry, we have the honour to remain,

Dear Rev. Brother, your sincere servants.

Members of the brotherhood—W. Wilds, president; Jul. Picquot, D.D., secretary; Jas. O'Neal, treasurer; R. Horrabin, D. Rock, D.D., Jos. Robson, John Maguire, D D., members of the provisional council; A. Applegarth, A. M. Baldacconi, LL.D., Joseph Bower, T. Bowman, W. Bugden, P. Butler, John Clark, P. Collingridge, Ign. Collingridge, M. Conway, Jer. Cotter, S. Dambrine, C. D'Arcy, T. Doyle, T. H. Ewart, James Foley, W. Joseph Fryer, W. Hall, Jer. Harrington, John Hearne, E. Hearne, James Hearsnep, R. Hodgson, W. Hunt, James Janch, W. Kelly, C. P. King, G. Last, T. Long, W. McAvila, M. M'Neal, A. Magee, D.D., J. Moore, Edm. Norris, R. North, J. E. Price, T. Reardon, John Rolfe, John Ringrose, Joseph Savage, John Sidden, Joseph Silveira, T. Sisk, John Telford, M. A. Tierney, John Tilt, John Walsh.

and thoroughly rejected among us; never were the same characteristics less living and energetic among themselves. A learned German Catholic, speaking of the state of religion in Europe, said truly, "Catholicism is giving way under Romanism, and Romanism is giving way under Catholicism." We hope better things of them; and no one who has traced the history of their doctrinal expositions from Stapleton and Bellarmine through Sancta Clara and Bossuet to Milner and Wiseman, can fail to see that the saying of the German is most true.

We have heard a great deal of ten or fifteen notable converts to Romanism in the last ten years, and we have lately read of thirty-five persons who were received with much parade on the Feast of Christmas, 1842, into the Roman Church. But what are these to the number which are daily coming from them, and from other sects, to us? We hear of one sect appointing a day of fasting on account of the extensive secession of its members to the Church. It must ever be remembered, that the sects in this country act upon an immense, and we fear in no small measure an uncatechized, and unprotected population, nominally belonging to the Church: we should be surprised if there could be none found to embrace Romanism, or any other system which is visible and earnest. Which has not been making converts? Every sect has increased; nay, new sects have arisen. What are they all but outcries for bonds of unity and centres of support round which men may gather, and stay the instinctive desire of our nature for reality and combination? They must have something out of themselves to cling to; and in a population which is but weakly drawn to its natural centres, any exciting doctrine will soon surround itself with a compact system. But though we may dismiss, as a vain fear, the thought of any impression being made on the English Church at large, we must be prepared for painful consequences of the present efforts of the Roman communion among us. Individual minds may be lost to us; and those not always weak and fanciful. There is no necessary proof of weakness in adopting a system which Leibnitz could contemplate favourably, Bellarmine defend, and Stolberg embrace. We shall gain nothing by such false ways of strengthening ourselves. The unity of our flocks may probably be troubled; fast friendships broken off; the peace of the most retired homes wounded in the heart, and the closest affections made to bleed. It is a day to send "not peace on the earth but a sword;" and this will go on just in the measure in which we lay bare to them a communion without exact precincts, and dioceses weakly attached to remote Episcopal sees.

We will next proceed to another reason not less urgent than the last. There is, as we believe, no other mode of restoring

and maintaining an efficient administration of the Church as an organized system of spiritual government, than by increasing the number of her spiritual rulers. We trust that no one could imagine that we would venture to reflect upon the prelates who now bear authority over us. Every feeling of reverence and attachment would forbid so much as a word lightly spoken of their unwearied labours. We shall not incur such a fault, if we say that the Church of England, as now constituted, must be beyond the pastoral control of any twenty-six bishops, albeit among them were St. Gregory and St. Ambrose: it is simply impossible.

The last hundred and fifty years have lain heavy on the Church of England. When we hear of improvements and re-awakenings of zeal, ours is a mingled joy, for we are thereby reminded of our declensions. We say heartily with the Bishop of St. David's, "it would be foolish and dastardly to turn our eyes away from the fact, or to treat it as a secret which it is possible to conceal, or dangerous to divulge[4]." We know of no safety but in the honest, plain-spoken confession, that the doctrine, ritual, and discipline of the Church of England as it exists on record, is, in a multitude of points, a sharp rebuke to our present state of teaching, worship and practice. There can be no security for the maintenance of an extended and complicated system which is worked by a multitude of half-independent agents, without a very close and watchful superintendence. The Church has been extending even in the midst of schism, by the mere force of a growing population; it has been becoming more complicated and embarrassed by the political, social, moral, intellectual evils which have come upon her since the end of the seventeenth century. The beginning of the last century was a time of peculiar trial to the Church. All things contributed to relax the Episcopal rule. The politics of the revolution, the loss of the non-juring clergy, the union with Scotland, all tended to slacken the bonds of discipline, and to lower the tone of preaching and practice in the Church. It is an ominous fact, that the bishops of the then Convocation were what we should call low churchmen, and the inferior clergy high churchmen; that the powers of the Episcopate were mainly affirmed and upheld by the Presbyters. It was out of such times as these that the great Wesleyan separation, and the piecemeal neglect of order of which at this day we see the full extent, took its rise. Had the number of Episcopal sees been increased a hundred years ago, and the bonds of discipline thereby drawn closer, and the visitational office of the Church duly exercised throughout

[4] Charge of the Bishop of St. David's, 1842, p. 3.

her ten thousand parishes, it is impossible that we should have had to lament at this day such an accumulation of irregularities and oppositions of practice, even in the most sacred offices. Is it to be believed that the order of daily prayers could have been universally abandoned, and that with the very title of the Common Prayer-Book and its express commands perpetually rebuking both priesthood and people; or that the holy sacraments should have been thrust down from their appointed place, so that baptisms were given, without necessity, in private houses and courtly drawing-rooms, or the holy communion administered four or even three times a year, thereby compelling multitudes to fall under the censure of the Church, which requires that "every parishioner shall receive it three times in every year at least?" It seems inevitable, nay, a just chastisement upon us, that when we will not turn to the divinely-ordained correction of these evils, such things should be. It is no more than a simple faith in the government of Christ over his Church, to believe that a more numerous resident Episcopate would have made unnecessary the restoration, in which, alas! some can allow themselves to exult without humiliation. There would have been no need for directions about points of ritual observances which are often of a trivial kind. We should have been saved the pain of making such details a subject of public notoriety. They are, indeed, points which must needs be reduced to order; but it is best when they are matter of unconscious habit, done by instinct, and by a silent law of obedience. And such they would have been, had a numerous Episcopate in times past maintained a close and searching cognizance of the divine offices and usages of the ritual. And what causes of controversy, and shame, and rebuke, would have been avoided! There is something very humbling in seeing pastors of Christ's Church in earnest about a surplice or a gown.

There is another subject of immense practical importance, confirming the view we have taken, namely, the relation of the Episcopate to the corrective discipline of the Church. The inefficiency of the Church courts has passed into a proverb. For twelve or thirteen years Inquiries, Reports, Recommendations, Bills, Acts of Parliament, have been multiplied to restore Church discipline. And what has been the result? We believe the chief effect of the Act lately passed after so much deliberation, has been to hinder the Archbishop of York in depriving the Dean of that Cathedral Church. It is not a little remarkable, though with the views now prevalent not at all to be wondered at, that the term "Church discipline" has been systematically understood to mean discipline over the clergy. So far as discipline extends, it would seem the laity are not of the Church: and this fallacy has

run through reports, bills, and debates, until it is with difficulty that men can be brought back to believe that the flock of Christ are subject to the spiritual correction of his pastors. Parliament has not, indeed, been invited to concur in a measure based on such a principle; but such a bill has been within a hair's-breadth of being formally laid upon the table of the House of Commons. We confess that this subject, which is treated with so much circumstance, seems to us a very plain one. We do not undertake to draw a bill which would satisfy the practitioners of Doctors' Commons; but of this we are well satisfied, that no written statutes or acts of parliament will suffice to restore the corrective powers of the Church. The discipline of the Church is essentially a spiritual power, and can be ultimately and really enforced only by spiritual means. The civil authority may recognize its acts, and carry them out by civil coercion, but this is not essential to its exercise. Statutes do but express the moral law of the Church as it was from the beginning. The corrective power of the Church is in the power of the keys, and may be enforced by the simple withdrawal of spiritual benedictions. But before such a power can take hold upon a people, the administration of it must have impressed its laws upon the conscience. And for this the presence and moral influence of the bishop is absolutely necessary. The fulcrum of discipline is the faith and obedience of the Church. Now it is not by acts of the legislature, nor by catechizing and preaching sermons on the Episcopal Order, or the Commination Service, that the great unwritten laws of spiritual order can be impressed on the mind of the Church. The Episcopate must make itself felt, and impress its own character by direct and immediate contact with the clergy and laity of every diocese. This alone, without enactments of parliament, will suffice; but all the powers of legislature without this will be simply in vain. If we would learn the true genius and power of Church discipline, let us read the lives of Cardinal Borromeo and François de Sales, or of Bishop Bedell and Bishop Wilson. What was it that gave to them such powers of discipline over the churches they governed but the sanctity of their lives, and their habitual and close presence among those over whom they ruled? They carried the law of discipline in themselves. Their very presence was a tribunal, and their reproof a sentence. The whole life and power of discipline was contained in their single acts. What was it but spiritual correction *pro salute animæ* in its most perfect form, when François de Sales seeing a scandalous priest thrown into prison, fell at his feet, and with tears conjured him "to have compassion on him, his pastor; on his religion which he scandalized; and on his own soul;" by which the offender was converted,

and became an example of virtue. But for this a bishop must rule over a diocese, not like Chester or Lichfield, but like Geneva.

And here we come upon matters of the most vital sort. If the Christian Church be a part of Christianity, then Christianity is not fully promulgated when the Church is a name, and not an authority. If the Gospel be not only an object of faith, but a law of life; that is, if there be not only a doctrine proposed for our belief, but a discipline laid upon our actions; then certainly it cannot be said that the Gospel is fully and truly declared, so long as the Church is bid to be content with preaching to her people, without correcting their spiritual trespasses. Let any one examine the moral statistics of this country—let him learn of the parochial clergy the open examples of habitual blasphemy, incurable drunkenness, of illicit and incestuous cohabitation, and then reflect that they are liable to be compelled by law to administer divine offices, and the rites of burial to offenders dying impenitent, and let him say what greater grievance can any where be found?

Shall we do right to look for help in these embarrassments to acts of parliament? Is there not something unpersuasive and repelling in parliamentary Church discipline? Can it be restored in any other way than by bringing the divine commission of the Episcopate to bear in detail, throughout the whole land, upon the conscience and instincts of the people? But for this the bishop must be visible, prominent, and chief. It cannot be done by deputy. A delegated power is always disputed, and virtually annulled. We fear, too, that this power, if not effectively resumed by the Episcopate, will be irretrievably exiled from the Church. If we shall not be thought to endorse Mr. Carlyle beyond the present extract, we will quote his words. "We often hear," he says, "that the Church is in danger, and truly so it is —in a danger it seems not to know of; for with its tithes in the most perfect safety, its functions are becoming more and more superseded. The true Church of England, at this moment, lies in the editors of its newspapers. These preach to the people daily, weekly; admonishing kings themselves; advising peace and war, with an authority which only the first Reformers, and long-past class of popes were possessed of; inflicting moral censure; imparting moral encouragement, consolation, edification; in all ways diligently administering the discipline of the Church[5]." There is some apparent ground for this statement. And we stand in awe at the thought of such a divorce of real power from the

[5] Carlyle's Miscellanies, vol. ii. p. 165.

persons whom God has chosen to wield it. The very fact that there exists such a power external to the consistory of the bishop, and apparently obeying him as a servant, is highly suspicious. It is an obsequiousness we are afraid of; lest the assessor should one day assume the seat of the judge. For what if it should draw the power into its own hands, and then turn it against its former superior? What if public opinion should begin to lay down new ecclesiastical precepts on the nature of unity and schism, on the tables of consanguinity and pleas of divorce? What will the judgment of the reawakened consistories avail then? And are we not fearfully preparing for such an event? At this very moment, it is public opinion that takes cognizance of morals, for, as a fact, the bishops' courts have long ceased to entertain them. The Commissioners report that in the years 1827—1829, in the Provincial and Diocesan Courts there were tried 1903 causes: i. e. for church seats, 190; for defamation, 331; for matters testamentary, 947; but the cases of correction of all kinds were only 49, and of these probably not three for offences against morals[6]. At this moment, therefore, Mr. Carlyle's statement is thus far true; the corrective discipline of the Church is suspended. This is a very fearful evil; and, if not speedily remedied, threatens to become incurable.

This part of the subject must not be left without our referring to another point most strongly forced at this time on our attention, namely, the diversities of theological opinion which are now troubling the peace of the Church. Differences there have been in Christendom from the beginning. After defining the doctrines of the faith, a wide field will always be left open, in which men have been permitted to exercise a free opinion. For the most part, the differences within the Church at this time are on points undefined; yet these diversities are of ill example, and lead to evil consequences. It is much to be desired that such debates should be brought to an end, and that some tribunals should be found, not only to moderate between disputants, but to win them by persuasion to agreement or to silence. Now this is not to be done by formularies. Definitions on paper will never extinguish controversies. Even the tests which are imposed must be guarded by expositions, and the expositions by commentaries. The history of the sacred text, and of the Catholic creeds, is proof enough, were any wanting, that forms of words, though they may be the *basis*, can never be the *bond* of agreement. It is the very end of the Episcopate to guard and transmit the faith not in a dead letter, but in a living testimony. Why did St. Paul leave

[6] Report of Eccl. Commission, Append. D. 11.

Timothy as Bishop of Ephesus, but that he might charge them "that they teach no other doctrine?" Among the foremost promises made by a bishop at his consecration this is found, that he should "banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines," and "privately and openly call upon and encourage others to do the same." Now suppose that the Convocation were to meet to-morrow, and to declare for the sense given to the Thirty-nine Articles by one of the two main schools of interpretation in the Church.—Would this bring about unity of opinion? Let the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of the Synod of London, of the conferences of Hampton Court and the Savoy, suffice to show that it is not by formal declarations, but by moulding the minds of men, that agreement of doctrine is to be attained; it is by the familiar and frequent intercourse of a bishop with his clergy, by his dwelling among them as a guide, instructor, and moderator, and by winning the allegiance and deference of their minds. And for this purpose there is need that the bishop himself should be released from mechanical and secular business. All that relates to the endowment, and legal administration of the Church, except only acts of confirmation and signature, may be discharged by a priest, or even by a layman. And yet these are the employments almost exclusively forced upon the bishop. If he is to be the centre and ruler of many minds, he must needs be a man of study, meditation, and retirement; by which the character of the ecclesiastical ordinary would become secondary, and that of spiritual pastor and father be brought out into life and fulness. But how shall this be in dioceses which average six or seven hundred thousand souls? If the strong counter-movements which are now dividing the mind of the Church are to be combined and held together so as to promote unity and truth, it must be by so strengthening and distributing the centres of spiritual rule, that every body of clergy shall have ready and habitual access to their common head; and every bishop a personal influence by example, judgment, and instruction upon the clergy of his diocese. It is a remarkable fact, that, in that very diocese which is supposed to be the source of our present theological differences, the strongest proof has been given of what we have said above. Three several times have the causes of contention been either suppressed or mitigated by the influence of the bishop. Let the same episcopal care on the one hand, and the same dutiful submission on the other, be exhibited in every city and town in England and Wales, and we have no fears of division in the Anglican Church.

We now come to the last reason which our limits permit us to offer for an increase of Episcopal sees. We know of no other

measure by which the Church of England can become again in reality what it is still in name—the Church of the English people. Mask it as we may, there is a population of six or seven millions either estranged by schism, or destitute of the means of attaining everlasting life. The Church is at a crisis in her probation. She must either unfold new powers, enlarge her precincts, multiply her ministers of faith and mercy, and gather into her bosom her alienated or outcast children, thereby imprinting and perpetuating the character of unity on the nation,—or she must suffer daily inroads and perpetual losses, by secessions and divisions, thereby wasting away from the lowest root. Let us not slight the warning. The theory of alliance between Church and State, on which the Reformation proceeded, is already, for the most part, abandoned by statesmen and politicians: the identity of the Church and State, on which Hooker argued, does not exist; *practically* the Church stands related to the State, as the chief, the oldest, the most *formally* recognized, of many religious bodies. Legislative enactments for the reassertion of the supremacy of the Church of England are not to be looked for: within the precincts of parliament, the Church, as such, makes herself but indistinctly heard; we do not rely for the work of the Church upon that particular form of political opinion which, though it was upheld by the united support of the Church, has rather protected it from hostile enactments, than proposed or conceived any direct measure for its aid and furtherance. All this we say to justify our opinion that the turn of public events may be directly adverse to the English Church; and that the prescriptions of law and the civil privileges still possessed by her, are no guarantee that the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the State may not withdraw their co-operation, or even, under contingencies readily to be imagined, be directed against her. There is, again, no dependence to be placed on the passive churchmanship of the upper classes; they are notoriously impatient of a religion, which will not accommodate and conform its hours, usages, offices, requirements, and instructions, to personal, domestic, or social habits; to the customs of the world, and the tone of the nineteenth century. The middle classes have already become the strongholds of Dissent; and these classes comprise the most stirring, active, controlling element of our system; and, through the peculiar omission of our clergy, who have lived among the rich as their companions, and tended the poor as pastors, they have been so overlooked, that in no part of the English people is there less affectionate reverence for the Church—we may say more direct and impatient antagonism of mind against it. Of the lower classes we need say little more than has been said

already—six millions of souls for whom the Church can provide no pastoral care, is a sufficient warning. These things will convince us that there lie under the surface of our present ecclesiastical state, elements which might any day burst into vivid conflict, and rend the existing system of the national religion piecemeal.

It has been, therefore, with but slender sympathy that we have seen the subject of Church extension brought under discussion in parliament; for such discussions would at best terminate in grants of the public revenue. We need not say that we hold the empire of Great Britain, as a power Christian and Catholic, entirely bound to protect and propagate, by all lawful means, the Church of Christ sojourning in these islands. But considering the present constitution of the supreme legislature, the temper that dwells in it, and the theory of religion most in vogue, we are not solicitous of parliamentary Church-extension. We have little or no desire for votes of money to build churches. We believe that the money would again palsy the hands of the Church, which are beginning to be lifted up with alms and oblations; and that the churches would be a superficial palliative, and go to aggravate the embarrassment and unwieldiness of our present parochial system. Birmingham alone needs 50, London 200. But even this is a wise and merciful scheme, compared with the projects of education which have been propounded. It is with indignant sorrow that we hear men proposing theories of education as the one great and sufficient remedy for moral and spiritual debasement. For five or six years the great parties in and out of parliament have been contending about schemes of education, whether it is to be "based on religion" or no; whether the religious teaching is to be 'general' or 'special,' and the like. These problems are to be solved by those whom it may concern. For us as Churchmen it is enough to know that, multiply infant schools, model schools, training schools, galleries, simultaneous systems, and the like—nay, build churches and plant isolated pastors, to stand alone, awed, unsupported, and overwhelmed in the spiritual wastes of our land,—and you do but, comparatively, throw away money and time, squander inestimable lives, and break down the finest energies of our nature, simply *by beginning at the wrong end*. One bishopric will perpetually develop out of itself churches, clergy, schools, and teachers, according to the spiritual necessities of the flock attached to the bishop's see. We know of no way to educate the people but through extending the Church; and we know of no real Church-extension, but by the multiplication of churches in the only true sense of the word, *i. e.*, not walls of brick, mortar, and stone, but living bishops, with their *corona* of clergy, sitting in deliberation round their

spiritual throne, subdividing their pastoral charges, and penetrating them with their daily presence, teaching, and example. There is need enough indeed of churches and schools, but above and before all, of *men*, who will live lives of purity and gentleness, and win to repentance those that are dead in sin. It is no time yet to talk of educating children. Men are dying —tens of thousands year by year dying untended, and appearing before the tribunal of God. With them is our first work. The education of the children is to be secured in the reclaiming of their parents. What but this was the mission of the apostles? Was the Church the progeny of schools, or schools the offspring of the Church? When Augustine came to the royal presence of Ethelbert, did he crave for the founding of a system of education for our Saxon fathers, or did he plant, in Christ's name, the see of Canterbury? Or did Wilfred form a model school, or a bishopric, on Selsey Bill? The ages of men return again into themselves, and we find at last that we are no wiser than our fathers, though our heads are somewhat turned by the revolving cycle. The nineteenth century must, after all, come back to the seventh or sixth, nay, even to the first.

At the head of the article is an authoritative declaration that the missions of the English Church shall henceforth be conducted on the apostolical rule of multiplying the colonial sees. The confessed disproportion between the results and the exertions of our foreign missions; the visible declension even of the most successful beginnings; the irregularities and intolerable inconveniences resulting from the banishment of a few priests without a bishop to the most distant regions of the world,—all these made it impossible for the Church to refrain from expressing its long-cherished desire to consecrate a college of bishops for our colonial possessions. It was argued irresistibly by his Grace the Primate, that "a Church without a bishop, can hardly deserve the name of Episcopal. Whatever may be the worth of the clergymen by whom it is served, whatever their numbers, it is a body without a head. No ruling mind to direct, no authority to correct abuses, to administer discipline, to advise, to admonish, to console, or encourage, according as occasion may require. In respect of the general interests of the Church, it is obvious that individual clergymen, having each their appropriate charge, are necessarily limited to their own cure; neither zeal nor ability will authorize them to go beyond it. Whatever they may do, or advise, is without authority, and consequently, for the most part, without effect. Not to mention that this limitation of their services must necessarily leave many parts of an extensive country in a state of utter destitution, the districts which have not been assigned to parti-

cular clergymen must be altogether deprived of the benefit of spiritual care. The Church, in the meanwhile, remains in a state of inaction—it can make no progress. There is no one to stimulate its exertions, to direct its movements, or to distribute assistance to those places which may stand most in need.

"The remedy of these evils is to be found in the appointment of a spiritual leader, in other words, a bishop, who may conduct the concerns of the Church, and enforce its discipline. While, as Bishop of London, I had an authority, little more than nominal, over the colonies, I found that, whenever cases occurred requiring investigation, I was almost helpless. I had no one to refer to on the spot, and I could not judge for myself at so great a distance; conflicting reports were made upon almost every case, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I could come to a satisfactory decision. All evils of that kind are removed when there is a bishop on the spot.

"To this may be added the immense influence of the character and example of a bishop on the moral and religious feeling of the population. I speak from extended experience. In proof of what I have said, I might refer to the improved condition of society in every colony where episcopal authority has been established within the last twenty years; but in no instance has this change for the better been more striking than in the West Indies, both in respect to the spiritual provision for the islands, and to the moral and religious character of the people. New churches have been built, the number of the clergy has increased, and the moral and religious character of the population has greatly improved; and all this in the course of little more than sixteen years. It would, however, take up too much of your time to go into details, and in fact would not be suited to the purposes of this meeting.

"Now, one of the causes why our holy religion has not prospered so much as might have been expected is, that these things were not thought of at the first establishment of the colonies. We did not follow the example of the French, who, when they settled their colonies in the new world, sent out with them bishops, with an efficient staff attached to them; and their religious establishments are still flourishing. We sent out our countrymen with only a few clergymen; and the natural consequence was, the increase of dissent, and the decline of religion in those colonies.

"It must be remembered," his Grace continued, speaking of a church without a bishop, "that such a church so circumstanced, is in a worse condition than any community of Christians who have a complete organized government of their own. They supply

the want of a bishop in other ways; but in our churches, if there is no bishop, there is no substitute for a bishop, no legitimate substitute at least invested with spiritual authority, or sufficiently versed in the principles of ecclesiastical government, to regulate the affairs of the Church, or to direct the conduct of the clergy[7]."

Now, it must be admitted at once that there is an undeniable difference between sending a bishop to New Zealand and Tasmania, or to Manchester and Leeds. And the difference lies obviously in this point, that the clergy in Tasmania or New Zealand would have no bishop at all; and the clergy of Manchester and Leeds would have the power by post, or travelling, to address themselves to the Bishops of Chester and Ripon. We also admit, that the acts of ordination, confirmation, and consecration of churches, could not be performed without a bishop. But here the difference, so far as it is important, is at an end; and we feel that no arguments can be used for the founding of additional bishoprics in our colonies, which will not *far more urgently* enforce the duty of forming additional bishoprics at home. For it is obvious, first of all, that the spiritual authority of the Church is more needed in an *old* country than a *new*; in a land of secularized Christianity, than among a people newly converting to the faith; in a nation partially relapsed from the spiritual life, as we are, than among tribes who are for the first time approaching the kingdom of Christ. The necessity for episcopal oversight increases with the age of political states, and with the complication of national and social characters and relations. In the same manner as the administration of civil government requires to be strengthened and confirmed, so does the spiritual. The need of spiritual rule is manifold greater now than in the age of Henry VIII., when the Episcopate was last increased, not only by reason of our numbers, but because of the multiplication and inveteracy of our religious divisions, and of the development of new classes, it might almost be said, of new races of men, presenting peculiar, and all but insuperable, forms of resistance to the teaching and unity of the Church. It may be taken as an axiom, that as states advance in age and development of power, they need a more effective organization for the purposes of control and guidance. How then can it be argued that additional sees are needed in our colonies, and not in England? What we call civilization, while it corrects and softens a people in many points, makes them more difficult of pastoral control; simply, besides other

[7] Proceedings at a meeting, &c. for the purpose of raising a Fund towards the Endowment of Additional Colonial Bishoprics, pp. 3, 4.

reasons, because it strongly unfolds the individuality of the will and character: it is manhood compared with childhood; and men are more difficult to guide than children. Civilization and Christianity, though intimately related, are not identical; and when civilization exists in a partially dechristianized people, it becomes one of the foremost antagonists of Christianity. The shrewd, speculative, captious, argumentative, excited, intellectual temper of a people civilized, but without religion, is more alien from the Gospel, even than that of moral debasement. But such is the temper of our great towns, and of hundreds of thousands in England. Again, we believe the moral corruption of unconverted nations to have in it less of virus and intensity, than the impurity of relapsed Christians. And such are our unhappy brethren of the manufactories and coal-mines. Number is, therefore, no sufficient rule to judge by. And yet, even by this test, the population of 50,000 in the diocese of Tasmania, does not need episcopal control more than the 150,000 in Leeds, or the 350,000 in Manchester. But, in truth, it is not by number, nor by distance, nor by extent of jurisdiction, so much as by the moral condition of a people, that the necessity for episcopal superintendence and government is to be ascertained. A town of 50,000 souls, lying in a circuit of walls, but (as the towns of this land miserably are) divided by schisms, irritated by politics, secularized by trade, demoralized by vice from childhood, and destitute of the means of salvation, every such town presents a phenomenon of spiritual evil, and is charged with a power of antagonism to the doctrine of holiness, which can be subdued to the cross of Christ by nothing less than the full power of the Church, concentrated severally upon each, and perpetually brought to bear by the personal presence and government of a resident bishop.

The resistless arguments quoted above, by the change of a few words which refer to our colonial dependencies, offer the most unanswerable appeal for an immediate increase of the Episcopal sees at home. What are our mining and manufacturing districts; what are Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Newcastle, and many more, but *missions* in the most momentous sense of the word? Surely the recovery, and reinstating in the unity of the Church, of a lapsed Christian population, is a work to the difficulties of which a mission among New Zealanders or American Indians can afford no parallel. The noble bearing and a reverent awe at the presence of the Unseen, which is characteristic of the wild tribes of the earth, is nearer akin to faith, than the sensuality and selfishness of those who have corrupted themselves in the midst of Christianity and

civilization. Among such there is an opposition not only to the purity of religion, but to religion itself, as a thing dimly known and feared.

Would not the sounder and deeper measure of Church-extension be that, a bishop, with four or six clergy, be placed in the heart of every town in Great Britain containing a population of 100,000; and also in others of smaller population, but of peculiar moral condition, such as Wolverhampton, Nottingham, Newcastle, and the like; that their first instructions be to reduce to a report and to formal recommendation a plan for the redistribution of those towns into small parochial divisions [8], and to estimate the number of clergy and churches needed in each, and to fix on the most eligible sites for churches and for schools; that powers be committed by parliament to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to entertain and sanction such recommendations, which, after receiving the sign-manual, and being published in the Gazette, should have the full force and effect of law as is the case in the re-arrangement of dioceses, &c.? We should have thereby obtained an outline and estimate not of what particular minds may think possible to be done, but what from the exigencies of each particular case everybody must confess ought to be done. It would be a record for the next generation, and would stand as the avowed scope and aim of the life and labours of the bishops of those cities. Perhaps years might elapse before it was fully realized; but as there is faith to be had in the promises of Christ to His Church, so surely would it be attained at last. The first step towards it is a vigorous moral impression to be made on every such community. The first and daily toil of the bishop would be to awaken to a sense of their high and burdensome responsibilities those who, having allured together the masses of men now multiplying and corrupting one another, have through their toil, and the toil of their offspring, gathered to themselves an accumulation of wealth. Let the moral element go forth first of all, and begin its work upon the consciences of men; the material system would not linger long behind; the presence of a bishop in these towns would soon surround itself with clergy and teachers; the rising of a cathedral would, as by attraction, draw up both churches and schools [9].

All other modes of Church-extension seem to us to be embar-

[8] We are delighted to see an approximation to this plan in the noble project of the Vicar of Leeds.

[9] A remarkable confirmation of this is to be found in all our colonial dioceses. Bp. Coleridge found in his diocese in 1825 35 schools, in 1834 there were 405; of clergy, in 1825, 50; in 1834, 81. (See Bishop Coleridge's Charges, &c., Appendix.) The Bishop of Nova Scotia has consecrated 119 churches. The Bishop of Australia has, we believe, quadrupled his clergy since 1836.

rassed and invalid, beginning at the wrong end, and working slowly and with great obstructions.

We could earnestly wish that this were well considered by those who, with a laudable zeal, have been urging the duty of Church extension upon government. It is an embarrassing demand to ask of government a grant of public money, especially in a season of unusual financial difficulty. What they should ask rather, is the aid of government in obtaining the removal of such obstructions as hinder the Church in carrying out her own system and her own principles, by her own inherent vitality. There is a self-evident reasonableness and equity about such a demand. No party could venture to refuse it. The spirit of the toleration acts pledge so much to the Church; for it is no more than every sect and denomination of dissenters [1] in the British empire enjoys, namely, the freedom of extending its own organization. It would, indeed, be a costly dignity for the Church to purchase the name of "Established" at the price of her highest gift and birthright. This can never be. Let nothing more be asked of parliament than the constitutional powers to multiply her Episcopate and her dioceses, as she now multiplies her priesthood and her parishes: and, if need be, let it be left to her to find for them endowments and revenues.

It is with great satisfaction we have observed, that Sir Robert Peel has more than once declared in parliament that this work must be almost wholly left to individual faith and self-denial. We hail this as one of the most valuable pledges he has given to the Church. Let the Church accept it as a gage that he will lend his aid in removing all such legal and technical impediments as now exist, in the way of her self-extension, throughout every town and dwelling in the land. The Church Endowment Act of last session is an earnest of this wise and necessary policy.

And here our limits require that this portion of the subject should be brought to a close. Very much remains to be said. Many of the foregoing arguments derive their force from details into which it is impossible, without running to a length beyond that of an article, to enter. We must content ourselves with

[1] And here, by the way, we cannot forbear noticing a document which some time ago appeared, purporting to be an address emanating from "the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Ely," in which mention is made of "our Episcopal Church." We do not know the sect. It is a denomination we have not met with in England. We doubt whether the Primates of all England, and of England, or their Graces' suffragans, are aware of any such intrusion into their dioceses. Certainly a multiplication of bishops may be asked, if only to absorb and exterminate this newly-emergent Episcopal Church, especially as it seems to simulate our ecclesiastical arrangement, even to the adoption of archdeaconries, from one of which the document in question professes to come.

suggesting the outline of the subject; and we therefore submit, that as well the acknowledged principle and practice of the Christian Church in general, and of the English in particular, the increase and condition, both social and spiritual, of the people of England, and the internal state and administration of the Church itself, require that the Episcopal sees be speedily and steadily increased.

Some of the objections which may be raised on this subject remain to be considered.

A general objection to it may be perhaps taken on the following ground; namely, that "what has been said establishes the necessity of multiplying the clergy of the Church, and shows that more spiritual instruction, and greater diligence in the exercise of the pastoral office, is required; but that this may be attained, and more certainly, by multiplying the lower rather than the higher order, that is, by priests and deacons, if you will, than by mere bishops."

Now if there be any truth in what has been already said, it is abundantly evident that the final end of the Episcopal office is to ensure the diligent and faithful discharge of the pastoral functions of the inferior orders. The efficiency of the Church in its lowest offices depends ultimately upon a close and faithful oversight in its spiritual rulers. Again, it cannot be denied that the diligent and effective discharge of the pastoral office by the existing clergy of the Church, would be indefinitely increased by the frequent, familiar visitation, encouragement, support, and guidance of a larger number of bishops. On this point let us hear the Bishop of London:—

"But let me not be misunderstood. I hope it will not be imagined, because I thus insist upon the indispensableness of the episcopal office to the Church's complete efficiency, that I therefore undervalue the labours of those who are invested with the lower orders of the ministry. It is *because* of them, it is *for* them, that the higher order of the ministry exists; it is for their safety, for their comfort, for their support; in order to give full effect to their ministry, that we desire in every case to complete the scale. They may—indeed, I know that they do—effect much good in virtue of their own relation to the great Head of the Church, where by circumstances they are placed beyond the reach of episcopal superintendence and advice. But I know this, that whatever good they may be enabled by the blessing of God to do *without* that advantage, they could do much more good, they could do it much better, *with* that advantage; and there are many things requisite for the spiritual welfare of their flocks, which they cannot do at all without it; and therefore it is that

in order to give completeness to our system, wherever it is called into play, and to give full efficiency to the work of the ministry, we desire to send out bishops wherever the inferior orders of the ministry are to be found[2]."

If the present number of the clergy be inadequate to the spiritual care of the people, as all confess it to be, and must, therefore, be greatly increased, our argument is more than strengthened in the same proportion. Too true it is that the Church of England needs more pastors faithfully to preach the Word of God, and administer the Holy Sacraments; to instruct and guide the people. But besides all this, it needs, chiefly and emphatically, uniformity, order, unity, common counsel and action, organization, discipline, government, and these are the properties of the Episcopate. It follows, therefore, that a multiplication of the inferior orders of clergy, though also requisite, will not, and cannot, meet the urgent and paramount necessities of the Church *as a Church*. And as the multiplication of the people demands a multiplication of the clergy, so it is this very increase in the number of the clergy that renders necessary an increase in the number of the bishops. It is surely a short-sighted view to suppose that the case is met by a number of additional curates. As you multiply men charged with responsible offices, so you must multiply superiors who shall oversee them in the discharge of their functions. Their ultimate efficiency depends on oversight and control. If a population of a few hundreds lying within an easy home-circuit be a sufficient cure of souls for a parish priest, how much more than one man can bear must be the cure of many hundreds of clergy scattered over an extended diocese? If the Episcopate is to be a moral power, and not a mechanical routine; if the bishop of a diocese be by word and example to elevate the devotional habit of his clergy, to be, that is, a pastor of pastors, then surely new Episcopal sees are required, not more by the multiplication of the people than by the increase of the clergy. We look with apprehension at the prospect of a body of 16 or 20,000 clergy under the nominal rule of bishops remote from them, and rarely seen. It would seem almost certain to give occasion for an increase of our present evils, in diversity and opposition of opinion and practice, in the over-development of individual peculiarities, and in consequent breaches of the uniformity of our system, and what is worse, of the unity of the Church. We have no desire to see the presbyters of remote towns or districts exercising a *quasi* Episcopate, and, like the priests of Rome, counting themselves of more weight than the bishops of the provinces. We think there is too much

[2] Proceedings at a Meeting, &c., p. 89.

danger of this already, and we desire to see the presence and power of the Episcopate so brought to bear upon them, as to reduce them within the bounds of the second order. This is not to be done, as we have seen, by a triennial visitation, and a public charge, but by the daily and habitual action of the judgment and will of the bishop upon the clergy under his control. To what extent the over free license of speech and action in the priesthood may hereafter increase, and how undue and real a power may be thrown into the hands of an increasing presbytery with a small and fixed Episcopate, it is not easy to say. But most certain, though paradoxical it is, that the power of bishops is multiplied in each severally by the multiplication of the Episcopal order: of this, however, we shall have to speak expressly hereafter, let it suffice now to say, that the vast and overwhelming increase of the population, as it demands an immediate increase in the number of the clergy, so it forces upon the Church, as she tenders her own efficiency, vigour, and unity of government and administration, the duty of strengthening, by multiplication, her centres of authority and of spiritual rule.

It is needless to protract this part of the subject by stating detailed reasons why no intermediate offices, such as that of bishops suffragan, or of archdeacons, will supply what is required. The history of suffragan bishops carries its own dissuasions: they existed in considerable numbers at an early time in the East, and later in the West. They were finally suppressed both in the East and West because of collisions which took place between them and the diocesan bishops, and of irregularities, of which, it would seem, they were the cause.

Although suffragans were sometimes employed before the act of Henry VIII., it may be said that the office was restored by that act. We read of about sixteen suffragan bishops officiating in the English dioceses between 1530 and 1640; but they were again suffered to expire. Whatsoever may have been their origin, they seem in after ages to have been little more than palliations for the evils of over-extensive dioceses, which the bishops, from some reason, were unwilling to divide. The time might come when to restore the office of bishops suffragan would be better than to subdivide still further the diocesan jurisdictions. It must not, however, be forgotten, that when the act of Henry VIII. was passed there were twenty-six sees for a population of about 4,000,000, and a purpose of erecting about thirty more; the twenty-six suffragans were, therefore, a supplement to an Episcopate of nearly sixty members.

What has been said of suffragan bishops may be said with much more truth of archdeacons. We have no desire to speak

otherwise than respectfully of an office which may be of high service to the Church. But the case is this: either the archdeacon is no substitute for the bishop in the points to which we have hitherto directed our argument; or, if he be a substitute for his diocesan, it is by being thrust into a false position, and being invested, by consent, with functions of almost an episcopal character. But as he cannot have the *right* to use them, he can never use them firmly, which can only be when a man bears and uses his own authority. These anomalies are already much to be deprecated. It would be an evil day in which they should be multiplied and established as a recognized expedient for superseding the necessity of multiplying diocesan bishops, invested with their full original jurisdiction.

Some particular objections still remain to be noticed.

It is sometimes thought that a multiplication of bishops would tend to diminish the dignity of the Episcopal office: that by making it more common, it would be lowered in the estimation of the people. Now there is a sense in which the objection above stated is true. It would somewhat take off the strangeness of feeling with which the visit of a bishop is now regarded: it would destroy the sort of indefinite feeling with which some people think and speak of a person withdrawn from their sight and reach by great distance or exaltation. But it is to be remembered that there is a distance which, in time, destroys attachment; and an exaltation which suspends even the affections: *συναισθάνεσθαι ἄρα δεῖ καὶ τοῦ φίλου ὅτι ἐστί· τοῦτο δὲ γίνοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐν τῷ συζῆν, καὶ κοινωνεῖν λόγων καὶ διανοίας.*

It may be that somewhat of a barren greatness, and of a remote dignity, might be dissipated; but it would be to give place for the warm and reverential affections of gratitude, confidence, and love: *κοινωνία γὰρ ἡ φιλία.* We need often to see and to converse with the objects of our attachment; to have ready access to them; and a consciousness that they know and care for our particular state and trials. What is it that is so graceful and persuasive in St. Augustine's notice of St. Ambrose, but the intimate approach of his flock to him at all times, and his benign affableness towards all who sought him? "I could not ask of him," he says, "what I would as I would, being shut out both from his ear and speech by multitudes of busy people whose weaknesses he served; with whom when he was not taken up (which was but a little time), he was either refreshing his body with sustenance absolutely necessary, or his mind with reading. . . . . Oft-times when we had come (for no man was forbidden to enter, nor was it his wont that any who came should be announced to him), we saw him then reading to himself, and never otherwise; and having long sat silent (for

who durst intrude on one so intent?) we were fain to depart, conjecturing that, in the small interval which he obtained, free from the din of others' business, for the recruiting of his mind, he was loath to be taken off[3]."

What, again, is it in the memoir of Bishop Bedell, but that we feel his biography to be the history of his diocese; that it was comprehended in his daily life; that in him we see it all reflected? Synods, and visitations, and conferences with recusants, and communion with his own clergy, and their ministry and actions, seem all to meet in his mind, and to be traced upon it. What, again, is it in Bishop Wilson—in him who seems to have won, by common consent, the title of "apostolical?" whose known faith and sanctity preserved his island-diocese from hostile descents in time of war with France:—what is it, we ask, that makes the Bishop of Sodor and Man, (the least of all British sees,) to be almost the greatest, as well as the most loved and venerated among modern pastors? Without doubt, it is the reality and warmth which is felt to live in every act of his Episcopate. Throughout the whole of his career, he seems in the midst of a spiritual family, bowing the hearts of his children as one heart towards himself, ruling over his church and household as a true Father in God. "If the ancient discipline of the Church were lost," said Lord Chancellor King, "it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of Man." Until very recent days, we believe there were no dissenters in the island.

The true greatness of a bishop is in the hearts of his flock. It is increased as he draws nearer to their sympathies. The Episcopate of the English Church will wield powers, and receive a homage beyond all its present well-deserved and well-used dignity, in proportion as it multiplies its hold upon the hearts of the people.

Before we leave this subject, there is one point which it may be well to notice. By the Canons of the Primitive Church[4], it was ordered that bishopries should not be founded in small cities and villages (villulis). "Ne vilescat nomen episcopi."

The object of this canon was to maintain the dignity of the office[5]. And we shall more readily understand its drift and meaning, if we call to mind the rule by which the Church has ever proceeded in the founding of sees. In every metropolis, or chief city, where there was a superior magistrate, the Church placed also a bishop, that the seats of spiritual and civil judicature might be united[6]. This rule was exactly observed in Britain;

[3] S. Aug. Confes., lib. vi. p. 3.
[4] Concil. Sard. Can. 6.
[5] Bingham's Eccl. Antiq. Book II. ch. xii.
[6] Bingham, Book IX. i. 4.

and the primacy of Canterbury is owing, as we have before said, to the fact of Kent being the first and chief of the Saxon kingdoms extending to the Humber[7]. Such was the rule observed in all the provincial bishoprics. The bishop, therefore, lost much in importance when banished into villages, remote from the source of power which it was his function to assist and to instruct. He was by special propriety the spiritual guide of the high civil authorities. Wheresoever they were gathered in the greatest strength, there his presence was most required. From this we see of how great importance it would have been deemed, that a bishop should reside where his throne is planted, in the midst of the highest and most powerful of his flock, that is, in his cathedral city. Recent changes make this subject worthy of more than common consideration. For instance, in carrying out the union of Gloucester and Bristol, it is provided that there shall be a residence for the bishop near Bristol. The effect of this is, that for half of the year the bishop will be non-resident at Bristol, and for half the year resident in neither of his cathedral cities. This arrangement seems peculiarly objectionable on many grounds: especially as it must still further, and that greatly, lessen the weight of the Episcopate in Bristol.

Another objection often urged is, that an additional number of seats in the House of Lords is not to be expected, and that it would be undesirable to create an order of bishops who should not possess temporal rank. We confess ourselves unable to divine why the admission of a larger number of spiritual peers is not to be expected. Numbers are being perpetually added to the upper house from all classes of her Majesty's subjects, and from all branches of the public service; and we can discover, *à priori*, no reason why from the spiritualty an additional number should not be admitted to the deliberations of parliament. It is notorious that those right reverend lords seldom, if ever, mix in debate on matters simply political. Except in divisions on great civil questions they seldom record a vote. On subjects of an ecclesiastical nature all men seem agreed in confessing the propriety of their taking a foremost part. We cannot, therefore, form to ourselves any clear and definite reason, such, at least, as candid and reasonable men would be willing to avow, why the number of those confessedly chosen out of the whole body of the Church as conspicuous for piety, wisdom, and learning, should not be increased in the great council of the nation. Nay, we will go further, and say, that it would seem to us that the moral and spiritual state of the people, would urgently prescribe the taking

[7] Bp. Beveridge on the Apost. Canons, sects. xvii.—xix.

larger counsel of the rulers of the Church, rather than the calling in of irresponsible advisers out of parliament, who are often shallow, empirical, and estranged from the great ecclesiastical institutions of the country.

It would seem to us not only not at variance with the constitution, but emphatically demanded by the constitution, that the number of spiritual peers should be increased.

Under the Plantagenets, the number of the peerage was a small body varying from fifty to eighty[8].

In the reign of Henry VIII. the spiritual lords, twenty-six bishops, and twenty-six mitred abbots, with two priors, always preponderated over the temporal lords[9].

In the reign of James I., to the first parliament were summoned about eighty temporal lords, the spiritual, being bishops only, were twenty-six.

At the accession of George I., the spiritual continuing to be twenty-six, the temporal peers were 181.

At the accession of William IV., the spiritual with the four Irish prelates being thirty, the temporal had increased to 360, including those of Scotland and Ireland[1].

Now let us choose between two views of the constitution. We must either hold that the Church is an integral portion of the constitution, and that the spiritual element in parliament ought to be unfolded in proportion to the growth and development of other portions of the legislature; or that it ought for ever to remain a fixed, unexpanding, and, as it were, an alien element, and, therefore, that the Church itself is an accident, and not an integral and living portion of the constitution. Considered, therefore, simply as a political theorem, it would seem evident that an increase in the spiritual lords is a measure recommended, if not required, on constitutional principles.

But let it be supposed that any increase of spiritual lords be a proposal not to be entertained: there is no reason why some of the bishops of the Church should not be lords of parliament, and the rest possess their spiritual rank alone. Our whole system is full of analogies or examples. Of the bishops, three are, by established usage, of the privy council, the others not: of the Irish bishops, a limited number is called by rotation to parliament: our colonial bishops have no temporal barony at all. The chiefs of other services and professions, *e. g.* the law, army, navy, &c., are not confined to the House of Lords. It would be no more than carrying out the principles which are already

[8] Hallam's Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 6.
[9] Ibid. vol. i. p. 99.
[1] Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

involved in our civil and ecclesiastical order. Let the question be fairly brought to this issue; whether shall the Church be deprived of additional bishops, or the additional bishops be unadorned with temporal peerages: and we suppose no English churchman would for a moment doubt of his reply. If it be a choice between bishops and peers, then the Church will choose her own. She has not forgotten that it was by her bishops that she won the empire to the faith; and by her bishops that she has been ruled and folded to this day, and will be guided to the end of the world. Whatsoever men of the world may think, and politicians say, the Church believes that the presence of her pastors in the highest court of the realm, is more for the weal and safety of the state than for her own. We hardly know which we should more lament to see; the Church foregoing the increase of her bishops for lack of peerages, or suing importunately for a dignity which the civil hand seemed not forward to bestow. Again, we say, if it be once for all decided that the genius and precedents of the constitution can no longer be carried out, then it is to be hoped that those whom God has called to the deliberation, will consider how long the grace of the Episcopate shall be withheld for the lack of its temporal rank.

It has sometimes been thought that the creation of a number of bishops without seats in the House of Lords might lead to the removal of the whole order from the legislature. But this can hardly be likely; for it is to be remembered, that the prelates of the Church sit in parliament in virtue of a privilege older than that of any peer of the land: that many of the very titles and orders of the peerage did not so much as exist when the bishops were first called to the great councils of the nation. It is hardly to be believed that the legislature will readily invade a principle on which, to say nothing of property or common law, even its own privileges are founded. There is too much resting on the same basis for statesmen or politicians of any side or party to be willing to disturb it. For this reason we cannot think advisable a proposal which has sometimes been made, by which the twenty-six senior bishops, out of a larger number, should always possess the privileges of parliament, and the vacancies be filled up by a rota, or by the order of consecration. The effect of this would be, at the expiration of one cycle, to extinguish the tenure by immemorial privilege, and to rest it upon a modern statute. This seems to be more likely to unsettle the privileges of the whole order than any other proposal. But it is to be believed that an increased Episcopate would so affect the opinion and feeling of the country, as to oppose the strongest moral barrier to the renewal of any proposal to deprive the lords spiritual of the

privileges of a thousand years. We believe the country would reject the scheme with a decision far more stedfast than ever.

One more objection, or rather apprehension, we will notice, and then conclude. It is asked, Whence shall the revenues for the endowment of additional sees be derived? If bishops be multiplied, especially without temporal peerages, poverty will, without fail, depress them in the esteem of the people. Such is not our belief. This rule is not found to hold among the inferior clergy. Men are there weighed in true scales, though they be not of gold. They are esteemed not according to what they have, but what they are. Without doubt, a larger income, and the power of approaching more nearly to the scale and habits of life, common among the richer laity, will give to a clergyman a sort of substantive importance and standing among his neighbours. If he were a layman, it would be no less; and being a clergyman, it is no more. After all, it is a sort of lay influence derived from wealth. But the men that draw the heart of the Church towards them, and thereby win its trust and love, are men to whom riches would add incalculably little influence. They already possess what is before all riches. They bear the sacerdotal character full upon them, and the Church answers to it with all her sympathies. The laity are never so open-handed, as towards the man who being known to be poor, is seen to give all that he has, that is, himself, to the service of the Church. We believe this would be brought out with a force hitherto unknown, were there seen a body of men set apart to an Episcopate, whose tokens should be poverty and toil. We believe that the laity of the Church would perforce build their cathedrals, and endow their sees, whether they would or no. We do not mean by public subscriptions and printed lists of contributions, those saddest records of faint energies and fickle zeal, but by great sacrifices never known in this world, and by habitual self-denial long maintained in secret. Even already the movements of such a power are felt working invisibly throughout the Church. Let it only be touched by a hand which has the cunning to draw out its response, and we need fear no poverty for those that are consecrated to the order of the apostles. The alms gathered on one day at the offertory throughout the Church, would endow a bishopric in Manchester.

But after all, it is well known by those who best know the arcana of such things, that there are, and will shortly be, sufficient resources in readiness for many additional sees. The objection, therefore, rests upon an assumption which is false in fact.

And now to make an end; we will show that the principles here laid down, and the opinions founded upon them, are not

without the direct and express sanction of one, at least, among our spiritual rulers. The able speeches of the Bishop of Salisbury in the last session, will show that the Bishop of Exeter does not stand alone among the prelates of the Church, in holding the opinions contained in the following passage:—

"While I thus address you on the necessity of a closer connexion than commonly subsists between you and your people, I am forcibly reminded of, what I deeply feel, the not less pressing need of more frequent and better opportunities of communication between your bishop and his clergy. At the end of a visitation which has lasted more than nine weeks, with only one day not appointed to some special service, it is painful to think how little of benefit I can hope that I have rendered by thus rapidly passing through you.

"In truth, among the particulars in which I think that we require an improvement in the outward form of our Church, I would place in the foremost rank the expediency, I would almost say the *necessity*, of an increased number of bishops.

"In urging this, I hope I shall not be considered by you as wishing to consult my own ease. The reasons for which I should wish a more numerous episcopacy in our Church, are such as would make the charge of every individual bishop not less laborious but far more effective, and therefore far more satisfactory both to himself and to the Church.

"In truth, the overpowering extent of the dioceses, in which several of us at present have to discharge our functions, cannot but affect those functions themselves.

"Between six and seven hundred parishes, dispersed over a district one hundred and forty miles in length, and in some parts half of that extent in breadth, as in my own case, cannot be even known, as they ought to be known, to him who has an equal duty of close connexion with every one of them.

"The consequence is, and can hardly fail to be, that your bishop is unable to consult and be consulted by you on the many, and, whether happily or unhappily, the yearly multiplying occasions on which we should wish to consult together. If, as often happens, a matter arises in one parish, which indispensably demands much consideration, mutual explanation, protracted correspondence, this cannot be performed, without rendering it physically impossible for adequate attention to be given to the reasonable claims of many other cases.

"As this is found to occur, many of you, in kind consideration for my ease, forbear to communicate with me on occasions on which you would otherwise have a right to expect my best counsel, and sometimes even my active co-operation. Hence, in too large a number of instances, we know not each other so well as every single clergyman ought to know, and be known by his bishop. We cannot, therefore, even when necessity arises, always communicate together so advantageously to both parties as, I believe, we all desire.

"Accept this as some excuse for what I painfully feel,—the miserably imperfect manner in which my duties amongst you are discharged. Were it otherwise, were the sphere of my endeavours more contracted, I venture to think our intercourse would be mutually more satisfactory. It would not, I trust, lead to petty and vexatious interference, on your bishop's part, in the details of your own parochial labours; but it would better qualify him for the office of advising where his advice is needed; it would place him in a position to undertake, as he ought to be willing to undertake, much of the responsibility of enforcing regulations, which the faithful minister of a parish is often desirous of seeing enforced, even when a natural and laudable love of peace with his flock, and a due regard to the efficiency of his own labours among them, forbid him to enforce them himself.

"It would especially tend, with God's blessing, to make every bishop to be, as he ought to be, not merely in name, but in reality, the *centre of unity* to the diocese over which he is placed—one, whose communication with other portions of our Church should enable him to be the channel of much interesting and useful intelligence between different dioceses—one, who might thus be permitted to promote an accordance of views among the ministers of the same National Church—to soften real and remove apparent differences of opinion, to conciliate conflicting parties, and induce them to see, as they commonly might see, how much more they differ in names and words, than in principles.

"But, that he should be and do this, it is necessary that there should be that closeness as well as frequency of intercourse between him and his clergy, which cannot subsist in dioceses like those of England.

"Need I say how different was the case in the Primitive Church, in which the strong expressions of Ignatius and the other earlier Fathers, of the necessity of 'doing nothing without the bishop,' may be considered as indicating (besides the commission which it is the office of the bishop to give) his intimate connexion with every portion of his diocese, rather than a recognition of any exorbitant or arbitrary extent of Episcopal control[2]?"

In these grave and impressive words, there is a reality which is more prevailing than all the arguments we have endeavoured to adduce. Can it be doubted that any bishop of a diocese, like most of ours, duly weighing and measuring the burden of his charge, can fail to speak of his responsibility in Bishop Wilson's words[3]: "'They watch for souls as they that must give account.' A most dreadful consideration this; insomuch, as that St. Chrysostom said, upon reflecting on it, 'It is a wonder if any ruler of the Church be saved.' It will be work enough for every man to give an account for himself: but to stand charged, and to be

[2] A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter, 1842, by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, pp. 80—83.

[3] Sacra Privata. Sunday Medit. on Episcopacy.

accountable for many others, who can think of it without trembling." As, also, St. Augustine said, on the day of his consecration: "Hoc enim interest inter unumquemque vestrum et nos, quod vos penè de vobis solis reddituri estis rationem, nos autem de nobis et de omnibus vobis. Ideo major est sarcina[4]."

It is much, therefore, to be desired that they, whose province it is to deliberate and to decide on this, the most momentous of all subjects now affecting the Church of Christ in these realms, would consider of the following points: first, that the larger dioceses need be subdivided; and, secondly, that every large town with a population of 100,000, and certain others of peculiar moral character, need the undivided care of a resident bishop.

It is the genius of the Church, as of nature, not to work precipitately, and without a final cause, but to throw out its organic formations according to laws and seasons. We have said nothing to recommend, as in the proposals of Cranmer, a *sudden* addition of large numbers to the Episcopate. At the same time, nothing has been said to imply that the Episcopate may not be gradually raised to fifty or sixty members. For the present, the addition of a smaller number, perhaps sixteen, or even twelve, distributed according to the most urgent needs of our accumulating population, would seem to be more in accordance with the precedents of the Church; so far, indeed, as precedents can be obtained to throw light upon the path of safety in a condition never known before. There is probably to be found no instance in which a church has beheld a new population of 6,000,000 multiply upon her in forty years without increasing the number of her bishops. Let it be ruled, if it needs must, that neither peerages nor endowments shall henceforth be conferred upon her chief pastors; that the era of Constantine is past, and the Church has once more returned into the ages of her primeval separation from the world. Then is the time come at last to put forth once more her imperishable strength, upon the principles of her divine commission. If need be, let her stay awhile, and lay out no more revenues in the building of churches and schools, or material and external works. Be it her one desire and prayer to raise up an order of men gladly willing to "endure all things for the elect's sake." Let her call upon the people to offer to her heavenly spouse not wealth, or costly gifts, but offerings more precious than gold and silver, themselves, their sons, and their daughters, to be consecrated with entire devotion to a life of mercy. The benign visitant which alone can heal our godless and miserable brethren is that charity, which for "eighteen hundred years hold-

[4] Serm. cccxxxix. tom. v. p. 1308.

ing its vigil above suffering humanity, affectionately turns its bed of sorrow."

There are many who without endowments, having food and raiment, and being therewith content, would rejoice to spend and be spent in a life of charity. All they would desire is to be entrusted with powers that should be real and sufficient to cope with the obstructions of our social state, and to reimpress upon it the visible order of the Church. Many of all ranks, and all habits of mind, and all measures of intellectual cultivation, would be found eager to withdraw from the drouth, and tumult, and emptiness of the world, and to shelter themselves under the shadow of the Eternal. But for this, the Church must be exhibited as a sensible reality; they must needs have for their support and solace, a perception and habitual consciousness of their relation to it. Most especially true is this of that portion of the Church whose ministries of mercy and faith, except in a very burdened, uncertain, and divided way, we have all but forfeited—that is, of devoted women. And yet these offices of gentle compassion are peculiarly and by natural gift their own. But how shall this most shrinking and delicate ministry of consolation venture itself, without authority, guidance, or protection, into our mines and cities? The organization of the Church is absolutely necessary for the shelter and support of those who, in much weakness and fear, would offer themselves to live or die in softening and purifying the hard and sullied hearts of their outcast and fallen sisters. In the day that the Church shows herself visibly in our thronging cities as a spiritual kingdom, ruled by its consecrated head, hundreds would rise up out of the retirements of private life, and pray to be blessed with an office and ministry of compassion. They would feel that they had found, at length, an authority under which to devote their lives to the work of God, and a guide and spiritual father to shelter and direct them. And then at last would children, and the sick and heart-broken, and orphans and widows, find their natural guardians, and sisters, and mothers.

Let but the one all-containing principle of spiritual life be set deep in the heart of every populous town, where the powers of darkness have now their mightiest dominion; though it enter in the person of one man, unnoticed and unseen, a few short years—before even we of this day are gone—and the grace wherewith he was consecrated to the office of the Apostles, will have put itself forth on all sides, and penetrated to the very verge of his allotted precinct. He that entered, if it so must be, "without purse or scrip," will have wrought a change which a king's revenue could never purchase. And the work which he had wrought unseen, fashioning it in secret in the spiritual life of man, would mani-

fest itself in the sight of the world, by those same tokens of times bygone which we are not ashamed to admire, though we have not the zeal to imitate. Then would be seen, not prisons and police-stations, workhouses and bridewells, but churches, thickly studded, towering above our thronging roofs; hospitals and houses of mercy flanked by colleges and schools sacred to truth and to the faith; almshouses for the aged, widows, and desolate, with their low gabled fronts ranging along our streets; houses of piety and prayer, with open portals, watched all day long by the poor and needy, the Church's constant guards.

The day is not far off when the tumult and the triumph of our barbaric wars, and the renown of fine diplomacy, and the praise of financial skill and commercial enterprise, and the name of those that have achieved and advanced these exploits and sciences of earth, shall weigh light in the hearts of the fathers and mothers of England against the name of the man who shall first gain for the millions of our "poor destitute" the long-delayed boon of one additional bishopric.

Sewell. (Burney). Wordsworth of Harrow. (Clymer.) Dr.

Art. III.—*Æschyli Agamemnon, ad fidem Manuscriptorum emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit* Carolus Jacobus Blomfield, *D.D. Editio Quarta.* 1832.

It is a maxim of sound education, that the young should be brought up from their childhood surrounded by an atmosphere of all that is good, beautiful, and true; that they should have constantly before them objects intrinsically excellent, whether or not they are at first agreeable to their imperfect nature. Not that this mere presence of external good is sufficient to make man good; but to a certain degree it moulds and colours the mind: to a still greater degree it excludes the presence of evil. And thus, when evil does come, it will come under a greater contrast, and with more of repulsiveness. To be able to distinguish evil instinctively by its mere discordance with previous associations and prejudices is no slight advantage. And in the mean while there is scope for imbuing the mind with a deeper and more critical knowledge of its real nature and relations, so far as it can ever require to be known.

This is rather a far-fetched introduction to some remarks which we purpose to make on the Agamemnon of Æschylus. But any thing which carries criticism up to philosophy, and connects all

the branches of philosophy under general formularies, showing the one great root from which all the arms of the tree shoot out and spread, is in the present day not to be neglected. It is not uncommon at present to cast ridicule on our old system of education, which has taken classical literature as its basis, and especially endeavours to familiarize the mind with the dramatic poetry of the Greeks. And the answer to the cavil is to be found in the trite general principle assumed above; the same principle by which we address creeds of authenticated truth to the intellect of the child before he can understand them; and imbue his conscience with moral maxims before his actions are subordinated to his will; and place before him the highest standards of beauty to mature and perfect his taste, while as yet he is incapable of appreciating them: that having thus preoccupied his whole nature with certain germs and outlines of truth, and goodness, and beauty, we may afterwards complete at leisure the process by which he learns critically to reason on and distinguish them.

That the application of this principle to classical education is so often overlooked, may arise from several causes; partly, that having lost sight of a deep and comprehensive view of human nature, and of the relations between its several faculties, we do not understand the connexion between art (of which poetry is the great exhibition) and the general development of the human mind, especially in the child. Secondly, that having permitted the functions and philosophy of art to degenerate from the high and noble office assigned to it by Providence, as the handmaid of reason, and the incorporator of truth, we cannot appreciate its purest forms, and therefore estimate wrongly the Greek poetry. But there is still a third reason bearing more immediately on our present subject.

When we would form a child's mind to a sense of true beauty in sculpture, we take him into a gallery full of the noblest productions of antiquity, and there allow his eye to be insensibly familiarized with grandeur and purity of design. But if while exhibiting to the child these ancient models, we accustomed him only to take casts of them, and in taking those casts to break an arm off here, to leave a muscle out there, to distort one limb, and to misplace another; and if all the time we gravely paraded these monsters before his eye as the great specimens and models of ancient beauty, probably he himself, as he advanced in life, would look back with little reverence to his earliest associations in sculpture; and bystanders might fairly be excused if they hesitated to recognize the wisdom of our process. Nor would the result be different if, at the same time, we adopted another plan; and if, laying aside the casts, and bringing the child's mind directly

into contact with the original forms in all their untravestied majesty, instead of fixing his attention on their high elements of beauty, we engaged him in some chemical or anatomical process; breaking off a chip from the Venus to analyse the marble, or criticising the surgical structure of a muscle in the Laocoon.

Perhaps, if careful search were made into the history of education, we might be able to trace more of design, deep and evil design, than we should at first imagine, in certain steps, which have brought us to an exact parallel to these absurdities, in our application of classical literature to the purposes of education. Our classical education has passed through hands, and the works chiefly used in it for a long time have come to us from parties, who, to a great extent, have been interested in suppressing and stifling genuine taste and real cultivation of mind; while they were, also, deeply interested in affecting to stimulate the intellect, and so in engrossing the whole work of instruction. And perhaps the character of the notes in the classical editions of the seventeenth century, especially those of France, might, if examined, form no unimportant link even in ecclesiastical history. One effect they undoubtedly have produced. They have deadened our sensibility to the real perfections of classical literature, at the very time that they were employed in exhibiting it to us. And they have accustomed us to the two processes in poetry, which were suggested in sculpture, first, of taking casts from the antiques, that is, of seeing them in translations rather than in the originals, and those translations our own caricatures, and travestied during the process of translation by the hands of stupid or mischievous schoolboys; and, secondly, of submitting these noble remains of ancient art, of the highest and purest art which ever proceeded from man, consecrated as they are by their own good destination, and by the best sympathies of our nature; submitting them, we repeat, as subjects to be operated on by the blundering, unfeeling, untutored hands of the merest tyros in grammar, to be broken up, and examined, or played with as lessons in syntax and prosody, instead of keeping them inviolate from all meaner associations, and preserving them in their wholeness and vitality.

The question here opened is one of no little importance. And on a return to some sounder mode of studying classical literature, appears to depend not only our hope of preserving our higher systems of education, from the influx of great corruptions, in the shape of modern languages, modern history, and modern science, so called; but the still better hope of elevating it in its office, and making it what all scholars feel that it may be made, however we may have neglected the right method of accomplishing our object.

Some observations on this method we now propose to offer, illustrating them by the greatest specimen which has been preserved to us, or which, perhaps, ever existed, of Grecian art, the Agamemnon of Æschylus. No Greek drama has been examined and illustrated with more care; and a better idea of it may be obtained by English readers from the translations of Mr. Symmons and Mr. Harford, than of any other Greek plays, from translations of them hitherto published.

One defect in our present system appears to be, that neither teacher nor pupil enter upon their work with a full sense of its object and use. And though young minds must be taught to do, as to believe, much, of which they cannot see the reasons, there is a natural scepticism and diffidence in human nature, which requires consideration, and can best be supported and stimulated by giving it some insight into the end of the work set before it. Perhaps there would be no great difficulty in explaining even to a schoolboy, that the great end and perfection of his nature was the attainment of truth; that this truth was not to be held in a mere speculative form, but to be incorporated with his actions, and placed as a rule over his affections; that, as a boy, he is incapable of grasping it in an abstract and metaphysical shape, but must have it placed before him in living and breathing personifications, pictured and coloured to the senses, moving before the eye, speaking to the ear, and clothed in bodily and sensible forms; that he is, moreover, at present, a creature of feeling, and by feeling must be mainly swayed; and, therefore, that his affections are to be roused, and pity and terror, love and admiration, the sense of power and of greatness, and all the finer sympathies of the heart, are to be awakened at proper times by a machinery constructed for this purpose, and by creations of human fancy, where Providence, for some wise purpose, has failed to supply them in perfection by the realities of life.

This is the work of art. It is the work of that, which has been most wisely called the "art of God,"—of Nature herself in all her operations. And, so far as Nature has been pleased to leave something which may be filled up by man—one unfinished window in her glorious palace, so far the art of man is bound to follow the same end, and to work upon the same model.

Neither, perhaps, would there be much difficulty in explaining, even to a schoolboy, the reasons why Aristotle, treating of the whole subject of art, has resolved it almost exclusively into that, which he considers its highest form,—tragedy. Even a child may understand that the range of imitation, and therefore the power of embodying truth, of rousing right, and therefore, true affections, and of conveying pure, and therefore true, pleasure to the

mind, is limited in the various arts by the very nature of the objects imitated, and the materials employed.

Man is the highest representative of truth upon earth, and the only visible object for human sympathies and interests, and therefore art must be mainly employed in bringing man before man. For this reason, sculpture and painting are nobler and more efficacious than architecture. For the same reason, whatever enlarges the scope and power of art in thus exhibiting human nature, increases the perfection of art. Painting, therefore, is superior to sculpture, because it superadds colour to figure, and enables the eye to grasp a greater variety of objects, and to receive clearer and more vivid impressions of reality. Music,—the music of irrational sounds,—addressing itself only to the mere animal sense, is capable of performing only the lowest functions of art, in soothing and pleasing the ear.

There is still left another material, and instrument—language —an instrument of universal application, comprehending all subjects, capable of exhibiting to the mind all objects, not only directly and primarily, as where sounds are represented by sounds; but indirectly and secondarily; commensurate with the ideas and feelings of the age to which it is addressed, and by a thousand secret associations, deeply and wonderfully entwined with the sympathies of the human mind. Words, therefore, in the hand of Art, are its most powerful engine. And the exhibition, by means of words, of truth in a living and breathing form, acting on the emotions according to laws of moral truths, and soothing and amusing the mind according to the same great laws, which regulate the due proportions of pain and pleasure, labour and relaxation, is the highest work of art.

But this is not all. The law, under which all human intellect works, and upon which, therefore, all its compositions must be constructed, is the law of unity, of order, symmetry, regularity, precise and clearly outlined form, and defined and visible proportions. Upon this law, Nature herself rarely appears to work. Whatever be the secret and hidden unity of her proceedings, she throws her outward phenomena before us with a profuse and interminable variety. It may be that in the field of art, as in the field of morals, this seeming irregularity of nature is a necessary condition of that state of discipline under which we are here placed. While, as if to satisfy the longings of our reason, for perfect unity and order, she has given to man also his faculty of art, and enabled him in his own combinations to realize a certain degree of unity, which may blend with, set off, and even improve her own apparent diversity. There is not space at present to enter further into this principle, which is of

very general application, in determining the proportion which human art should bear to nature. It was suggested in order to account for the introduction of the principle of unity into the combinations and imitations of art in languages, by reducing it to rhythm and metre. So that poetry, or the faculty of creation, has become gradually restricted to metrical composition, of which the great charm is the unity of proportions, and the regularity of cadences.

In this way, then, we arrive at Poetry, as the highest effort of human art. And at Dramatic Poetry, according to the theory of Aristotle, as the highest branch of Poetry; because it involves more of all the elements which act palpably on the senses,—life, motion, energy, individuality, sound, gesture, impersonation, and even the accessories of the other arts, painting and sculpture, such as figure and colour; not only in the characters themselves, but in the scenic and architectural decorations. And these, therefore, are the reasons why young minds should be fed, stimulated, amused, and instructed by Dramatic Poetry.

And when they look round for the noblest specimens of this art, they may easily be taught why these are selected from Greece. For if the chief end and duty of art is to exhibit high abstract truths in a palpable, passionate, and pleasing form, we should expect it to be developed in the highest perfection, wherever, from the operation of political circumstances acting upon a certain natural constitution of mind, such truths had been made most distinctly a subject of consciousness and reflection, while in the same minds there prevailed the most acute sensibility to emotion, and the most importunate demands for pleasurable excitement. Such was peculiarly the condition of the Greek. All the elements of mind were blended in him into a combination, of which Plato did not hesitate to pronounce that it presented the fairest materials possible even to be imagined, for rearing a structure of human perfection. Sense and reason, abstraction and reality, repose and energy, order and disorder, law and license, the East and the West, seem to have met together, as it were, on the great neutral ground of Greece, and there to have thrown out a nation, which has played a vaster part in human affairs, and has served perhaps higher ends in the dispensations of Providence, than any except the Jews. More or less, directly or indirectly, under the form of theology or philosophy, they have stood to the world at large in some such relation as the Jews. And not the least portion of their influence has been exerted through their art.

Still a young mind requires something more, in order thoroughly to understand and appreciate the nature of a Greek

tragedy. It comes to him in a strange garb,—enveloped in hard and mysterious symbols of an unknown language, beset with the perplexities of a subtle and metaphysical grammar, and obscured by many peculiarities of manners and circumstances. The first thing, therefore, to be done, is to supply him with some analogies within his own knowledge, which he may transfer to the unknown subject before him, and be enabled to understand it.

It is in the misapplication of such analogies that the chief mistake is made, which perplexes a young scholar, in approaching the old Greek drama, and which throws it into mystery. We are not speaking now of Euripides, scarcely perhaps even of Sophocles, much less of the later dramatic poetry of Athens, but of its two noblest authors, Æschylus and Aristophanes. The associations which a schoolboy calls up and transfers to the pages of his Agamemnon, are those of a modern theatre,—the playbill, the gaslight, the stifling atmosphere, the noisy pit, the indolent boxes, the vulgar gallery, collected for the mere purpose of whiling away a lazy evening before a shifting scene, which, even if at times it stumbles on a truth, or is compelled to exhibit a virtue, thinks of little but a temporary applause, and of pampering a vitiated craving for amusement and excitement. That Grecian art itself soon sunk into this degenerate and degraded form, is too obvious. But in the hands of Æschylus and Aristophanes it was something very different. Three great minds, Æschylus, Aristophanes, and Plato, seem to have placed themselves at the crisis of Athenian history, in the front of that battle which was to be waged between antiquity, religion, truth, law, order, virtue, and patriotism, on the one hand; and innovation, infidelity, scepticism, licentiousness, disorder, vice, and selfishness, on the other. What Plato taught and prophesied abstractedly in the groves of Academus, Æschylus and Aristophanes threw into life and brought out instinct with motion on the stage of the theatre. And the theatre was a consecrated ground; the drama, a holy ceremony; the poet, a minister of religion. It was as if amidst the gathering horrors of the French revolution, when the fountains of the great deep of human wickedness was about to be broken open, and a maddened fanatical populace would listen no more to the sober voice of the preacher from the pulpit, some great and holy mind, uncommissioned except by the voice of nature within his own heart, had come forward in some old cathedral, to make to them the only appeal which they would listen to, and dressing up the deepest truths of religion in the form of mystery or drama, had endeavoured, from an altar no longer occupied by its own appointed minister, to soothe, to guide, to counsel, to warn them, as a prophet and a priest.

Until Æschylus and Aristophanes,—Æschylus especially,—are acknowledged in this character, and approached with the reverence due to it, their language must be unintelligible, and their works a problem.

It is at least consolatory and ennobling to human nature to cherish such a belief—to think that Æschylus would have repelled with indignation the charge of profaning and degrading his power by a wanton capricious excitement of terror and pity, as children are frightened with a magic-lantern; or by pandering to the idle amusement of a licentious populace. He himself dedicated, we know, his tragedies to time, *χρόνῳ τὰς τραγῳδίας ἀνετίθετο*[1]. And no one can read attentively at least three of his plays, the Agamemnon, the Eumenides, and the Prometheus, without recognizing beneath the outward veil a depth of meaning which gives them a far higher character than any ordinary work of modern art can ever possess. Happily it is not necessary to confirm such an hypothesis by tracing it through all the seventy, or ninety, or even more, dramas, partly tragic and partly satyric, which have been attributed to him. One who duly and worthily estimates the value and importance of Greek literature, may not fear, perhaps, to consider it a blessing of Providence that so much, and so much only of it as we now possess, has been saved from its wreck. But upon every remaining portion of Æschylus there is stamped a singular moral, political, and theological character, which distinguishes him from all his successors, and entitles him to the just appellation of "Vates," in its double sense,—as the great prophet, as well as poet, of Grecian antiquity.

With this title the whole analogy would open to the student, between the heathen and the Christian Vates of the present day. He would understand that in all forms of human society a power must be created, or will rise up spontaneously somewhere, to check and contend against, and guide the erring and larger portion of our nature. He would comprehend that where no such power has been established and perpetuated by Providence in a visible appointed priesthood, or where it has been cast off by man, there some self-commissioned ministers must assume to themselves that office, taking as their credentials, not an external ordination by the hands of God's ministers, but the seeming voice of Heaven manifested by the higher aspirations of their own hearts, and by the faculties which have been imparted to them of good. And he would recognize in all the higher works of the Grecian intellect, whether in poetry, philosophy, or

[1] Athenæus, lib. viii. c. 18.

history, the voice of such a self-constituted heathen church, protesting against the vices and follies which surrounded her, and striving still to uphold some fragments of the truth amid a general corruption. Nor would it destroy this analogy, or do any thing but impress on him more deeply the importance and necessity of placing such a church on a basis like that of the Christian, independent of the popular voice, to find that, where no such independence was secured to it by a formal commission from Heaven, and by the recognition of the civil power, there the persons who undertook its office were compelled to degrade themselves to meet the popular taste, and to disguise themselves under the forms of actors, or even mountebanks, in order to gain access for their truths to the popular ear.

To those who have been accustomed to regard poetry simply as addressed to the feelings and fancy, whether vitiated or not, and the excellence of Greek poetry as consisting solely in its superior power of pleasing, much that has here been said will appear farfetched and extravagant. And still more, what must now be added. But no one can read attentively either the works or the history of the Greek dramatists, without observing their intimate connexion with certain theological, political, philosophical, and ethical systems. A careful and minute examination of the principles advocated respectively by Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and above all by Aristophanes, would be the best comment on this suggestion; and would exhibit a singular transition of doctrine analogous to that which followed more openly in the philosophical schools. It was the Antigone which raised Sophocles to the office of Strategus[2]. It was not merely corruption of taste, but corruption of all other principles, which Aristophanes lays to the charge of Euripides. As the germs of all knowledge, divine and human, were sought out and believed to exist in the pages of Homer, so subsequent dramatic poets still occupied the same comprehensive position, and from it endeavoured to impress upon the Athenian people that general instruction, in whatever province, which the circumstances of the age required or invited. And with the intimate and inseparable analogies which bind together all higher practical and speculative truths, it was impossible for them not to become severally representatives of particular schools or systems of general philosophy. It can scarcely be doubted that Euripides was the poet of the Sophists. Far above him stood Sophocles, no unfit representative of the practical, moderate, ethical, Socratic school. And highest of all we must place Æschylus, as the poetical type of the profound, mysterious

[2] Petit. iii. 18. mis.

orientalism of Pythagoras and Plato. Not that in Æschylus, any more than in Pythagoras and Plato, was it an abstract speculative philosophy which he endeavoured to embody and impress. It was essentially practical; religiously, morally, and politically practical; and addressed to the Athenian people with reference to their practical duties and circumstances.

But to appreciate its excellence, we ought to understand the forces which it was brought forward to resist. For all instruction implies resistance, and by the nature of the resistance it is shaped and directed.

Considered in this light, we shall be able to reconcile the seemingly sceptical tone of his theology, with the constantly recurring assertions of the grandest principles of religious truth. His scepticism was directed to the modern, materialized, profane Polytheism of Greece. And though Plato[3] does censure a particular passage as exhibiting unworthy views of the Divine nature, he nowhere classes Æschylus in the same condemnation with Homer, the founder of the Greek Neology. Take, for instance, the well-known mysterious chorus of the Agamemnon, which Mr. Harford has rendered in far more pleasing verses than our own, but in departing from strict literal accuracy has failed to mark the important distinction contained in the original.

> Jove, whosoe'er he be!
> If invoked this name doth please him,
> By this do I address him,—
> I may not guess of aught,
> While all I weigh,
> Save Jove—if from my anxious thoughts
> The bootless weight in truth 'tis meet to cast away:
> For neither he who once was great before him,
> With hardihood invincible
> Like a boiling torrent roaring,
> Aught, as one gone by, could tell,
> And he, who next arose, at last
> Found his third thrower[4], and is past.

Think of the crimes incorporated in the modern Greek mythology—the "battles of the giants;" "the hatred, fierce and deep;" "the kindred strife:" ἔχθρας πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, πρὸς συγγενεῖς τε καὶ οἰκείους αὐτῶν[5], and this avowed bewilderment of thought on such a subject will be only the poetical expression of Plato's own repeated assertions.

[3] Repub. lib. ii. ad finem.
[4] Or "vanquisher;" compare Prometheus 955.
[5] Plato, Repub. ii. p. 378.

It is not Atheism; but the struggle of an old and elevated theology against a new popular superstition.

The gods of the people may be many, one rising on the ruins of the other; but the God of Æschylus, veiled under the only name which he dares to employ, is one and the same for ever, the God of eternity and righteousness, the moral Governor of men. Without a pause he breaks forth:—

> But unto Jove, whoe'er with zeal
> And faith the victor hymn doth peal,
> All in all shall gain the meed
> Of an understanding heart—
> Jove that mortal man doth lead
> To tread the paths of wisdom's art—
> Jove that knowledge upon pain
> Rivets ever to remain.
> There droppeth e'en in sleep, within
> The heart, the pang of mem'ried sin;
> And e'en to ears that will not hear
> Judgment hath returned with fear.
> For of heavenly powers, I ween,
> On their glorious bench of state
> Seated, there is a grace compulsory as fate.

So, when the belief in the moral government of God was fast dying away, amidst the encroachments and licentiousness of a popular religion,—when the stern, awful doctrines of retribution were melted down into a soft easy ritual of forms and sacrifices, or were confounded and abandoned altogether, amidst the convulsions and vicissitudes which accompany democracy,—Æschylus brought forward the Agamemnon, it would be scarcely too strong to say, mainly, at least in its theological character, as an exhibition of the great truth of Divine retribution; slow indeed, but certain: biding its time,—"visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children;" not to be soothed by gifts; not to be averted even by repentance alone. Once more we must offer a literal verbal translation, instead of Mr. Harford's elegant lines; in which it must again be suggested, that the chief obscurity complained of results from an unwillingness to grapple with the text with strict literal grammatical accuracy.

> O monarch Jove, and night of joy!
> Winner thou of glories great!
> Thou, that on the towers of Troy
> Castedst a close-staked net *of fate*,
> That neither old, nor aught of young
> O'er the giant maze-toils sprung

Of servile thrall—
Ate that did capture all!
Jove the Xenian mighty one,
That wrought this deed I worship low—
Him who on Priam's *robber-son*
Long of old so bent his bow,
That nor before the mortal hour, nor spent above the stars
Futile he launched the bolt *of Mars.*
It was from Jove the stroke they caught!
Say may we this, and track it out.
As the man worked hath he thriven—
Yet was there one, who said that Heaven
Deigned not for mortal men to care,
By whom of hallowed things the beauty fair
Was trodden down. Not godly he!
And the truth is bared to see
On offsprings of a race that dare
What man should dare not—breathing war
More than beseems—their halls to woe o'erflowed,
Above the extremest verge of good.

So if Bishop Butler himself had wished to condense his chapter on moral discipline, in his Analogy, he could scarcely wish for better words than the oft-repeated phrase of Æschylus, *πάθει μάθος*, "wisdom by suffering," which he seems never wearied of enforcing. So when the sophist or the atheist would endeavour to escape from the shame of sin, and the justice of his own responsibility, by attributing the calamities of guilt to some necessary revulsion of fortune, Æschylus fixes it at once on the true cause—man's guilt itself. And as a part of his grand moral theology (and a necessary part in explaining the great mystery of moral government, shadowed out upon earth), he brings forward strongly and repeatedly, as a Christian might do, the propagation of crime from crime, and of punishment from trespass, stretching through distant years, and "visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, even to the fourth generation," while he traces up the death of Agamemnon to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and that still farther to the feast of Thyestes.

There hath been wrought 'mongst mortal man
An aged tale
Of ancient span—
That a hero's giant weal
Full-grown begets a progeny,
And does not all unchildren'd die.
And that from luck too blessed below,
Sprouts to a race unglutted woe.

But I from other men apart,
Stand with a solitary heart.
For 'tis the impious deed of crime,
Which more begets in after time,
Like to its parent's blood.
But the fate of righteous hearths
Is fair for aye in their children's births;
While pamper'd pride is wont to get—
Each ancient one a child that thriveth
Fresh in man's evils, soon or late,
Whene'er the doomed hour arriveth.
And the infant crime begetteth,
As darkness springing out of light,
A demon—her we dare not fight—
The unholy hardihood.
Of Ate black as night—Ate that sitteth
Upon the palace roofs, like to her parent's brood.

The same deep truths are brought out with still more force in the Eumenides. And they are accompanied with a number of little touches, all to an eye conversant in philosophy, connected with a profound and true system of doctrines. Thus with Æschylus, words are no arbitrary conventional symbols, but are invested with a mysterious meaning and power, such as we find applied to them in Scripture. When he plays on the name of Helen, it is not in the spirit of frigid wit, but with a sense of that prophetic inspiration which is daily working around us, and secretly guiding the tongue, even where all seems chance. If Clytemnestra scorns to put faith in dreams, he himself refers to them as replete with mysterious lessons. Thus every act throughout the play is referred directly or indirectly to the providence of God. Thus a parent's blessing, or a child's curse, is not thrown lightly by, as pregnant with no consequences, but is treated as it is treated in the Bible—with awe and reverence. Thus mere external acts, like Agamemnon's treading upon purple, even where little of evil intention lurks within, are dealt with as objects of praise or censure, of Heaven's punishment, and man's responsibility. And to these may be added, the singular orientalism of his illustrations, ideas, and even language, which carry back the reader at every step to the Scriptures, and to regions where a deep philosophy was still preserved, under a positive external system of opinion and conduct, farthest opposed to the modern sophistry of Athens, and wonderfully congenial and similar to the spirit of Christianity.

Nor is the peculiar ethical character of Æschylus less striking. Take, for instance, the picture of the struggle within the

mind of Agamemnon, when he is compelled to contemplate the sacrifice of his daughter, and examine it as an ethical picture, which it is intended to be.

The mode in which his distresses and perplexities are accumulated and involved, even in the contraction and obscurity of the language; his patience at first; the sudden introduction of Chalcas; the startling and revolting of his heart from such a deed; the sophistry by which he becomes reconciled to it; the noxious influence of a false religion; the suppression of the fatal resolution once formed, and its concealment, under the vain brief hope that all may be well; and at last the stern ferocity with which the purpose once determined on is followed up, all exhibit the ethical profoundness and accuracy of Æschylus in a most wonderful light. And let the student then contrast the scene with the compositions of other poets, even of Lucretius, on the same subject, in which little is attempted but the excitement of mere pity or terror. Let him observe how Æschylus himself, without abandoning these necessary ingredients, or rather while embodying them in the highest perfection, has subordinated them to his higher ethical and practical end; and he may then, perhaps, understand the justice of describing Æschylus not only as a theologian, but as a moralist; differing only from abstract theorists by his power of clothing the same deep truths in form and colour, and in exhibiting them to the senses. The whole passage (one of the gems of the Agamemnon), though long, must yet be transcribed: and if we once more attempt a literal translation, which a schoolboy might render word for word, instead of taking Mr. Harford's, it is from the wish to show that even in the choruses of Æschylus, confessedly the most difficult of Greek poetry, it is possible to preserve strict grammatical accuracy, the most important of a scholar's habits, even in a metrical form. And the possibility and necessity of this is one of the chief points which we wish to suggest to those who are engaged in the study of Greek poetry, as one of the first conditions for appreciating and realizing its utility.

And then the aged monarch, chief
  Of Achaia's gathered fleet,
Laying not on seer his grief,
  But heaving low his breath to meet
  Each deep-smitten blow of fate—
When to wind-bound spells a prey
  That drain'd each store—the Argive hosts
Down were bowing, as they lay
Stretch'd along Chalcis' strait, on Aulis' refluent coasts—
And blasts from Strymon coming still,
  Full of hateful holiday,

Of famine full, and anchorage ill,
Bewilderments of mortal's skill,
Sparing nought of ships and cables,
And a time of back-stretch'd length,
Setting to waste *in bankrupt tables*[6],
Were with'ring down the flower of Argive strength—
When than the storm of the bitter north
Another med'cine heavier far
The prophet seer did trumpet forth,
Unto the chiefs of war,
When he dared the name propound—
Artemis—that the royal pair
With their sceptres smote the ground,
And failed to stifle in the tear.—
Thus he spoke with deepen'd tone,
The mighty king—the aged one:
"Hard the fate to disobey!
And hard if I shall slay my child,
Idol of my house, *and stay*,
Having my father-hands defil'd
With streams of murder'd virgin gore,
Near a *hallowed* altar floor.
Which of these without its ill?
How may I ever be
Recreant to my fleet, and fail
My chivalrous confed'racy?
Yea—for that they should desire
Wrathfully with wrath of fire,
A victim which the storm may stay,
E'en a virgin life to slay,
It were but meet!—For all be well!"
And soon as on his neck he took
Stern compulsion's iron yoke,
Breathing from his soul within
A godless veering blast of sin,
Blast unholy, blast impure,
From that hour, with changed heart,
He took the *demon* part,
All to dare and all endure.
For counsellor of shame
The sad and cheating dream
Of one first crime man recklessly doth steel.
And thus he dared be made
Slayer of his child, as aid
Of woman-venging wars, and first-fruits of his keels.
And prayers to Heaven, and calls that sought
Her father's friends, and virgin life—

[6] The words in italics are those which have no corresponding words in the original.

Stern arbiters—they set at nought,
Thirsting for the battle-strife.
He bade the priestly slaughterers fell,—
Her father he—when prayer was done,
Roll'd in her mantle, where she fell
High on the altar, like a fawn,
To take and light her, as she lay,
Flat on her face, unflinchingly;
And on her delicate mouth to keep
A guard—the voice, whose curse might steep
The house in ill, with force to fence,
And muffled curbs' dumb violence.
Then pouring to the ground her veil of saffron dye,
Stood she smiting from her eye
Of her slayers each apart,
With a pity-longing dart;
E'en as in pictur'd tablets, first
Advanced and fairest, as she fain
Would plead with them by name as erst.
Since oft and oft of yore, within
Her father's festal chieftain halls,
She sang; and yet untouch'd by sin,
With holy voice, and soul of love,
Her dear sire's life of festivals
To glorify she strove,
Life of the wine-cup third outpoured
In thanks to the Preserving Lord.
But all beyond I saw not—nor can tell.

This translation is only offered as so literal, that a schoolboy might render it word for word. But if it only suggest a few of the delicate touches of the original picture (for a picture Æschylus evidently had before his eyes), the reader will be reluctant to leave it, and return to a more dull criticism. And yet to understand the Agamemnon, as well as all the higher works of Grecian art, not only its theological and ethical, but its political character, must be borne in mind. If even comedy (if to observant eyes even the gross wild farce of Aristophanes) was at Athens only another and more popular form of political instruction, much more would tragedy be directed to the same end. There was no privacy or retirement in Athenian life. Every one was compelled to be a public man, and to think of and take part in politics in some form or another. How much more a man gifted like Æschylus with the noblest faculties of mind, and who must either have been an idiot not to have felt the evils which were gathering round his country, or a selfish voluptuary to have profaned his powers to amuse merely, at a time when warning and chastisement were required.

The performance of the Orestea is placed by Clinton in the year 458 B. C., the same year (it is a singular coincidence) in which the orator Lysias, the chosen representative of all the principles which Æschylus would repudiate, was born. It was the seventh year of the Messenian, and the third of the Egyptian war. And Æschylus, now approaching to the close of his life (he died two years afterwards, at the age of 69), could see and understand the spirit of democratical ambition which was growing with Athenian ascendancy, and planning every day fresh schemes of foreign conquest, especially in the East. The direct political object of the Eumenides appended, as it seems naturally, to the poetical tale of the Orestea, is obvious. It was to uphold the power of the Areopagus as the representative of ancient law and order, against the aggressions of the democracy, and to cement, if possible, the foreign alliance with Argos, which seemed likely to maintain the balance of power in Greece, without involving it in the struggle between Lacedæmon and Athens. It had besides another object connected with theology. It exhibited in a strong light the value of the political institutions and social order, which were on the point of being destroyed by the rising demagogues, as tempering and mediating, as it were, between guilty men and the strict inexorable decree of punishment to follow upon crime. The Eumenides represent the high stern law of moral retribution, which formed, and rightly formed, an essential part of the moral theology of ancient heathenism. Against this was contending, in Athens, the lax, easy, self-indulgent creed of sophistry, which would emancipate man by some theory or another from his moral responsibility to God; and this creed was supported by the instinctive demands and expectations of mercy to temper justice, which are as much implanted in our minds, and, as Bishop Butler shows, are as much authorized by experience, as the fear of simple justice. And what Christianity has done to reconcile the two, the heathen philosopher could seek and find only in the appointed intervention of human tribunals and established law. Of this power, the representative was the Areopagus; and with the fall of the Areopagus, now attacked every day, Æschylus foresaw that the whole fabric of society at Athens must be dissolved; that the authority to judge and to punish must pass back from the state to the individual; that, as one instance out of many, the law of the blood-avenger must be restored, by which the surviving relative, in the absence of any other executive, was bound by the old traditionary injunction to take the law upon himself, and to shed the blood of him by whom man's blood had been shed.

With this palpable and almost professed political object in the Eumenides, it is not perhaps unreasonable to connect another

political object in the Agamemnon,—to warn the Athenians against those plans of aggressive vengeance upon the East, which, flushed with their victories on their own soil, and full of the lust of empire, they were now cherishing; to warn them against it by the prophecy, which he so often and ostentatiously repeats, that excess of wealth and power is the first parent of crime; that even an act of retribution may be also an act of sin, and draw down vengeance; that ruin is the next door neighbour ὁμόστοιχος to prosperity; that the gods are not heedless of men of blood; that to capture may be the first step to being captured; that moderation should be the great prayer of all men. These are ethical maxims, not officiously and pedantically obtruded, as is too frequently the case with the γνῶμαι of Euripides; but confined in their proper place to the mouth of the Chorus, and forming the key-note to the whole tragedy. Let the student take, for instance, the following chorus, and listen to it, as to the voice of a great and good statesman, anticipating the calamities which he felt rather than saw to be coming upon his country, while hurried away in its false dream of security and aggrandizement:

O wherefore thus, with fixed spell,
Doth Terror, like a sentinel,
  Hover o'er my boding heart?
And the wizard song inspired,
All unbidden and unhired,
  Comes to play the prophet's part?
Nor like visions ill-discerned
Hath firm Resolve the fancies spurned,
Seated with trustful soul unmoved
On my bosom's throne beloved?
Time it is, since with serrie fast
Of cables from the stern-head cast,
Along the sand-sunk vessels' side
The host did pass its manhood's tide,
When it gathered under Troy,
Climbing the vessels' side *in joy*.
And now from tale of eyes I learn,
Self-witnessing their glad return.
  Yet still the dirge without a lyre—
Dirge of Erynnis—there doth wail
  Self-taught within my soul on fire,
Not grasping all, as wont of old,
Hope's hero-spirit, calm and bold.
It telleth not an idle tale—
  My heart, as with convulsed unrest,
It bids my bowels heave and quail
  Against my fate-foreseeing breast.

Pray I these visions, falsehoods all
From my forecasting thoughts may fall,
Like blighted bloom,
Into abortion's doom!
For the bound of pampered weal
Eateth on, and hungers still;
Since disease doth press its fall,
A neighbour without party-wall.
And the proud man's fate
Cleaving its pathway straight,
Vessel-like,
On a hidden reef doth strike.
Yet if a portion overboard,
From its gotten treasure-hoard,
A grudging timid hand doth fling,
From a modest-measured sling,
Down, down, it doth not go,
Cargoed o'er deep with woe,
Found'ring headlong, hearth and hall,
And whelm in ocean boat and all.
O! oft with sheaths the arms that fill,
From tilths that bear,
From year to year,
Jove's gift the famine-plague doth kill!
But that which once hath fall'n upon the ground—
Deadly gush from hero's wound—
Black gory blood,—with charmed strain,
What voice could call to life again?
Oh! not, if this were good to do,
Had Jove suppressed the leech who knew
Well of the dead, their souls to bring
Back unto life unsuffering.
And were it not a power from heaven,
Firm sentinell'd were prisoning in
The power by gods to prophet given,
Lest the victory it win,
My heart would reach the goal before
My tongue, and forth this torrent pour.
But now in darkness groping,
It mutters deep with wrath and pain,
Nought timely to unravel hoping
Of the fate-entangled skein,
While my soul smoulders deep within.

It is not, however, in giving directly ethical instruction like this that Æschylus is a poet; it is in transfusing this abstract generalized philosophy into a bodily form: and this he has done in the whole story and plot of the Agamemnon. Agamemnon is

his Athens—the great and powerful monarch, lying, as all mankind are lying, under a curse from Heaven on account of the crimes of his forefathers, and therefore not in a condition to trust to any present prosperity, much less to venture boldly on any scheme either of vengeance or of aggrandizement. He is visited by an act of injustice,—tempted to undertake to avenge it,—in the prosecution of this vengeance, led on by the false and guilty mythology of the day, to commit a crime in order to ensure success; he carries the whole force of Greece upon Asia,—after a long struggle is successful; and returns home covered with victory, but stained with blood, to find his marriage-bed polluted, his child in exile, his country made a prey to a tyrant, revolution introduced into the heart of it, and himself ready to fall a victim beneath the dagger of his adulterous wife. That such was in reality the general effect of the Trojan expedition upon the domestic and political circumstances of Greece we know. That it would be repeated, in the event of any other foreign expeditions which should once more pour the torrent of war back from Greece upon the East, might be foreseen by any statesman. No lesson of more truth or necessity could be given to the fanatical democracy of Athens, always, as Thucydides describes them, anticipating possession, and believing every thing possible which they conceived or desired. And this lesson, whether intentionally or not, is stamped upon the whole structure of the Agamemnon, and throws into order whatever is otherwise perplexing. In particular it explains what critics, who have looked in it for nothing but an excitement of terror and pity, have often complained of—the protraction of the drama after the murder of Agamemnon has been accomplished. The whole dialogue between the Chorus, Ægystheus, and Clytemnestra, bears upon the illustration of the political convulsions produced by the fall of Agamemnon, as the type of those general convulsions which would follow under all similar circumstances. The rule of a woman, the tyranny of the cowardly "stay-at-home" Ægystheus, the insult and threatening upon the old men who formed the great council of the state, their vain attempt at resistance, and final submission to oppression; and the prophesied return of Orestes, once more to stain the house with blood, and to throw the kingdom into confusion; are all touches which would come home naturally and readily to the mind of an Athenian audience, bent on following the same steps which Agamemnon had first taken, and exposed therefore to the same end.

To give this warning, however, its due force as a work of art, it was to be embodied not only in a tangible and visible form, in an "act" or drama, but to be invested with all those circum-

stances which would rouse feelings and affections: and here comes in the theory of Aristotle, that the proper object of tragedy is to purify, by exercising, the passions of pity and terror. It is not indeed the highest, nor the only object of tragedy, considered as a work of poetry and art. That object, as before said, is the sensible attestation and exhibition of theological, political, and moral truth. But as that truth is not speculative, but practical; as it is intended to influence man's conduct; as this influence must take the form of correction, repression, and prohibition, upon the general principle that all law is, properly considered, the negation of evil, and all right government the coercion of vice rather than the encouragement of virtue; it must be addressed to those principles in our nature by which we are deterred from actions, not to those which allure us to them: it must appeal to fear. Hence tragedy is the great and appropriate effort of art, considered as a philosophy. In its highest productions, pity, and the softer affections of our nature, are only subordinate to fear, and to practical fear; that is, to a dread of punishment upon vice or folly. Sophocles (may we venture to suggest such a criticism?) commenced the work of corruption in tragedy, when he exhibited suffering, and roused fear without any direct and immediate connexion with this practical lesson,—when he made an overruling destiny the dark overshadowing power, which was "to breathe horror" on his scenes, while men would look on and tremble, but tremble without a thought of duty, or an effort to escape. Euripides advanced farther in the path of corruption: he made misery in itself—even the misery of sin—a subject for pity. Pity was the passion which he loved to excite, rather than fear; and thus he enervated and demoralized the mind by wasting it in excited sensibilities upon fictitious objects, and by accustoming it to view those objects solely in their condition of suffering, without linking that suffering by a moral retribution to crime, and that crime to aversion and terror in the heart of the spectator.

In Æschylus it is very different. His object is to chasten the presumption, and to check the foreign aggressions of the bold, prosperous, powerful, and ambitious Athens, by the terror produced by the fall of the bold, prosperous, powerful, and ambitious Agamemnon, returning from his foreign conquests. He exhibits him first in the moment of success, even then permitting a word to drop which hints that danger is lurking underneath. Then, not as Mr. Harford suggests, in a desultory spirit, but with the strictest design, he carries off the mind to the deed which is to be the germ of all the coming calamities,—the great crime of Iphigenia's murder, which both exemplifies the searing, deceitful influence of ambition even on a noble heart, and exhibits Agamemnon himself as the criminal, upon whom judgment is about

to fall. He paints him with exquisite delicacy, not as abandoned and depraved; for this would prevent the application of the example to the personal conduct of his audience (since no one believes himself to be hardened and depraved, and therefore no one would allow the parallel between himself and such a character, nor draw the inference required); but with just such a mixture of vice and virtue, of external temptation and internal weakness, of previous struggle against crime, and subsequent abandonment to it, as constitutes the unhappy monarch a fit representative of human nature,—a mirror in which any individual might venture to contemplate his own character and his own fate.

As if to relieve the direct practical and moral appeal of the play, and to interweave with it the third great object of art, to please and soothe, Æschylus then introduces the beautiful description of the fire-beacons, by which the news of the capture of Troy is supposed to have been transmitted to Argos. In the whole range of nature, nothing is so full of the picturesque as the effects of fire and darkness combined; and nothing in external nature harmonizes so well with all that is grand and fearful in the moral world; and instead, therefore, of being appended to the play, as a mere "purple-patch," this description is to be regarded as appropriate scenery, as the back-ground of the picture, as contributing to the general tone and colouring; on the same principle on which painters introduce storms, and clouds, and lightning, into historical subjects, with which they have no direct connexion. There have been critics who professed to doubt whether Grecian art understood the picturesque as well as the beautiful,—meaning by picturesque, all that pleases by contrast, by seeming irregularity, by broken harmonies, and outlines of thought and idea, suggested rather than expressed; and meaning by beauty, strict definite forms and proportions, where all that is meant is traced legibly to the eye. This might be true of later Grecian art; but no Vernet ever imagined a night-scene more exquisite than this description of Æschylus. Every word tells. The fire becomes a courier, leaping from height to height. Instead of a vague generalization, all the mountains are singled out and painted. The Scaur (λέπας) of Lemnos, with its sides scarred and seamed by torrents; the great upheaved cone or hump (αἰπὸς) of Athos; the scar again of Cithæron; the watch-height of Macistus; the headland looking down on the Saronic Gulf; the flame passing from pinnacle to pinnacle, now ridging the sea with fire, now like "the golden sun," and now like "the pale clear moon;" at one time lifting itself like a gigantic torch, at another tossing and shaking its "mighty beard of fire;" now stooping over the Gorgopian lake, and now blazing up from the

pile of "grey old heath:" all these are exquisite poetical touches, worthy of the first of sensuistic artists; that is, of artists who think only of addressing their compositions to the senses.

In the mouth of Clytemnestra this description answers another purpose. Put side by side with the elaborate artificial description, which follows, of the capture of Troy, it intimates the veil of restraint thrown over her intentions. It betrays the real coldness, at least, of her affections. And it exhibits her as a queen "grandiloquent and noble," in order to balance the degradation of her character as an adulteress; and so to preserve, as in the case of Agamemnon, some mixture and proportion of good and evil, lest either the good should extinguish the blame, or the evil should obliterate the pity, and in either case the moral lesson should fail of its personal application.

Nor must the art be overlooked with which Æschylus mysteriously insinuates and develops by degrees the calamity which is at hand. From the first hint of the watchman, in the word *ἀνδρόβουλον*, to the last fatal crime and act, he is engaged in withdrawing, fold by fold, the veil which hangs before it; arresting the attention, alarming the mind, and suggesting anticipations with a wonderful skill, sometimes by mere words, sometimes by obvious ambiguities, sometimes by vague expressions of alarm; the storm of terror (to use his own metaphor) beginning like a thunder shower, drop by drop, until it bursts and pours down in the torrent of Cassandra's prophecy. Sophocles, in the Œdipus Tyrannus, has been praised for the same gradual and exciting development of his catastrophe by means of a combination of facts: but the same effect is produced more skilfully and with more of the sublime in Æschylus, by employing not a mere accidental combination of outward events, but the deep, prophetic, supernatural intimations, whether of man's moral nature or of extraordinary inspiration, and by combining them with the forced silence of those who dare not warn against the coming ill, and the involuntary betrayals of a mind that is plotting crime.

As he took care in the first chorus to fix attention, and to draw out the character of Agamemnon, in the next he brings out another figure; not one merely to fill up the picture, or to rouse emotions of pity, still less to employ the time of the chorus—the true impersonation of himself—as the great moral prophet standing before the stage, and, as with a wand, touching every fact as it occurs, and bringing its moral lesson to life before the eyes of the indolent spectator.

The aggressions of Athens upon the East were a work of retribution. She had been deeply injured; and in this injury she was likely to forget that vengeance belonged to another.

But so had Agamemnon been injured, and Menelaus; and no evasion from the personal application of the moral was to be permitted by a failure to establish an exact parallel in the crime. And in painting Menelaus, the same law is to be observed as in painting Agamemnon; the good and the evil are to be blended. He is represented under suffering, which in the eye of man is virtue; as suffering patiently and nobly, and yet committing no slight offence in involving his country in the fatal prosecution of his own revenge.

Even so did Paris come
Unto the Atridæ's dome,
And fouled the hospitable board
With thievings of its mistress *from her Lord.*
Lo to countrymen and home
Having left
A last sad gift,
Mustrings thick of shield and spear,
And armings bright of mail
The vessel's side to scale;
And carrying for her dower to Troy, ruin, *and fear;*
Light has she passed through the gates,
Daring the undareable!
And many a groan they heaved as they did tell
These deeds unto the house—the minstrel bards of fate.
"Woe! woe! the house! the house!
And chiefs! and woe the marriage bed!
And paths which she did tread
Who once did love her spouse!
He stands beside them mute and lone,
Unhonored, unreviling, ne'er
Believing that he sees her gone.
And in the longing sick for her,
Who now beyond the sea doth roam,
A vision vain shall seem to sit as queen within his home.
O! loathed by her spouse the grace
Of sculptures fair, which once he cherished!
And in the eyeballs' lifelessness,
All the power of love has perished.
While visioned in his dreams with wailing
Beside his pillow fancies stand
Bringing a joy, all vain and failing!
For vain it is, when, thinking now we see
Blessings in bright reality,
Swiftly has slipped through the hand
The vision, and passed away,
Lingering nought, with plumes that sweep
Following on the paths of sleep.

Within the halls, the hearth-fire near,
These are the woes and bitterer far.
But for the general weal—for hosts
Which banded swept from Helle's coasts—
Grief with patient heart and sore
Mutelike stands each house before.
Full many a pang they have to touch them to the core.
For whom upon his way he sped,
Each doth know; but all instead
Of heroes bright the homes of each
Arms alone and ashes reach.
And Mars—gold-minter he
Of soldiers' bodies, scales in hand,
Sitting midst the spear-afray,
From Ilion's walls to many a friend
Molten down by fire doth send
Moistened with bitter tears a little dust and sand;
Cargoing with ash for man exchanged
His brazen vases fair-arranged.
They raise the keen, their man bespeaking well—
The one, how skilled in battle strife—
And one, how gloriously he fell
Midst carnage-heaps for a stranger's wife.
Thus mutters each with closed lips;
And stealthily the while there creeps
Envious wrath 'gainst Atreus' sons
In the war-suit the foremost ones.
While they around the wall
Each on the spot where he did fall
Beautiful in death, for aye
Coffined clutch the Teucrian clay.
And foe-land hides them in her breast
Of it now insooth possessed.
O! grievous is the scandal-tale
Of our own city's sons with anger swelled;
And it doth pay the debt, and 'vail
E'en as a curse by nation's hands fulfilled!
Still o'er me broods distracting fear,
Some myst'ry wrapped in night to hear.
For gods on bloody men
Look not with regardless ken;
And furies black as night in time
Luckful though man be in crime,
Through some bye-path of life backsliding,
In gloom and grief, his head are hiding.
And amongst the unheard, unknown,
Once at his goal, all help is gone.
Oh! sure, to hear our lauds above

Labour of right is a thing of fear;
For a thunderbolt from Jove
Is dashed the proud-man's eyes to sear.
My voice I give for length of days
Wantless, but free from jealousies.
O! never may I live to be
Sacker of towered towns, nor see
Captured myself, my life beneath
The mercy of another's breath.

Upon this exquisite chorus, exquisite, we mean, to those who can read it in the original, there follows the introduction of a herald from the army; who, according to the interpretation of a sensuistic criticism, answers no other purpose but to fill up the time, before Agamemnon's appearance, with a poetical description of the miseries endured during the siege, and of the storm which befel the army on its return. But if the warning against foreign warfare be the political object of the play, and the key to its construction, the herald has to discharge a much more important duty. He could not have touched on two ideas more likely to give weight to the remonstrances of the poet; and in this light we are disposed to regard this otherwise perplexing portion of the drama, in which nothing is introduced to further the plot, except perhaps another development of the artificial "grandiloquence" of Clytemnestra, and the explanation of the absence of Menelaus, whose presence might have seemed likely to embarrass the catastrophe.

Then follows a third chorus. Not a mere elegy, fastened on without object or connexion with the main fabric, as a ballet between the acts of a tragedy, but constructed on the same principle with the dramatic speeches of Thucydides, in order to introduce, under a new form, personages and facts which were necessary to complete the work, but lay beyond its immediate limits. Agamemnon and Menelaus have been already thus brought forward, and one character remains, on which the mind of the spectator, willing to escape from the application to himself of the moral example before him, would willingly fix, and cheat itself into a forgetfulness of its own similar faults or crimes, by venting indignation upon some greater crime in others. Hélen is still to be brought forward: and even Homer never painted her with such an exquisite admixture of beauty to fascinate, and of evil to make us shudder.

Who, O! who was naming thee
For every feature rightfully?
Was it one, we do not see
In forecasts of destiny,

Skill'd a tongue in chance to guide—
The spear-betroth'd and battle-bride—
Helen! since with fitting fates,
Hell of vessels, hell of states,
Hell of heroes, forth she sails
From her harem's damask veils,
By earth-born zephyr's breath pursued.
While, each with shield on high,
Girt with troops of chivalry,
Hunters on the vanish'd step
Of the bladed oars did leap,
And ran their heels on Simois' banks of wood—
Green leafy banks—in strife to drench them all in blood.
But marriage, rightly nam'd—*marrer of joy*—
Bent on its end, some dæmon-god of wrath sped on to Troy.
'Venging, though in tarried hour,
Mock of the banquet-rite divine,
Mock of Jove, whose colleagued power
Guards the hearth, the stranger's shrine—
Yea, on the crew, who, with vaunting high,
Paid the bride-hon'ring minstrelsy—
Hymen's hymn, which then befell
The brother-bridesmen's train to swell.
But now an alter'd music trying,
Priam's city, aged queen,
Wails in dirges loud, I ween;
Oft and oft on Paris crying—
Paris of the accursed bed.
Even she, that all before
Clasping with both arms the gore
Piteous of her children dead,
Drain'd a dirgeful life of dread.
Even so a prince did rear,
Ruin to his house, and fear,
Reft of its mother's milk and help,
Yet suckling still, a lion whelp;
In the first playful hours of life,
Gentle and unknown to strife,
The children's fondling fair, and toy,
And the aged nobles' joy:
And oft in arms it lay, and smiled,
Like a new-born nurtured child:
Bright-eyed to the hand, and waving
Its tail beneath its belly's craving;
'Till uprear'd in time it show'd
A soul—the soul of its father's blood:
For to its fost'rers grace repaying
On sheep-beslaughtered craunchings preying,

Unbidden guest, its feast it tore,
And dabbled was the house with gore;
Unto the menial crew a sight
Rueful and wrathful, but shunn'd in fight,
Gaunt murder-pest! So sent from heaven
A priest of Ate's rites within the halls had thriven.
So, would I say, to Ilion's towers,
There came a spirit of breathless calm,
A tissued idol for golden bowers—
A blossom of love, stinging souls with balm.
Even like a tender lance
Stooping aside from her eyes to glance,
And bitter ends of the bridal blest
One who was there was fixing,
Seated grim at the gorgeous feast,
And grim with the gay troop mixing,
On Priam's sons, *like hound of hell*,
Slipp'd by the Xenian sovran's spell,
Wept of brides—Erynnis fell.

On the close of this chorus Agamemnon appears; and it is not a little singular that he should appear so late, and remain for so short a time, and develop so few points of character at large, if he is intended individually to arrest the attention, and to become the chief exciting object of pity. But if the grand political truth is the object of the poet, all this becomes intelligible; and any further obtrusion of the individual would have interfered with his object; as compassion and personal interest in one who falls by the hand of public justice, materially interferes with a right appreciation of the public lesson which his execution is intended to convey. And yet all that is seen of Agamemnon is noble, and calculated to inspire precisely that feeling of respect, which constitutes man an object of just and rightly-tempered pity. His religious appeal to the gods; his acknowledgment of their hand in the just revenge which he had been enabled to take upon Troy; his conviction of the vanity of flattery, and of the treachery of man; his grateful recollection of Ulysses; his plans for future government; the cool and quiet distrust with which he listens to the elaborate overstrained professions of Clytemnestra, and rebukes her with a gentle irony; his rejection of her flatteries; his contempt and refusal of her ostentatious and extravagant honours; the humility with which he bears his victory; even his final concession to her request, of treading on her purple tapestries (a request not made without the hope of inducing him to commit what might seem a crime, as indicating pride, and so expose him to an "envious eye" from heaven, and

facilitate the execution of her vengeance) ; and, lastly, his care for Cassandra—all are delicate touches of a noble character, perhaps the most perfect exemplification, which we possess, of Aristotle's "magnanimous man," embodied in poetry.

As Agamemnon leaves the stage, the Chorus break forth into that deeper and fuller expression of their prophetic anticipations of ill, which we have given before.

O ! wherefore then with fixed spell ? . . .

It must be remembered that fear is the feeling which it is the true object of tragedy to excite ; not horror. Fear is practical ; it suggests thoughts of escape ; it tempers exuberant joy ; it sobers and calms the mind ; it compels caution and deliberation. It is, when properly excited, the germ of prudence and a great moral virtue. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." But horror only stupifies and paralyzes. And whenever art is employed under any form in exciting it, without reference to some other end and feeling, it is wasting its powers, and disturbing and exhausting the emotions, rather than stimulating and directing them. There are very few points in which the superiority of ancient over modern art is more conspicuous than this ; few which illustrate more the necessity of making truth the substance of art, and a sound philosophy of morals the directress of its expressions.

But fear is the expectation of evil. And it is then useful and good, when it comes to produce caution and sobriety in the midst of prosperity. It must be the expectation of an evil, great and awful, but dimly shadowed out ; since the moment it is clearly defined and at hand, the fear changes into horror. And the great art in exciting it, is shown in thus bringing out the image like a phantom, with sufficient distinctness of outline to bear the appearance of reality, and at the same time with sufficient indistinctness to preserve the mystery. It is in the admirable adjustment of these two opposite principles, and in the slow and gradual way in which the mysterious calamity is shadowed forth and unveiled, that the great art of the Agamemnon is shown. The intimation of the watchman, that there is something which he dares not speak of, is the germ of the development. Then follows the uneasiness arising from the recollections of the Chorus ; and the revival of the murder of Iphigenia. Then still farther, suspicion is aroused by the sententious and laboured ambiguities of Clytemnestra. Every fresh subject which the Chorus touches on gathers up some new remembrance of past crime, some thought of punishment long delayed, but sure ; some warnings not to trust to the appearance of prosperity. In

the sacred and prophetic character of the Chorus itself, is found precisely the power required to embody the two elements of fear—reality and indistinctness. They speak in some sense under inspiration. But inspiration is always obscure. And it is not till it comes upon the scene under a more direct supernatural influence in the person of Cassandra, that it begins to unveil the coming evil palpably to the eye; and at the same time to gather round it in horrible distinctness all the past crimes, which are the pledge and seed of the approaching miseries. It is by these recollections that the moral lesson is still kept up, and such an association preserved between suffering and sin, as prevents pity from degenerating into a morbid sympathy, and fear into empty horror. And the employment of Cassandra to be the vehicle of this prophetic power is not only historically plausible, but it fills up one of the characters required to exemplify the whole moral lesson of foreign conquest—the fate of the captive involved in the ruin of his master.

We have heard an eminent painter, who had never read the original, declare that the conception of Cassandra, as he had seen it even in Potter's translation, was the greatest which he had ever met with in the whole compass of art; and that it kept him awake for nights, in the mere contemplation of it. She enters in the same chariot with Agamemnon. And Clytemnestra, having succeeded in drawing the king into the house, returns to bring her in after him, with the intention of wreaking vengeance on her as an object of her jealousy. She invites her to descend; but Cassandra makes no reply; she sits "like a wild lioness newly caught," and is lost in horror. Again, Clytemnestra urges—but Cassandra hears not. The Chorus add their voice, but it falls on a deaf ear; till at last, Clytemnestra, impatient to return to her victim, "stationed already," as she says, "for sacrifice," leaves the stage to the compassionate Chorus, who once more urge the poor captive to descend. In the midst of their entreaties she starts and shrieks aloud.

Cass. Woe! woe! Ye Gods! O earth!
Apollo! O Apollo!
Chor. Why shriek'dst thou thus for Loxias?
No God I ween to have a wailer.
Cass. Woe! woe! Ye Gods! O Earth!
Apollo! O Apollo!
Chor. Hark! she again blaspheming calls the God.
Who hath no office to stand by in wailings.
Cass. Apollo! Apollo!
Leader! Appaller mine!
Yea—for the second time thou hast with ease
Appalled me, *and destroyed me.*

Chor. Methinks, she is about to oracle
Of her own woes. The spirit from heaven doth linger
E'en in a breast enthralled.
Cass. Apollo! Apollo!
Leader. Appaller mine!
Ha! whither didst thou lead me? to what a roof?
Chor. To the Atridæ's. If thou know not this,
I tell thee. And thus much thou wilt not say is false.
Cass. Ha! ha!
Yea one that hateth God! one that doth know
Of many a foul self-murder, and of halters!
Man-butchery, and floor
Rained on with victim blood!
Chor. Quick-scented seems the stranger, like a hound;
And to be tracking blood of murders past,
Which she will find.
Cass. Ha! ha!
Yea—witnesses, look yonder, I do trust to:
Look ye them weeping—the babes—their mangled throats,
And roasted flesh gnawed by a father's teeth—
Chor. Full sure thy fame of vision have we heard—
But we do need no prophets.
Cass. Ha! ha! Ye Gods! What is she plotting?
What anguish fresh is this she broods upon?
Monstrous, yea, monstrous, even in this house!
Ruin to them that love her! hard to bear!
Hard to be cured! and help
Stands far aloof.
Chor. Of these thy prophecies, I ken not aught;
But those I did know—for each haunt of man
Crieth aloud of them.
Cass. Ho! ho!
Wretch! and wilt thou do this deed?
The sharer of thy bed—thy husband—
Now thou hast made his eyes bright with thy baths—
How shall I tell the end?
For quick it will be here. Look! there is stretching out,
Hand behind hand its clutchings—
Chor. Not yet I follow thee—for now with riddles,
In dark weird-words I stand bewilder'd.
Cass. Eh! Eh! Faugh! Faugh!
What is this here, all palpable to sight—
Stake-net of hell?
But its closed gate is she that shared his bed—
She that doth share the murder!
Let the quire
Howl o'er a stony sacrifice.
Chor. What fury's this which thou art harking on,

To peal above the house? It cheers me not—
Thy word—and back unto my heart did run
The drop of yellow die—which e'en to them
That fall beneath the spear, doth help to quench
The rays of setting life. But swift is Ate.

Cass. Ha! Ha! look ye—look ye there!
Keep off the bull from the heifer!
All mantle-wrapt the black-horned one she hath caught—
With her axe she is smiting—
And he is falling in a vessel,
Brimming with water.
It is a traitrous—murd'ring caldron,
Whose hap I tell thee of.

Chor. I would not boast of wizard words to be
Acutest judge—but to some evil thing
These words I liken. Yea, from wizard words
What voice of good to mortals e'er is sent?
It is through ills that wordy arts do waft
A seer-song terror—that we learn our fate.

Cass. O! ill-starred fortunes of a child of woe,
For my own fate I mourn, and pour it in
To fill the cup.
For what now didst thou bring me hither?
Wretch that I am!
For nought except to die with thee? What else?

Chor. Frenzied thou art, possessed! and of thyself
Thou wail'st a tuneless tune;
E'en as the swarthy bird,
The nightingale,
Glutless of song, alas! with saddened soul
Itys—Itys! it sobbeth forth,
A life embowered in woes.

Cass. O! the shrill nightingale's lot!
For round her Heaven hath thrown a winged form,
And a sweet life, all tearless; but for me
There doth await
Cleaving asunder with the two-edged steel.

Chor. Whence the thick-gushing pangs of inspiration
Thou cling'st to, without meaning?
Thy tales of horror with harsh-uttered scream
Thou forgest into song; yet still in strains
That stir the spirit.
Whence hast thou landmarks of ill-boding words
For thy prophetic path?

Cass. O bridals, bridals of Paris,
Death to his friends!
O waters of Scamander, drink of my sires!
Time was when wand'ring round thy pebbly banks

The child of sorrow I was growing up,
Beneath thy nurturing.
But now around Cocytus and the banks
Of Acheron, methinks, soon shall I pour
My prophet lay!

Chor. What word is this, clear—far too clear—
Which thou didst oracle?
A child might learn it.
Smitten am I to the heart
With fang of blood.
As thou dost shrilly moan thy bitter lot,
Heart-crushing sounds for me to hear.

Cass. O sorrows, sorrows of my country
Buried in ruin all!
O sacrifices of my sire
Offered before his towers!
Slaughterers of many a pasturing herd!
Yet not one saving arm
Came to his help,
To save his city, for it not to suffer
E'en as it lies; while I
With my life-springs still warm soon on the ground
Shall pour—

Chor. Like unto former words, these sounds thou utter'dst!
There is some evil spirit lighting on thee
With spell o'erbearing, that doth make thee tune
Thy voice to dirgelike sorrows, fraught with death.
Where it will end I know not.

Cass. Yea, but the oracle no more shall be
As one that looketh forth from veiled chambers,
Like a new-wedded bride; but bright and clear
It seemeth now unto the sun's uprisings
Blast-like about to pour in, and to dash,
Like billow to the light, than this one here
One mightier far. Yea, I will mind thee now
No more from riddles; and d' ye bear me witness,
Coursing with me, as I do scent a track
Of crimes, the done of old—
For yon roof, look there, never leaves a choir
One tongued, not sweet-voiced, for it chants not well;
And drunk, to madden more, with mortal's blood,
A revel rout abideth in the house,
Hard to be banished forth, of kindred furies.
They hymn a hymn, close cow'ring on the house-top,
A patriarch Ate; and in turn they spit
And gibber, full of wrath 'gainst him that trampled
Upon a brother's bed.
Err'd I, or hunt I ought; e'en as an archer?

Or am I lying witch, knocker at doors,
Babbler? Outright witness to me, and swear
I know by tales old sins of these thy halls.
Chor. And could pledge of an oath, pledged e'er so nobly,
Be salve to thee? But I do wonder at thee,
That nurtured beyond sea, a strange-tongued city
Thou yet describest, e'en as thou were present,
A stander by.

At this moment there is a pause in the excitement. And there are few excellencies in which the superiority of Greek art over modern is so apparent, as in its power of estimating the precise point to which emotion may be raised, and the time during which it may be prolonged, without injuring the proper effect. In modern art, we are made to sup full of horrors without pause or interruption. And in particular the mind is wound up to the highest pitch at the very close, without any relaxation of a softer kind to break its fall on returning into the realities of life. The reason of this is, that the excitement of terror, in itself, considered as mere emotion, is the object of the poet now. The more intense, therefore, and more protracted the emotion, the better; and as when it has been roused to its full height, nothing else is to be gained, every thing which lingers behind of a different tone is like the tail of the wounded snake. The feelings are palled, and the thoughts become insipid. But a poet who would excite fear as a vehicle for moral truth and discipline, will take care not to absorb the mind in it wholly, so as to give no scope for reflection; nor to dwell long upon a chord so fragile, and which in breaking dispels the whole illusion, and even turns it into ridicule. Short, rapid, sudden touches, at intervals, breaking out like flashes of lightning, are the proper mode of rousing fear in its highest form. To give them force and energy, there must be intervals of repose, in which the feelings become calm, and are prepared to sustain a fresh shock. And these shocks, themselves, should die away by degrees, leaving the mind sobered down and saddened, rather than dismayed and excited at the close of the imaginary scene. In this temper it can look back and dwell upon the past, and apply it to the future. The whole wears more an aspect of reality. It approaches nearer to that art of Providence, the tragedy of nature, by which she acts upon our fears, and instils her moral lessons of caution, sobriety, and innocence; in which terror never comes without pity to soften it; and comes at intervals, and dies away soon. The close of Cassandra's prophecy, into which she breaks forth after an interruption of more tranquil dialogue with the Chorus, is an illustration of this principle, and with this we shall close our quotations.

Cass. Hugh! Hugh! O! O! agonies.
Deep Oh! once more the horrible pang doth wring me
Of prophecy too true, tearing my soul
With snatches of dim song, preludes to woe!
See ye these here—them on the house-tops sitting,
Young ones, belike to shadowed shapes of dreams!
Babes, looking sad, as they had died beneath
Those whom they loved,—their hands, belook, they're filling
With lumps of flesh, food of their own! And bowels
With entrails mixed, a pitiable cargo,
They hold before them, viands a father tasted!
Vengeance for this I tell thee one doth counsel—
A coward lion, wallowing in his lair,
A stay at home—woe's me, 'gainst him that cometh—
Master, yea master mine, for brook we must
The thraldom yoke. Lord though he be of fleets,
Sacker of Troy, he knows not to what words
A hateful hell-hound's tongue did utterance give,
And strain prolixly forth with fawning soul,
Like a hell-lurking Ate. Aye! and will work,
But with ill luck. Such are the deeds she dares!
Woman, she murd'rer is she of a man.
What call her, loathed monster? and hit her off?
Serpent, or Scylla, biding amidst rocks.
The mariners' pestilence; maddened dam of Hades,
Breathing fell truceless war on them that loved her?
How did she howl above him, she the all-bold
As in the battle rout! And she doth seem
To joy in the safe welcome of return—
Alas! of this 'tis all the same if aught,
Or not, I do persuade thee; for what else?
That which will come will come; and thou full soon
Present thyself, too true, too true a seer,
Pitying shalt call me.

Chor. Thyestes' feast indeed
On his child's flesh, I did agnize, and shuddered
With horror. And dismay doth seize my soul,
Listing them in full sooth not dimly shadowed:
But as the rest I heard, out of the course
I fell, and run.

Cass. 'Tis Agamemnon's fate
I tell thee thou shalt see.

Chor. Hush! to good words
Poor wretch! compose thy mouth.

Cass. Yet think not Pæan
Stands by to heal the word.

Chor. No, not in truth,
If it shall be—but Heaven forbid it be.

Cass. Thou prayest—but they are thinking of their killing.
Chor. And by what man is this foul deed prepared?
Cass. Sure thou didst look far wide of my foretellings.
Chor. Yea, for of him, that should fulfil the deed,
The plot I saw not.
Cass. And yet full well thou knowest
A Grecian speech.
Chor. Aye, but the words decreed
Of Phœbus, yet are hard to understand.
Cass. Faugh! faugh! how fierce the fire,—'tis rushing on me.
Hugh! Hugh! Lycean! Apollo! I! I!
She there—two-footed lioness, close couched
With her wolf, in absence of her noble lion,
Will murder me—me the wretched—and as one
Brewing a drug, the prize he gained of me
Will mix in her cup of wrath. She boasts and prayeth,
As she doth whet the steel-blade for her hero,
That for my freight she will repay him murder.
Wherefore, oh! wherefore, mockeries of myself,
Keep I these gauds—sceptres, and coronals
Orac'lar round my neck? Thee, thee, before
The fate that waiteth me, will I destroy:
[*She throws her sceptre and chaplets from her.*
Hence to destruction as ye fall! This day
Will I requite you—some new wretch with curses
Dizen instead of me. Lo! lo! Apollo
With his own hands stripping me bare of all
My garb prophetic! Aye, having oft looked on,
And seen me with these gew-gaws, laughed to scorn
With friends, by foes, without one dissonant voice,
All vainly. And called after, vagabond,
Like wand'ring gipsy,—beggar, poor wretch, half-starv'd,
I bore it all. And now the prophet God
On me his prophetess hath wreaked his full,
And led me off into these deadly fates.
And for my father's altar there abides me
A butcher's block, with a hot gory gash
Cut down. Yet not unhonoured of the Gods
Are we about to die; for there shall come
Of us a new requiter, matricide child,
His sire's avenger. Wandering exile—far,
Far from this land estranged, back shall he come
Upon these curses for his friends to put
The coping-stone. For it is sworn—an oath
In heaven, a mighty oath—that back shall bring him
The levelled corpse of his outstretched sire.
Why, why do I, a stranger here, thus wail?
Since at the first I saw my Ilion's city

Fare as it fared, and they who held the city
Thus by the judgment of the Gods are gone.
I too will go, and fare so; I will brook
To die with patience. Hades' portals here
I now invoke, and I do pray to meet
A mortal stroke, that unconvulsed, my blood
In easy death forth gushing, I may close
My eyelids.

Chor. O most wretched, and moreo'er
Most wise. Poor lady! into length thou strainedst
Thy wail. But if full surely thou dost know
The fate that waits thee, how like a heaven-led victim
Unto these altars boldly dost thou walk!

Cass. There is no 'scape—Oh, strangers! save of time.

Chor. And yet the last in time is 'vantaged.

Cass. 'Tis come—this day—slight gain I'll have by flight.

Chor. Be sure, thou art full patient, from a soul
Courageous.

Cass. Yet with nobleness to die
Is grace to mortal man.

Chor. None heareth words
Like these, among the blessed.

Cass. O! my sire!
Thee and thy noble children!

[*She starts back with horror as she approaches the doors.*

Chor. What thing is this?
What terror drives thee back?

Cass. Faugh! faugh!

Chor. Why faughedst thou thus, if there be not within
Some loathing of the soul?

Cass. Murder! the house
Reeketh with murder, dripping blood.

Chor. And how?
This smell doth come from victims at the hearth.

Cass. A stink as from a charnel house doth issue.

Chor. No Syrian balm thou tell'st of in the halls.

Cass. But I will go—e'en in the house to wail
My fate and Agamemnon's—All enough
Of life—O! strangers. I do wail not sadly,
As a poor bird that startles at a bush,
In fear and idly. When I am dead, do ye
Bear witness to me this—whene'er a woman,
For me a woman too die; and a man
Ill-wedded for a man fall dead—This grace
I will intreat of thee, my friends, as one
About to die.

Chor. O, poor one! I bewail thee,
For thy prophetic lot.

Cass. Once, once again;
One word, one dirge, fain would I speak, my own
Above myself; and to the sun I pray,
On its last light now gazing, that such death
Vengers of me upon my murderer foes
May wreak at once, when a poor captive girl
Has fallen, an easy prey. Oh, state of mortals!
When fair, a shade would turn them: and if ill
They tide, with dash of hand a moistened sponge
Destroys the picture. And 'tis this I wail
More than the others far.

[*She enters the house.*

And here we must bring our observations to a close.

On one point nothing has been said—the character of Clytemnestra. But it is of the utmost importance to remember, that as in the case of Agamemnon, of Menelaus, of even Helen herself, so here also the poet has taken care to blend the good with the evil; and to mix so much excuse even in the conduct of the adulteress and murderess of her husband, as to prevent her from becoming an object of unmixed loathing and disgust. This excuse is to be found in that remarkable law of the "Avenger of blood," which is traced in every part of the world, even among the American Indians, and which can scarcely be referred to any other source, than the positive injunction of Revelation, "He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Under this law, before society had been established, and the civil power had taken into its own hands the task of retribution for private offences, it was morally incumbent on the nearest relative of a murdered person to put the murderer to death. However far this law had been superseded by the establishment of a State executive in that period of Grecian history, it is clearly upon this, as still remaining in force, that Clytemnestra rests her defence. It is this only, which justifies the tone of her language in her re-appearance after the murder, or perhaps her re-appearance at all. And it is this also, which connects the Agamemnon with the great political object of the Orestea, by exhibiting another instance of the horrible disorder into which society must fall, when public law, and institutions, like the Areopagus, are set aside, and private vengeance alone is left to execute the dictates of natural justice.

Into minor points of criticism we have not entered. Such are the skill with which the difficulty of allowing the Chorus to overhear the death-stroke, without leaving the stage to assist Agamemnon, is diminished by their perceiving that the blow already given has proved mortal; or again, the feeble, irresolute, yet

moral character of the Chorus itself, in which no little political philosophy is conveyed. And we might have wished to justify the readings which have been adopted in the translations; and to illustrate some of the more difficult passages, as they may best be illustrated, by parallels from Oriental associations. But for this there is no space. We will close these remarks by returning to a point, which is of the last importance in familiarizing students with the poetry of the Greeks, and which has led us to offer the translations here attempted—the duty of exacting from them in their construing not only a poetical form and diction, but what is perfectly compatible with it, a most rigid accuracy.

As an exercise for the mind, the value of such a translation is inestimable. It compels first a strict attention to minute details of inflexions, tenses, order, and etymology, to the genealogies of significations in words, to slight varieties of accentuation, and to all the other subtleties of a metaphysical grammar. A grammatical scholar, critically instructed, becomes lynx-eyed in observing discrepancies amidst apparent resemblances; and a philosophical scholar, philosophically instructed, becomes equally acute in detecting analogies and affinities, even in the most dissimilar forms. He cannot exchange a Greek word for an English until he has ascertained its precise value; and the keen, sensitive, quick-sighted Greek marked so many most important distinctions, and conveyed so many comprehensive ideas by almost imperceptible symbols of letters or accents, that a superficial hasty observer is incapable of understanding him: he must place himself at every step as a banker's clerk examining the secret signatures of checks in order to detect forgery, and to save himself from cheating or being cheated. In the second place, in giving change for his Greek words, he must take care not to give an idea less or an idea more than he receives. He is therefore acting perpetually under the sense of a strict external law; there is an outward standard, to which he must rigidly conform, a model which he must exactly copy in all its lineaments and colours. The very sense of this, still more the habit of acting on it, is one of the most important elements in a rightly-constituted mind. The observance of an external law is man's chief virtue, and chief happiness; and the boy who has been rightly trained to it, in translating a dead language, may be easily led on to apply it to other higher duties and objects. To live under constraint will be no new idea, and to fulfil external obligations no new task. Thirdly, (let us only pause to remind the reader, who may think these effects and influences to be farfetched and unreal, that the laws and habits of mind are the same, to whatever subjects they are applied, and that Nature has framed us to

acquire in the use of meanest things the power of using greatest,) a schoolboy, in translating, is exercised in one of the highest, the most difficult, and the most common task of the human intellect, the task of exact adjustment between shifting and uncertain quantities. The great question in morals is, how to bring the variable amount of our own actions into a conformity, as close as possible, with the unknown amount of our duty: the great question of practical prudence is to realize an exact identity between the unknown events of the future, as laid down in the Divine dispensations, and the vague calculations of our own expectations. So commerce is the bringing into an equitable balance two indefinite terms of value. So religion, considered as the reception of a creed, consists in forming our own unsettled ideas into accordance with doctrines, which no human power can prevent from being in some degree open to doubt and disputation. In the same manner the schoolboy must be taught to select words in his own language, of which the precise value never can be fixed, but which yet he must endeavour to fix, and to bring them into an equilibrium as exact as possible with Greek words, equally vague, and yet equally requiring exact definition. In this way he is brought at once into contact with that great work of human intellect—the battle between the certain and uncertain, the necessary and contingent, doubt and truth. And while construing a Greek chorus, he may be taught the highest and ultimate laws by which his whole nature must be regulated in all the future business of life.

In this task of adjustment, he is called on also to exercise a quick and sensitive taste, discriminating not only the actual logical value of words, but their value in the imagination, as calling up ideas and associations. He must learn to appreciate the nice influences of mere sound, to place himself in the position both of his foreign author and the reader of the translation, and to judge what new development or altered form must be given to a metaphor, or figure, or expression, so that the same idea may be conveyed to the one which was intended by the other. Sometimes he will touch a figurative word with an Ithuriel's spear, and make it spring up in a full-formed metaphor. Sometimes he will soften and mellow down, or throw into shade an idea more harsh or prominent in its modern form, than it would have appeared in the ancient. Sometimes, but rarely, he will venture on suppression, or on the substitution of an analogy for an exact copy. But throughout he will guard against the temptation to supplant the original by a translation, or to abandon his first duty of rigidly conforming to the model before him.

Many other admirable exercises for the intellectual powers are

contained in the work of translation, especially that of managing language with copiousness and facility. But these few have been suggested as a ground for protesting against the principles upon which most of our modern translations of the Greek drama have been executed, and especially against the mode in which the process is usually performed in too many of our schools, and sometimes even in the universities.

Art. IV.—1. *Die Zustände der anglicanischen Kirche* (State of the Anglican Church), *mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verfassung und des Cultus, dargestellt von* Hermann F. Uhden, *Candidat des Predigtamts.* Leipzig. 1843.

2. *Reiseskizzen, vornehmlich aus dem Heerlager der Kirche* (Travelling Sketches, chiefly from the Camp of the Church), *gesammelt auf einer Reise in England, Frankreich, &c. von* Dr. T. F. Kniewel, *Archidiakon in Danzig. Erster Theil. England.* Leipzig. 1843.

3. *Dialogus de Ecclesia Anglicana et de regimine ecclesiastico. Auctore* C. F. Weber. Nerolingæ, 1843.

4. *Der Ritus der anglikanischen Kirche und die neun und dreissig Artikel* (The ritual of the Anglican Church, and the XXXIX Articles), *lateinisch und deutsch, nebst einer historischen Einleitung von* Dr. Fr. C. K. Schüberth, *Prof.* Berlin. 1842.

5. *Die vollständige Liturgie und die* 39 *Artikel der Kirche von England* (The entire Liturgy and the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England), *von* Dr. Bernhard Gäbler. Altenburg. 1843.

6. *Beiträge zur bessern Würdigung des Wesens und der Bedeutung des Puseyismus* (Aids for appreciating the Nature and Significance of Puseyism), *durch Uebertragung einiger der wichtigsten betreffenden Schriften, nebst einer Einleitung, herausgegeben von* Moritz Petri, *Pastor in Münder. Erstes Heft.* Göttingen. 1843.

However various the views and feelings may be with which men regard the attempts recently made to bring about an approximation between our Church and the Protestant Churches of Germany, thus much is certain, that the impulse which has been given to men's minds on this subject, is not likely to subside for some time in either country. Nor is it desirable that it should. There is assuredly much to be learned on both sides; we have

scarcely yet attained to a clear understanding of one another, so as to be enabled to determine the real points of difference; we do not yet possess sufficient data to form a just and charitable judgment of each other. Hitherto, indeed, both parties seem to have taken more pains to spy out each other's defects, than to discover points of sympathy and elements of union. We, on our side of the question, have accused the Germans of a spirit of wild speculation; they, on the other hand, have charged us with a spirit of narrow formalism; and both, perhaps, have been too prone to seek their own, rather than each other's wealth.

Considering the infirmity of human nature, which renders it next to impossible for us to see others as they are, or ourselves as others see us, and taking into account the laudable tenacity with which, in matters of religion, all who are in earnest must cling to their convictions, it could hardly be otherwise. Notwithstanding their common origin, there is an immense contrast between the national mind of England and that of Germany. The groundwork of both is the same; there is in both a deep seriousness of character, and a moral energy, which disposes them to labour rather than to enjoy, to submit to the rule of principles, and to pursue the objects to which their principles direct them, with an intensity of interest, and a persevering devotion, to which most other nations are strangers. But this fundamental character has been developed in two diametrically opposite directions in the German and the English people. With the latter, the whole power of the nation's life has thrown itself upon action, with the former upon speculation; the Germans live and, if need be, die for theories, we live and die for measures. The Englishman is willing to leave abstract questions undetermined, provided the end be gained; the German thinks practical application a matter of comparative indifference, provided the theory be secured. Our tendencies are all real; their's are all ideal.

This characteristic difference of the two national minds might be expected to appear most prominently in the religious life of the two nations; and, accordingly, we may distinctly trace it from the time when both, having shaken off the alien shackles of Romanism, began to develop their Christian life in a form analogous to their national character. In Germany, the Reformation turned essentially upon doctrinal points, which became the subject of keen contention, to the neglect of the provisions made for the continuance of the work of grace in the Church; while with us the chief object was the settlement of the Church, of its constitution and its ritual, with an evident reluctance to go farther than was absolutely necessary into questions of doctrine; so much so, that some of the most important principles of our

faith are set forth with much greater precision and distinctness in our liturgical offices, than in our doctrinal formularies. The same contrast is observable in the subsequent phases of the history of the two Churches, in the character which their controversies took, and in the form which their religious life assumed. In the conflict with Rome, the corruptions of its worship have ever been the prominent topic on the English arena, while on the German field the battle has been fought chiefly for speculative opinions. The internal divisions, with which both have been visited to a lamentable extent, have with us ripened into schismatical separations from the general body; with the Germans they have led to heretical oppositions within the body. We are beset with a multiplicity of sects; they are confounded by a multiplicity of schools. And to the sound *nucleus*, the chosen remnant, in which the true spiritual life resides, how differently in the one case and in the other does that Christianity present itself, which both agree in holding dearer than life! To the Germans it is a revelation of truth; to us a discipline of grace. With us, the knowledge of the truth is a means for building up our souls in a state of grace; with them, the ordinances of grace are subservient to the main purpose of establishing the mind in the truth.

It is evident, that these opposite tendencies of the two nations would in each case lead, through the infirmity of man's nature, to that precise fault with which each is upbraided by the other. As the life of religion becomes stagnant, the discipline of grace degenerates into a narrow and empty formality, and the revelation of truth is debased into a stiff and barren orthodoxy; while the reaction against the Church's torpor begets heterodoxy in the latter, and nonconformity in the former case. This is the key that unlocks the secret of the Church history of the last three centuries, in England and in Germany; this the cause of the antagonism, amounting in some cases to a kind of instinctive antipathy, which has of late become more and more manifest on both sides.

On this ground, therefore, we must proceed, if we would find a remedy for healing a division, which men of a truly Christian spirit on either side cannot but deeply deplore. If there is to be any mediation between the religious mind of England and the religious mind of Germany, it must be brought about by the Germans being taught to reverence the life of grace which dwells within the forms and ordinances of our apostolic Church, and by our learning to respect the love of truth which pervades the disquisitions and expositions of their sounder divines. We must not, from the multitude and the noisy bearing of their heterodox men, draw the hasty conclusion, that there is *no orthodoxy* left

among them; and they must not, because of the deadness and worldly character of the common herd in our Church, rashly assume that vital godliness has become extinct among us.

To teach ourselves, respectively, this lesson of mutual forbearance, of justice and of charity, is, we fear, no easy task. Yet it is a task to be taken in hand, and that strenuously, by both parties. Both are alike interested in the restoration of concord, on such a basis as may afford perfect security for the principles of the Catholic Church, to the end that each may impart to the other some spiritual gift, and that both may be comforted together by their mutual faith.

And to this issue matters seem on both sides to be tending, though perhaps in a course too slow and too indirect to satisfy the earnest longings of sanguine and ardent minds. We must expect to hear many criminations and recriminations, and to witness many collisions and repulsions: we must, probably, for the present, rest content if we see an interest awakened in each other's condition; if steps be taken on either side to bring about a nearer acquaintance with each other, though it be in an attitude of distrust, of prejudice, and sometimes even of hostility.

That such an interest is awakened, and such steps are being taken, is a fact which cannot escape an attentive observer of passing events, and to which the literature of both countries bears at this moment ample witness. The attention which the constitution and the present condition of our Church have recently attracted in Germany, is attested by the increased number of publications on the subject, of the more important of which, enumerated at the head of this article, we shall now proceed to give our readers a brief account.

Of Petri's "Aids for appreciating the nature and significance of Puseyism," one number only is as yet published; containing, after a short introduction, a translation of Dr. Pusey's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In a second number the editor purposes to give to the German public Tract XC., and Dr. Pusey's sermon on the Holy Eucharist. If the interest created by these should warrant it, he contemplates the addition of other writings of the Tractarian school, as well as of those of its principal opponents. The introduction consists of an exceedingly meagre sketch of the history of the English Reformation, a translation of the XXXIX Articles, and an account of the present state of parties in the Anglican Church. Mr. Petri's information on this latter point is confessedly derived from the work of Uhden, whose views he adopts; and we shall therefore only extract from it a short notice of a few works published within the last two years, to which, in addition to those above enumer-

ated by us, Mr. Petri makes reference, as sources of information respecting the Church of England, and as evidences of the interest which that subject has of late acquired in Germany. They are, "Historico-critical reflections on the gradual formation of the English Episcopal Church, in relation to the principles of genuine Protestantism, by Dr. Vogel," a work to which Mr. Petri ascribes little value, because, by "genuine Protestantism" the author means simply a "coarse rationalism;"—"On the relation in which the Episcopal Church of England stands to the primitive Apostolic Church, by Dr. Chlebus," intended to show the great inferiority of the constitution of the English Church, as compared with the primitive Apostolic Church, and to discourage the idea of engrafting the Anglican succession upon the Protestant Churches in Germany;—"Account of the negotiations which took place in the last century, with a view to introduce the constitution of the English Church into Prussia, with documentary evidence," a translation of certain diplomatic papers published in London, 1716, under the title, "*Relation des mesures, qui furent prises dans les années* 1711, 1712, *et* 1713, *pour introduire la liturgie Anglicane dans le royaume de Prusse et dans l'électorat de Hannover*,"—and "The XXXIX Articles of the English Church compared with the Augsburg Confession, by L. Bender," an attempt to show the perfect agreement of the two confessions, in which, however, according to Mr. Petri's judgment, the author has not succeeded.

Of Weber's *Dialogus de Ecclesia Anglicana et de regimine ecclesiastico*, it is the sum of the commendation that can be bestowed on it, to say that as an exercise in the colloquial Latin style, it is a respectable performance; but as a theological essay, it is miserably inadequate to support the pretensions of its rather high-sounding title. The author's notions *de regimine ecclesiastico* are summed up in the assertion, that as "God and Christ are always and everywhere present in the Church, and as to them all forms of Church government are indifferent, discussions on the subject are superfluous." He labours under a salutary horror of a general synod of Protestants to be convoked, according to the proposal of one of the interlocutors, under the presidency of some one of the Protestant princes, to whom the supreme Episcopate would, in that case, be accorded by common consent. We take leave to assure Mr. Weber that there is no immediate danger, such as he seems to apprehend, of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria astonishing the world by appearing in the somewhat novel character of a Protestant antipope.

The works of Schüberth and Gäbler, on the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England are of an essentially documentary character. That of Schüberth contains, after a short historical

sketch of the English Reformation, the XXXIX Articles in Latin and German; a German translation of our offices for the Holy Communion, the ministration of baptism, confirmation, matrimony, and the burial of the dead, to which the translator has added a chapter on the ecclesiastical constitution of our Church, and a reprint of our calendar. There is nothing to indicate Mr. Schüberth's own views of the different subjects contained in his compilation. The work of Dr. Gäbler is much more extensive. It comprises, besides the contents of the Book of Common Prayer, the forms of prayer at the opening of the convocation, and the principal canons of our Church. The liturgy of the American Episcopal Church is added in an appendix. In his introduction, he discusses the general principles and the government of the Anglican Church, and enters cursorily upon the kindred subjects of domestic worship, religious education, and the preparation for the clerical office. The author, who spent some time in this country, has evidently collected his materials with much care. He speaks of the English Church, of her institutions and her ritual, in a tone of decided approbation, by which he appears to have given offence to the anti-Anglican feeling prevalent among his countrymen.

Archidiaconus[1] Dr. Kniewel is another eye-witness, and one who certainly runs no risk of being accused, like Dr. Gäbler, of too favourable a leaning towards the English Church. On the contrary, it is evident that he came to this country strongly prejudiced against her, sympathising in that extreme "indignation and wrath" which, he informs us, was excited in the Protestant Church of Germany, by the expression, "the less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of Europe," which occurs in the "statement[2] of proceedings," relative to the Jerusalem bishopric, published by authority. As to the "unity of discipline as well as doctrine" between those Churches and our own, to which the "statement" alludes as to a possible result, Dr. Kniewel states it as his persuasion, and that of the Germans generally, that nothing else was meant but to bring the German Churches into subserviency to the English. No less irate is he at the idea of another Anglican bishopric, which, he says, it is proposed to establish at Cologne, for the benefit of the English who are travelling, and many of them settled, in the Rhenish provinces; this, he adds, in a parenthesis, "is the pretext, the real

[1] The "*Archidiaconus*" is not, we apprehend, an archdeacon in our sense of the word, but literally the principal assistant minister,—a position answering to that of a senior curate in our Church.

[2] As an instance of the want of accuracy, and even of ordinary knowledge, of which Dr. Kniewel's volume contains many proofs, we may mention that he reads the title: "statement of the Anglican bishopric of St. James in Jerusalem," and understands the word "statement" to mean "*Begründung*," i. e. "foundation."

object is probably to establish an Episcopal model Church for the less perfectly constituted" (*manet altâ mente repostum*) "Protestant Churches of Germany." We hope Dr. Kniewel will forgive us if we state it as our opinion, that if anything can prove the desirableness of a measure which would place the system of the English Church before the eyes of his countrymen, it is the publication of such numerous mistatements, often ludicrous, and sometimes grievous, as those in which his volume abounds.

To advert to them all, however cursorily, would far exceed our limits; we must content ourselves with adducing a few out of many instances, to show that Dr. Kniewel has not only looked at our Church with a jaundiced eye, but that he has been guilty of great negligence in collecting his facts, and extremely hasty in forming his conclusions. A man acquainted with the language, as Dr. Kniewel professes to be, (though from various indications we suspect his knowledge of it is very superficial,) and who, as he tells us, made a point of frequenting our churches for the purpose of gaining accurate information respecting our Liturgy, would by ordinary care have been preserved from falling into mistakes such as the following. In his account of the daily Morning and Evening Service, he points out the first Collect in the Communion Service, "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open," &c., as the "Collect of the Day," evidently quite ignorant of the fact, that the Collects appointed for Sundays and Holidays are read in that place; and in like manner, the "Prayer for all conditions of men," and "the general thanksgiving," have wholly escaped his notice. In speaking, and that in a tone of confident criticism, of our Church-music, he states it as a fact, that Dr. Watts' hymn-book is that most commonly in use in our churches, and complains of our singing the Psalms to the tune of "God save the Queen." Chanting, which he describes as being "*alla breve, allegro*," he objects to altogether; he transcribes the notes of the good old hundredth, slightly varied, as a rather more favourable specimen of psalmody, evidently without the slightest suspicion that the merit of that solemn composition is divided between the two German names of Luther and Handel; and he winds up his remarks on this subject, by saying, that the music of our churches sounded to his ears "worldly, flippant, unedifying, and even merry;" describing it as "mawkish melodies in hopping time[3]." In his description of the Liturgical provisions of our Church, he affirms that public worship, as

[3] We do not wish to dispute the superiority of the choral melodies of Germany, to many of our Church tunes; we suspect, however, that the Archidiaconus has been more frequently in the meeting-house than at church. Many of his remarks tend to this conclusion; nor do we find fault with him for "proving all things;" but he should have taken care not to build his opinions of the Church upon the observations which he made at the conventicle.

prescribed in the book of Common Prayer, is most carefully performed to this day, in the same manner as it has been ever since the second year of King Edward VI! Of the several revisions which our Liturgy has undergone since that time, the Archidiaconus is wholly innocent; and no less so of the modifications which custom has made, even in the present prescript form; as is clear, *ex. gr.* from his statement, that Morning and Evening Service is performed daily, the Morning Prayer at seven in Summer, and eight in Winter; the Evening Prayer at five or six; a rule from which he knows of no other exception than that of the Cathedrals, where he says the daily Service is during the week annexed to the choral singing at ten and three.

So much for plain mistakes in regard to easily ascertainable matters of fact, which Dr. Kniewel professes to have made the subject of special and careful enquiry[4]. But his misapprehensions and mistatements are not all of the same simple and innocuous character. When, for instance, he gravely informs his readers that "out of the 400 episcopal clergymen in London, there are, perhaps, only 100 real believers, a great portion merely dry orthodox, and not a small number empty moralists and rationalists, Unitarians, Arians, Pelagians, and probably even Pantheists at heart," it is not too much to say, that the Archidiaconus is guilty of a considerable breach of the ninth commandment, to which not even "that energetic and learned man, Baptist Noel," to whom with others of the same school he seems

[4] The following passage will show how confident Dr. Kniewel is of the sufficiency of his premises, and the correctness of his conclusions. "In order," he says, "duly to appreciate the idea of transplanting the Episcopal Liturgy, with necessary modifications, into the evangelic Church of Germany, it appeared to me before all things necessary to obtain *the most accurate knowledge* of the whole course of it, through all the offices and customs of the Church, from baptism to burial, by frequently taking part in them. More particularly was I desirous to ascertain by my own experience, and by observation, what impression was produced by the daily repeated forms of prayer and accurately prescribed ceremonies, both upon myself, upon the officiating minister, and upon the members of the congregation. For this purpose I attended for ten *successive* (the Italics are Dr. Kniewel's) days, perseveringly, at every Morning and Evening Service, at every Liturgic act and every Sermon, at every Sacramental or other office of the Church, from beginning to end; and during the whole of this process, as well as on other occasions when I attended church in different towns, I took great care not to take with me any prejudice whatever, for or against, and during my attendance not to institute any comparison or criticism. And therefore, I am entitled to declare before God and the world, that the result which I am about to communicate, is as unprejudiced and impartial as it is possible." For ten entire and successive days Dr. Kniewel was present at all the offices of the English Church that came in his way; he watched the effect of this ten days' spiritual diet upon himself, (much in the same way as a man tries the waters of a spa,) upon the officiating minister, whose heart it seems lay open before his penetrating eye, and upon the congregation, the undulations of whose spiritual state could surely not escape so keen an observer! He had no prejudices, good man; no, not any, or if he had, he left them outside; he indulged in no odious comparisons, no ill-natured criticisms, or if he did, it was after he got home again! The only wonder is that he escaped, which certainly some how or another he has done bravely, from that sunken rock of popery—absolute infallibility.

to be indebted for many of his notions, would altogether like to be accessory. Again, we should be glad to know the source from which Dr. Kniewel has derived the various items of information introduced in the following statement.

"With the Dissenters," he says, "the chief thing is the sermon; with the Episcopalians, on the contrary, it seems to be the Liturgy. This is evident even from the far greater portion of time devoted to the Liturgy in comparison with the half hour allotted to the sermon; further from the fact, that in preaching all ecclesiastical ornaments are laid aside[5]; and that *many depart from the church when the sermon begins*, at least from those churches where, as in Westminster Abbey, pleasant music is performed by good choirs. This might be accounted for by the weariness which the length of the Liturgy, considerably increased by the choral singing, occasions, especially to those who are standing in the crowd. Still, *by far the greater number remain for the sermon, although high Church people consider it in fact as nothing more than a customary addition, in some measure edifying and salutary.* And really the manner in which the sermon is treated by very many preachers must create such an impression. For if *they repeat for many years in one and the same church a solitary dozen of sermons of their own composition*, reading them from their manuscript, or even if *they use modern printed sermons, which are known to every body*, they are, according to the law of their Church, as much entitled to do this, as to read one of the old homilies authorised by their Church[6]."

Bad as this is, it is not by any means the only fault which Dr. Kniewel has to find with the preaching of the "Episcopal" clergy.

"Out of the whole number of sermons (about forty) which I heard preached by Episcopal clergymen in England, there was *hardly one* in which these two points, 1, exaggerated praise of the excellent and truly Apostolic constitution of their Church; and 2, decided reprobation, nay, even harsh condemnation, of the Dissenters,—were not introduced, often in the most forced and unsuitable manner. I understood that this was done in consequence of express injunctions from their ecclesiastical superiors, and I soon had an opportunity of convincing myself that this is really the case."

If the Archidiaconus is under no mistake as to the drift of the sermons he heard, we can only suppose that he fared vastly

[5] We do not venture to guess what some of Dr. Kniewel's "Episcopal" friends will think of this argument for preaching in the surplice.

[6] While on this subject, the Archidiaconus tells us that the Germans had great indignation, for that the Bishop of London (who is otherwise rather a favourite with him) did actually "read before the King of Prussia three of his old Lent sermons, which he had preached many times before." "And," says he, "the Bishop himself, and the entire clergy of England with him, were amazed at our amazement."

better than his royal master; and that all the clergy whose preaching he attended, made a point of writing entirely new and fresh sermons especially with a view to his instruction. We are sorry to find how little good they have done him. For, not content with this expression of his disapprobation, he returns to the charge, and decides the whole question between Church and dissent upon this specific ground:—

"When one hears the sermons of the Episcopalians, whose constant theme it is to warn against the Dissenters, to represent them as enemies of the state, and their doctrines as soul-destroying; and one compares with this the calmness, the Christian seriousness and mildness with which the Scotch, the Wesleyan, and other ministers, express themselves, — *ex. gr.* the highly-gifted and distinguished orator C., [Candlish, we suppose, who has of late so remarkably distinguished himself by the mildness of his preaching!] the deeply-touching G., and the mild H.—one needs nothing more to be convinced, on which side there is truth and real power, and to which side therefore the victory will incline."

When Dr. Kniewel further states that the English clergy are at liberty to teach whatever they please, either *beyond* or *within* the XXXIX Articles, provided they do not speak *against* them, and that "*this license to enlarge the confession of faith is restricted to the ordained clergy by virtue of the inspiration imparted to them by the Apostolic succession;*" when he insinuates that the English Church is about to "*set the word of God altogether aside,*" and to constitute herself into a merely external[7] hierarchy; when he

[7] *A propos* of this accusation, which is repeated *ad nauseam*, that our Church cares only for externals, and is made up of externals, we should like to know how Dr. Kniewel came by the information that the Bishop of London, according to him the only really active bishop, (the other bishoprics being mere sinecures,) "writes daily, on an average, twenty-seven letters, mostly admonitions to strictness in observing the ritual, and other matters relative to the *externa* of the Church." We can understand that his lordship's porter might have furnished the curious Archidiaconus with an average of the number of letters put into the post from London House; but whence this accurate knowledge of their contents? We should be tempted to an ugly suspicion, but for the internal evidence, which clears him entirely from it. Another specimen of the loose way in which he assumes whatever suits his purpose, is, that he imputes to the author of the "Treatise on the Church," which he quotes as if he had read it, the anathemas of his namesake, which he says "are so strong and violent, that it seems impossible to have any serious and quiet conversation with him on the subject." In the same way he confounds the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society with each other, and breaks out into bitter complaints of its hyper-episcopalian tendencies. Touching the Church Missionary Society and the German students in the institution at Islington, Dr. Kniewel lets out a fact which, if true, is worthy of remark; viz. that they are deeply disaffected towards the English Church and her Episcopal government, and consider themselves, after the subscription of our Articles, as men "working in chains." We hope that Dr. Kniewel has taken an exaggerated view of this as well as of other matters.

broadly asserts, that the English Church *holds the Calvinistic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, which, as a con-substantialist, he of course disapproves, and confounds with it the Catholic doctrine of our Church; and still further, that what little good there is in the English Church, is *for the most part borrowed from Geneva;* he only furnishes so many additional evidences, that he is, in spite of his ten days' continuous and persevering observation, sadly ignorant of her constitution, her discipline, her doctrine, and her actual condition. Indeed, it is very clear throughout the whole volume, that he labours under the joint influence of previous prejudice, and of mistatements made to him by Dissenters, with whom alone he properly fraternizes; being of a credulous turn of mind, and over-ready to plume himself on the justness of his often very absurd conclusions[8].

We have thus freely exposed the superficial nature, and the manifold incorrectness of his view of the English Church, not from any unkindness towards him, but because we set far greater store than he does, by the hope of an approximation and a better understanding between ourselves and the Protestant Churches of Germany; and we should therefore be sorry to allow such an account of the English Church as he has furnished to his countrymen to pass uncontradicted. At the same time, it would be an injustice to Dr. Kniewel not to add, that there are interspersed in his work many valuable and interesting observations. When his judgment is not warped by his decided Anti-anglican and Anti-episcopal prejudices, his observations and reasonings are frequently very just.

We shall not quarrel with him for his very pertinent remarks on the practice of placarding the names of preachers in a manner too nearly akin to the announcements of theatrical performances; nor are we surprised at his being scandalized by the manner and matter of a certain rationalistic prebendary, of whose easy ascent into the pulpit, and his uncomfortable way of dispatching the sermon, he gives a graphic and rather amusing description. But what has given us special pleasure, is his frequently repeated and

[8] Occasionally this shows itself in his statements and remarks respecting the most ordinary matters which have fallen under his notice. Thus, for instance, he states that there are, in the neighbourhood of London, altogether twenty-four tea-gardens, which are frequented on Sundays by the middle classes, but during the week by persons of the highest rank; in proof whereof he mentions a visit of Queen Adelaide to Jack Straw's Castle.—The splendid appearance of the London shops fills him with wonder: he cannot understand how the shopkeepers can make it answer; his ingenuity, however, assists him to the discovery, that the English are induced to make purchases by the civil speeches of the shopkeepers, and especially by the frequent repetition of the word "Sir," which he has no doubt tickles their aristocratic feelings in a most irresistible manner. John Bull parting with his cash for the gratification of being called "Sir," is truly an original idea.

very candid acknowledgment of the superiority of the education imparted in England. Dr. Kniewel is evidently a good (though, as we have shown, in many respects a much mistaken) man, a sincere and earnest Christian; one who has God's glory and the welfare of his fellow-men seriously at heart; and he fails not to recognize the Christian element, the religious discipline, which happily as yet prevails in English education, as the cause of the striking superiority which he noticed in the character and bearing of English youth, as compared with that of other countries and even of Prussia, much vaunted as that country is in certain quarters for the advanced state of its educational institutions.

"Christianity itself, *i. e.* the witness of the Spirit and the truth, attests the correctness of the English principle of education; and this may easily be discerned by its fruits. Scenes of revolting insolence and extreme licentiousness, such as have occurred, and still occur in a daily more aggravated form, in our German *gymnasia*, since the unchristian liberty-mania has crept into our education, are absolutely impossible in England; the idea of boys rising in political sedition, as the scholars of the polytechnic school at Paris have done, and are ever ready to do, is wholly out of the question. In England, boys can neither assume the government of the house, nor give constitutions to the state. A 'young England' [in the sense of a 'jeune France,' or a 'junges Deutschland,'] is an utter impossibility. England owes this to the strictness and sobriety, but above all, let it be remembered, to the Christian groundwork of its educational discipline."

It appears that Dr. Kniewel had an opportunity of witnessing the Annual Festival of the Charity Schools at St. Paul's, and the examination of the City Schools at the Egyptian Hall by the Bishop of London. His account of what he witnessed on both those occasions, especially the latter, is extremely interesting, and forms a most favourable contrast with those portions of his book on which we have felt it our duty to animadvert. Nor, to do him full justice (and we would not willingly do him less), is Dr. Kniewel altogether insensible to the advantages, the beauties, and the edifying effects, of our Liturgy. Inconsistent as it may be with the general drift of his remarks on the subject, he bears the following testimony to its value:—

"If we love to pray, if we pray fervently and humbly, we shall not tire either of kneeling, or of the numerous short prayers, and of their daily repetition, expressed as they mostly are in the words of Holy Writ. Again, if we recognize in Holy Scripture the word of God, if we receive it as such in faith, if we know by experience how great is its power to bless, how unsearchable its depth, we shall never look upon the public reading of the Bible without all explanatory addition,

as upon a mere formal, spirit-killing, mechanical performance. Let it only be considered how much desecration has been foisted into holy Scripture by most modern interpreters, by means even of very brief comments. The Word of God, read, or listened to, in its purity and simplicity, with seriousness and devotion, and left entirely to explain itself, has never yet failed truly to awaken and to edify souls. To explain it fully, and to point out its practical application, is the business of the Sermon. Lastly, if we acknowledge that union of Spirit is necessary and essential in the Evangelic Church, we shall not fail to perceive how salutary, yea, how indispensable it is, to have a definite prescript form for all the offices of the Church; one which, while conformable to Scripture, is in strict accordance with the Church's particular confession; we shall feel this more especially if we take into account those frightful consequences, schisms in the body and errors in doctrine, which are sure to follow when individuals are left to speak and to act as is right in their own eyes, in the performance of Church offices and holy acts. For my own part, I cheerfully record this public testimony,—that I never attended episcopal worship without finding myself truly edified and strengthened; and that even after a ten days' continuous attendance, I felt these blessed effects increasing rather than diminishing. However small the congregation might be, especially at Morning Prayers, there was ever dignity and devoutness perceptible in both the minister and the people. On such occasions, it became sometimes very evident how great an influence the true devotion of one lively member may exercise upon others."

If such be Dr. Kniewel's sentiments, our readers may possibly ask, how comes it that he judges so unfavourably of our Church, and betrays so decided a leaning towards Dissent? The answer to this question, which so obviously suggests itself, must be sought for in his erroneous ideas on the subject of the Apostolic Succession, and his morbid susceptibility in reference to the encroachments with which he imagines the Protestant Church of Germany to be menaced by our Church. On the former subject he says:—

"I was not a little surprised, on inquiring into the idea which the English Episcopal Divines have of the Apostolic Succession, to be met even by the leading men in London, Cambridge, and Oxford, men of note and learning, with mere assertions, which failed to satisfy me, as they were confused and contradictory, destitute of all historical foundation, as well as of all scientific and purely biblical proof. They rested, quite after the Romish fashion, on empty hypothesis, and on the most untenable interpretation of Scripture passages. The sum of it all was, that by a species of material miracle, a certain particular spiritual endowment and energy of the Holy Ghost is conferred by means of the bodily imposition of the Bishop's hands; and that thus a higher spiritual and Divine power, above what any layman can possess, is imparted

and absolutely secured to the clergy, for the exercise of their sacred office. All my attempts to illustrate the subject in a scientific way, and to discuss it on the foundation of Scripture and Church history, were studiously evaded."

What Dr. Kniewel mistook for studious evasion, was evidently no more than the reluctance which men full of faith and reverence for holy things would naturally feel, to enter into a discussion in which the mysterious gifts of the Holy Ghost were to be subjected to a mode of argument which, while to Dr. Kniewel it appeared simply 'scientific,' would be felt by them, and not unjustly, if we may judge from the foregoing passage, to be irreverent.

Dr. Kniewel's complaint, that he found the English clergy ignorant of all those writings of the German divines of the 16th and 17th centuries, in which, as he thinks, the doctrine of the apostolic succession has been effectually demolished—does not, we confess, appear to us very relevant. It would be hard indeed, if a man might not believe that whereof he has satisfactory evidence, until he has read all that has been written against it. At that rate, a life spent in study would scarcely suffice to qualify us for believing all the articles of the Apostles' Creed.

In pursuing this point further, Dr. Kniewel, in the name of the Protestant Churches of Germany, renounces for ever the idea, that the due ministration of the word and sacraments requires a commission derived in succession from the apostles themselves.

"This is an idea which we, the evangelic people of Germany, can never entertain ; and on such a principle, a true and purely evangelic union is impossible ; nay, even co-operation for a common purpose, of which you [the English Episcopalians] expect so much, as, for instance, in the newly-founded Jerusalem bishopric, is wholly impracticable, because both our starting point and our goal are in fact totally different. You desire to establish the essence of evangelic truth by means of a form, and to preserve it in the form ; we, on the contrary, suffer the form to develop itself freely out of the seed of the essential word once planted. If in this matter we deceive ourselves—if, in our anxiety to effect a visible and external union, we place our essential internal unity, and with it truth itself, in jeopardy, no good can come of it, it can only end in corruption. We Germans are now beginning with all diligence to bring about a visible and real union ; but we shall be exceedingly careful to beware of all that is hierarchico-political or politico-hierarchical, of a Church-state, as well as of a state-Church. We acknowledge national Churches to be both necessary and salutary, and allow the right of each to order its peculiar customs and forms,

but only on this condition, that they approve themselves as members of *the Church*,—of the one evangelic body, as true daughters of Zion."

We should be sorry to see our Church, while holding the gifts and powers of apostolic descent in due reverence, reduced to the necessity of submitting her claim to be reckoned among the true daughters of Zion to the judgment of divines, whose views of an apostolic Church and ministry are in accordance with Dr. Kniewel's; and we cannot but think it somewhat inconsistent, that with the convictions which he has expressed in his book, he should have sought interviews with the heads of the English Church, for the purpose of laying before them his scheme of an evangelic union.

We have not room for a detailed account of this scheme; it may be thus briefly summed up. All terms of communion are to be reduced to one, *i. e.* the article of the sinner's justification before God, only by faith in Jesus Christ. Upon the ground of this fundamental article there is to be formed a federal union of all Christian denominations, "similar to that of the United States, or of the German confederation." With a view to organize this in England, he suggests that in each county the ministers of all denominations agreed upon the one article of union, should meet for discussion once a month; laymen to be admitted, but no official persons appointed by the state to be acknowledged in the assembly. This meeting to choose its own officers and its representatives at a provincial synod, to be held twice a year; whence, by further deputation, a national synod is to be formed. The different national synods are to communicate with each other, and might, so hopes Dr. Kniewel, within a few years send their deputies to "an evangelic-œcumenical general council," the presidency of which he intimates would in all probability be conferred upon the English primate, that is, provided the Anglican clergy give their cordial co-operation to the plan of this union.

This last intimation, Dr. Kniewel slily hints, procured him an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury and with the Bishop of London. Certain it is, that he had the opportunity afforded him of explaining his views most fully to those venerable prelates; he spent two hours with the Bishop, and a still longer time with the Archbishop, and was patiently listened to by both. On the lips of the former, he says, he perceived a half-ironical smile, which seemed to say: "By what authority speakest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority?" His Grace of Canterbury doubted the practicability of giving to convocation the new organization proposed for it by Dr. Kniewel, and cordially shook hands with him at parting.

And so ended the mission of Dr. Kniewel; in which it does not appear, from the volume before us, whether he acted as the representative of some person or persons unknown, or simply as the plenipotentiary of his own individual mind. We too must now take our leave of him, as he has already detained us too long, we fear, from Mr. Uhden, whose interesting volume[9] next claims our attention.

It seems that Mr. Uhden also has spent some time in this country, for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the English Church; and though he is not free from error, yet we have no wish to speak unkindly of the occasional mistakes into which he has fallen, and which are exceedingly pardonable, considering the difficulty which a foreigner must find in understanding a system so complicated as that of our Church has become, partly by the lapse of time, partly by her intimate connexion with the state. Mr. Uhden's account is certainly the fairest, the fullest, and the most accurate which, as far as we know, has as yet appeared in Germany. He has collected his materials with evident care; and the intelligent remarks with which his relation is interspersed, show that he possesses a very creditable knowledge of the whole constitution and system of our Church. There are no glaring mistakes, no hasty conclusions here: the matters of fact are correctly and plainly stated, in the language of a witness rather than of a judge. When he gives an opinion, it is a temperate one; and when he pronounces censure, he generally endeavours to mitigate it, by accounting historically or otherwise for the facts which have drawn forth his animadversion. He sets out with a "characteristic" of the Anglican Church; *i. e.* a delineation of her character, as opposed to that of the English dissenters on the one hand, and of the Protestant Church of Germany on the other hand. His object is rather to exhibit the present state of things, than to trace their historical origin: yet, of necessity, he makes frequent references to the past, which show him to be well acquainted with this part of his subject. Contrasting our Church with the dissenting sects around her, he lays too much stress upon her connexion with the State, though he seems to be aware of an independent spiritual element in our ecclesiastical constitution, over which the State neither has, nor ever can have, any power. We are not sure that we quite

[9] We perceive that Messrs. Hatchard have just published a translation of Mr. Uhden's book, executed, we regret to observe, by a very incompetent hand. Ill at home alike in the subject and in the language, the translator toils hard to deck out the somewhat involved and obscure sentences of Mr. Uhden with materials from the English Vocabulary, evidently without a clear apprehension, in many passages, of his author's meaning. For our own part we found the original a very great help in making out the sense of the translation.

understand Mr. Uhden, and we doubt if he quite understands himself, when he speaks of "universality" as that, the possession of which distinguishes the German Churches from our own, and the absence of which, he says, is common to our Church with the dissenters. He is more intelligible when he speaks of "the consciousness of continuity;" *i. e.* apostolic descent, as the distinctive feature of our Church compared with the Protestant Churches of Germany. The sum of his "characteristic" is, that "the Anglican Church is a State-church, which, as a Church of the reformation, with a predominant consciousness of her continuity, acts upon a people whose prevailing activity is that of organization:" in other words, the Anglican Church is an apostolically-descended Church, in connexion with the State; she is a reformed Church, and she has to do with a practical people.

Mr. Uhden next proceeds to give an account of the education of the English clergy, of their ordination, and their position in their different offices and stations. This leads him to speak of various points connected with the constitution of our Church, and to enter into statistical details, the compilation and arrangement of which reflect great credit upon his industry. After this, he enters upon the far more difficult and delicate task of sketching the different parties within the Church. He first takes a brief review of the differences which the points at issue between those parties caused in former times; and then, dating their rise from the close of the last century, represents, on the whole very correctly, the different principles and tendencies of the Low Church and High Church parties. The latter he subdivides into the old "residue," orthodox but worldly, the Church and State party, as whose leaders he mentions Coleridge and Gladstone; and a third party, of which we shall give our readers Mr. Uhden's own description.

"The third element of the High Church party connects itself with the raised tone of religious feeling, which was produced, in the first instance, by the evangelical party. When the doctrines of the Gospel came to be preached anew, the great object was to gain members for the invisible Church. Interest in religion was on the increase. Those who were instrumental in spreading the faith of Christ, did not, it is true, take notice of ecclesiastical differences: still, the historical recollection of the peculiarity of the Church's constitution was not extinct; nay, the original forms adapted to that peculiar constitution remained stedfast and inviolate. Hence, as religious life increased, there was awakened, generally, a growing attachment to the definite ecclesiastic form which Christianity had assumed in England. It is the fashion now to trace the contrast which the present state of feeling forms with the indifference that formerly prevailed respecting the constitution of

the Church, to the principle of Catholicity: they could not bear to be associated and co-operating with sectarians, and so to be separated from the one body of the Lord; and therefore they fell back upon the ordinances and forms of the Anglican Church, as upon a sure foundation, resting, on the one hand, on the institution of Christ and his Apostles, and, on the other hand, on the universal consent of the Church. Such is their explanation of the matter; but it does not assign the real cause of the revival of strict Church principles. On the contrary, the most active and zealous members of this party afford evidence, that the return to Church principles arose from a peculiar attachment to the Liturgy. To preserve forms through years and through centuries, even after they have lost their original meaning, is characteristically English; and it was, therefore, but natural, that the institutions of the Church, which had been preserved, should again become the object of affectionate attachment, the more so as they were perfectly capable of expressing the newly-awakened interests of religious life. At the same time, a consciousness of the distinctive character of the Church could not fail to revive, and so to form a contrast to dissent, which grew stronger and more marked, as the peculiar principles of dissent also came to be asserted anew. Essential points of difference were now discerned, not only in doctrine, but in the form of worship and in the ecclesiastic constitution; and the principle of continuity, which is peculiar to the Anglican Church, again bore its fruits. It was not till then that the idea of Catholicity was associated with this tendency. The necessity of a firm and immoveable foundation was felt; simple reference to Scripture was not sufficient: something more definite and Churchlike was wanted. It would not do to fall back, like the German reformers, upon some one fundamental article of the faith, because the whole constitution and organization of the Church had not proceeded merely upon the doctrine of justification through Christ: recourse was, therefore, had to tradition in such wise as the history of the Anglican Church suggested and admitted of. Accordingly, the Episcopal constitution came to be considered, not only as the most suitable for England, but as the only constitution which is accordant with Scripture, and historically derived. The more consistent members of this party are distinguished from the Puseyites, by the stress which they lay upon purity of doctrine, for the sake of which they admit that the Episcopal constitution may be departed from in cases of necessity. No such necessity existing, or ever having existed, according to their view, in the case of the Protestant dissenters in England, they maintain that their proper course is to return into the Church. The three orders of the ministry, and the apostolic succession, are of course insisted on, and the latter is understood in a more or less external sense. Generally speaking, however, it would be unjust to impute to the High Church party absolutely hierarchical views, or to charge them with an undue value for externals, or with a tendency to produce spiritual effects by outward appliances. The greater part of the more zealous Irish clergy belong to this party, and they have a strong Protestant feeling in opposition to Popery and

Puseyism; and in England, likewise, it numbers many men who labour with great activity and energy, as well as with great success, to promote the kingdom of God by the means provided in the Church. The more scientific labours of the High Church party are of a polemical character. Altogether this party, especially the more tolerant section of it, is, no doubt, increasing; a fact easily accounted for by the circumstances of the times, and the peculiar character of the English Church."

Mr. Uhden closes his enumeration of the parties in the English Church with an account of that school which in Germany, as well as among ourselves, goes by the name of Puseyites. He argues not only that approaches to Rome have taken place, but that Romish principles were at the very root of the whole movement, the progress of which he traces from Mr. Perceval's "Collection of Papers," and other well known sources.

The English Liturgy is the next subject of which he treats, displaying throughout, not only an accurate knowledge of the Book of Common Prayer, but a familiar acquaintance with the practical working of the system. From this he passes on to the office of preaching, and the cure of souls. In connexion with the former subject, he remarks, we think not altogether unjustly, that our sermons have too frequently a polemical tendency; that they are too dry and logical; that in handling particular passages of Scripture, the context is often lost sight of; and, above all, that the inner life of religion in the soul is a subject too much neglected in the instruction delivered from the pulpit.

The remainder of Mr. Uhden's book is devoted to the different institutions and societies connected with the Church, to his observations on the influence of Christianity upon the character of the English people, and to a short account of the different dissenting denominations, and of the relation in which they stand to the Church. The expectations which his view of our Church leads him to form for the future, he thus expresses at the close of the volume:—

"Considering the appliances of Divine worship which the Anglican Church wields, and the men who devote themselves to her ministry, she cannot fail to exercise, and that increasingly, a blessed influence upon the English people. No doubt she will consistently adhere to the principle of continuity. The controversies on this question will not move her from her stedfastness; though they may possibly serve to bring out more prominently the important truth, that those who are in the succession stand in need, no less on that account, of an ever renewed living communion with Christ,—a communion which cannot be secured and formed by outward means, because it is the work of the Holy Ghost. On this ground it is possible that a deeper study of theo-

logy may be promoted in her, many crying abuses may be remedied, and narrow views and tendencies got rid of. On this ground an interest in the action of other religious bodies in the country itself may be awakened, and a permanent good understanding and co-operation with them brought about. On this ground we may hope, moreover, to see a more extended knowledge, and a more just appreciation of the ancient Churches of the East and West, and of the German Reformation. Among the signs now apparent in the English Church, which tend to these results, are, a firm faith in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, as the groundwork of Christianity; a clear knowledge, founded on Scripture and experience, and a lively apprehension of the points at issue at the Reformation; and lastly, an evident and deep seriousness in regard to the one thing needful for man,—the one thing which profits him. This will suffice to preserve the Church from the delusions which endeavour to force themselves upon her, and by the help of God, all the seeds deposited in her will be quickened and unfolded."

With one obvious exception, we heartily say Amen to this friendly augury; and we beg to thank Mr. Uhden, in the name of our Church, for having brought her principles and her constitution, her life and her condition, before his countrymen in a manner so complete and so impartial. If the severed, and thereby necessarily suffering members of Christ's universal body are to be brought into nearer contact, and to exercise a beneficial influence upon each other, it can only be done by a mutual interchange of thought and feeling, in a spirit of humility and charity, such as that which pervades Mr. Uhden's work.

Art. V.—Lord John Russell's *Translation of the "Francesca da Rimini," from the Inferno of Dante, Canto V.* 73—142. *In the "Literary Souvenir" for* 1844.

We trust that no apology will be required from us for bestowing a somewhat detailed notice upon a translation of sixty-nine lines, made from an original of about the same number, when it is considered that the subject in question is one of the most celebrated passages in the stupendous work of Dante. In the interest, not only of literature but of religion, we are persuaded that the study of the works of that master-poet and rare Christian philosopher is of an importance not to be overrated. If we desire to escape from the sickly-scented atmosphere of a highly artificial civilization into larger and freer air; if we would adjust the notions of a particular place, time, and combination of circum-

stances, to the standard of what is universal and eternal; if we would know the whole scope of the destinies of man; if we would contemplate him in the most intense, sustained, and harmonious exercise of all his powers, and by seeing, learn, each in our degree and sphere, to imitate them; then, and for these reasons, without taking into view many others of a less comprehensive application, let his majestic verse share largely in our daily and our nightly toil. He has, says Mr. Hallam[1], "created the national poetry of his country," and is of all writers "the most unquestionably original." That eminent historian adds the praise of erudition, philosophy, conciseness and boldness of expression, with extraordinary command of language: yet how far do these fall short of the whole truth! And how little just is the idea which is conveyed by the declaration, that "Virgil was his inspiring genius, as he declares himself!" Doubtless, among all preceding poets, Virgil was the model present to his eye, and most aided him in fitting to his sublime conceptions the external garb of language: but the source of his inspiration lay at a depth, compared with which Virgil did but scratch the surface of the domain of thought. He had drunk profoundly of the fountains of Divine truth: and the revulsion of his mind from his country and his countrymen seems to have enhanced the force of its concentration upon things unseen. "The great soul of Dante, homeless on earth, made its home more and more in that awful other world[2]." Nevertheless, he lost none of his command over the images that this world could supply, but, on the contrary, he seems to use them with the power of an enchanter. Never was music so matchless wedded to thought so intense: never, in any merely human work, was truth so lofty and severe combined in such perfection with the boldest achievements of the imagination. The very difficulties of his style are, in our judgment, (like those of Thucydides,) so nearly related to the character of his mind, and thereby to the matter of his work, that we cannot wish them away: and they give a character of discipline to the study of his poem which befits the nature and object of it, and in some degree affords a guarantee that those who read him shall likewise appreciate him.

We also believe that there never was a poet in whose case language and metre were more exclusively the handmaids of thought. To put the ideas of Dante into a tongue different from his own, is like dividing bone and marrow: and although that other tongue, when it is our own, may ill submit to the form of the *terza rima*, yet to use any other specific form of verse, is compli-

[1] Middle Ages, iii. 559.

[2] Carlyle's Lectures on Heroes, p. 144.

cating the first act of violence by a second. Accordingly, Lord Byron [3] has attempted the identical metre of Dante, in his version of the "Francesca." Mr. Dayman [4] has done the same in his translation; and Cary has adopted the blank verse, which at least does not present any opposite character. How they, at least the two former, have reeled and staggered under their difficulties, their readers know. It is no reproach to any man to fail in translating Dante. Cary, we apprehend, is usually considered to hold a very high place among our English translators: but if he has laboured with vigour and effect in conveying the sense, has he not missed altogether that other aim of conveying the sound—of representing the body of the poem along with its soul? And does not the function of the translator essentially include both purposes? The truth seems to be, that none can match himself with such an original. One man after another may make the effort: but there stands Dante's work, like the sphinx, not to be unriddled, and baffles and devours each of them in succession. Not that we deny the utility of their labours. Every, even the smallest, addition to our means of understanding this "poeta sovrano," increases the real treasures of literature.

We cannot but rejoice to see a distinguished and active politician, like Lord John Russell, allotting even mere fragments of his time for such studies as that of which the result is now before us. They afford a proof that the man is not absorbed in the party-man, or even in the statesman; and that a taste may remain for what is beautiful and incorrupt, even after a long immersion in public affairs. Our commendation should be heightened, and not weakened, by the fact, that the course of Lord John Russell has not been precisely that which we should have thought most favourable to the maintenance of healthful habits of taste and thought.

The verses of Lord John Russell appear to us to be of an easy and flowing strain; as verses, they nowhere shock, if they do not powerfully please throughout; and in particular places, where he has been contented with a diction comparatively artless and unadorned, they do some considerable degree of justice to the original. We regret that we cannot go further: but we trust, that what we have to observe in a more qualified, or even in an opposite sense, will at least be free from gall.

Of all authors, Dante most demands, we apprehend, a continuous study. It requires the greatest mental effort to reach his level; and the temperament of the reader, much more of the translator, cannot again and again be lowered and raised at will.

[3] Works (Ed. 1832), vol. xii. p. 1.
[4] Inferno, by the Rev. J. Dayman. Painter, 1843.

The spirit, having attained its "topmost bent," should be kept as near it as possible. Mr. Sydney Smith[5] has told us that Lord John Russell would (amongst other things), with or without ten minutes' notice, assume the command of the Channel fleet; and it appears to us he has at ten minutes' notice sat down to translate Dante—an exploit, in its own way, quite as venturesome as the former. The translator of Dante must imbue and saturate himself with the spirit of Dante. Unless his intellectual being be in great part absorbed in that of his original, he must, we believe, fail in his task, whatever be his native powers. To pass into this mood, how must a scholar of Pope unlearn himself! And of all mannerisms (unless we except the caricature of Darwin), is not that the most adhesive? and does it not the most preclude and defy a return to nature?

The original and the translation of the deeply touching tale of Francesca commence with the following lines, which we shall place in juxtaposition.

"Poi cominciai: Poeta, volentieri
Parlerei a que' duo ch' insieme vanno
E pajon sì al vento esser leggieri."
Ed egli a me.

"I fain would speak to that unhappy pair
Who hand in hand so lightly float in air;"
In words like these to Maro I expressed
My wish; and thus he granted my request.

Now, how does this second couplet dilute the simple terms, "Io cominciai" and "Ed egli a me." The instance is a trifling one: but it shows thus early how Lord John Russell forgot that the one most marked and prominent characteristic of Dante is compression, concentration, intensity. It appears clearly even in the purely ministerial and subsidiary parts of the texture of the poem, and pervades the whole; so that, whatever else be sacrificed in representing him, this should on no account be dispensed with. Carey renders the words very justly by, "And I began," "He thus." Dayman by, "Thus I began," "And he to me." We hold it no hypercriticism to note these minute particulars in the case of a writer in whom every word has its place and force.

To resume.

. . . . "Vedrai, quando saranno
Più presso a noi; e tu allor li prega
Per quell' amor ch' ei mena; e quei verranno."

Wait till the shades approach; then name the word—
Of love, which rules them: straight you will be heard.

Very well: but soon we stumble again.

"Sì tosto come il vento a noi li piega" . . .

Soon as I saw the constant ghosts were cast
Near to our station by the baleful blast.

"Constant ghosts;" "baleful blast;" necessity, the tyrant's plea,

[5] Second Letter to Archdeacon Singleton, p. 41.

was upon our noble translator; and two lines, each of ten syllables, he must have, though he make them out of one, by pure inflation: as, of old, there was a particular description of torture, which poured quantities of water down the throat of the victim, and so caused his frame to swell beyond the size of nature. But to proceed.

Mossi la voce: "O anime affannate,
Venite a noi parlar, s'altri nol niega."

Swift I conjured them: By your miseries past,
O speak!

Now it is really contumacious in a translator, above all in a translator of Dante, to assume both functions of the bed of Procrustes, and clip as well as elongate. The last half line of the two verses we have now quoted is quietly omitted; and what precedes is sadly mistaken. There is no invocation to Francesca and her lover to speak in the name of their miseries. What a solecism! Is the memory of misery attractive or repulsive? To remind them of it, was not the way to incline them to speak of it. It is as much as to say, "as you have suffered a good deal, pray be so good as to suffer a little more." And so we see with what skill, in the beautiful passage lower down, Dante draws out the tale of love and sorrow, not by conjuring them in the name of their former pain to submit to fresh affliction, but by referring to the "dolci sospiri," and the bewildering sweetness of the early indistinct emotions of their love.

We would recommend Cary's version of this passage to Lord John's notice.

> 'O wearied spirits! come, and hold discourse
> With us, if by none else restrained.'

The real sense seems to be, "come and rest from your sufferings, in discourse with us, with us, visitants from the upper world among the *νεκύων ἀμένηνα κάρηνα*, ever so eager to hear of its inhabitants and affairs."

Quali columbe dal disio chiamate
Con l' ali aperte e ferme al dolce nido
Vengon per aere, dal voler portate . .

. . . And as two doves on wings outspread
Float to their darling nest, by fondness led . . .

The doves could not fly except on wings outspread. In the original, the epithet "aperte" derives its force from its combination with "ferme." "Wide wings and firm," as Cary has it. But the latter word Lord John has omitted. Again, Dante describes them first as stirred or incited, that is to say, as set in motion by fondness, and then as borne along upon the wing, as it were, without physical effort, by the pure spiritual force of will. The translation does not condescend to take account of the latter

conception at all, though nothing can be more exactly beautiful, than thus assigning to volition the rapid, but smooth and continuous progress (and the true force of "ferme," we apprehend, is "motionless") of a bird in full flight, which, as every one's eye has told him, is sometimes sustained without any muscular action visible to the spectator.

Cotali uscìr della schiera ov' è Dido . . . — So did these sorrowing spirits leave the throng Where Dido broods o'er man's unpunished wrong.

By dint of interpolating "sorrowing spirits," and "brooding over man's unpunished wrong," the translator again dilates and dilutes one line into two. And, by the way, what is "man's unpunished wrong?" A person's wrongs are generally supposed to be those which he suffers, not those which he inflicts. Perhaps we may be pressed with the authority of the well-known line of Hamlet—

"Th' oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely."

There is a criticism of Goldsmith's, in which he takes the objection to that very line, that the sense must be, the wrong sustained by the oppressor. But it is obvious to notice, that Shakespeare has made his meaning clear, by joining the expression to "the proud man's contumely," which can signify nothing but the contumely exhibited by the proud man, and which, by parallelism, sufficiently suggests to the mind of the reader the true sense of the preceding phrase. His example, therefore, will not warrant the expression before us.

But what is to be said again, of "*man's* unpunished wrong?" Of course, the reference is to Dido's betrayal by Æneas. But surely here is an obvious error. The agent is in the abstract, the action in the concrete. If Lord John had chosen to speak of the specific agent Æneas, he might have spoken of the wrong done by him. Having chosen to speak of "man" at large, he might have spoken of the quality of baseness, or any other quality which characterizes men, or bad men in general. But the *act* of Æneas manifestly was the act of the individual, not of the sex.

Well, we have just seen our noble author distend one line into two, but now comes a certain strange poetical justice to make up for that license. Dante proceeds to describe the movement of the spirits,

Venendo a noi per l' aere maligno.

This is omitted altogether in the translation. But then, again, the pendulum oscillates the other way. Dante adds,

Sì forte fu l' affettuoso grido.

which Lord John painfully elongates into,

> Nor aught of woe concealed, nor aught refused,
> Such magic power was in the words I used.

Further, he is here guilty of sheer tautology; because, in the case before us, to conceal was to refuse, and to refuse was to conceal. Contrast the manly verse of Cary:

> With such force
> My cry prevailed, by strong affection urged.

But we must travel onwards.

"O animal grazïoso e benigno Che visitando vai, per l' aer perso, Noi, che tignemmo il mondo di sanguigno."	Oh, pitying stranger, that in this dread place Canst feel for blood-stained hearts! . . . .

Now, 1. Why are these forcible lines violently curtailed into one and a half? 2. What pretence has "stranger" to give the force of "animal"—well translated by Mr. Dayman "breathing creature?" 3. "Dread place" is just the generalising version which an idle schoolboy would make of "l 'aer perso," to conceal his want of knowledge of the meaning. 4. By "blood-stained hearts" must evidently be understood, the hearts of persons themselves accustomed to, or having perpetrated bloody deeds; whereas Dante speaks of those *upon whom*, and not by whom such deeds had been perpetrated, and says, they had stained with gore, not their hearts or consciences, but the soil of earth.

The two spirits continue their speech, as with a common tongue:

> Se fosse amico il Re dell' universo
> Noi pregheremmo Lui per la tua pace,
> Da ch' hai pietà del nostro mal perverso.

Here we will place Cary and Lord John together, for the brunt of the comparison is, if we mistake not, better borne.

If for a friend the King of all we owned, Our prayer to Him should for thy peace arise, Since thou hast pity on our evil plight.	. . . . . Had we found grace With the great Lord of all, we should not cease To pray His mercy for your future peace, For you show mercy for our mortal sin.

In the first line Lord John surely has the best of it: and we believe it is more poetical and truthful, and on both accounts more suited to Dante, to translate "*mal perverso*," with reference to sin, than to suffering the penalty of sin.

"Di quel ch' udire e che parlar vi piace Noi udiremo, e parleremo a vui, Mentre che 'l vento, come fa, si tace."	But stay—while yet the tempest holds its din, Speak what you list, ask what you seek to know, And hear our griefs—'tis all we can bestow.

We must again arouse *our* tempest. The tempest holding its din, might quite as well mean maintaining its din as repressing it. But, again, observe the balanced exactitude and correspondence of the diction in Dante, which Lord John has so turned, as entirely to lose the force and distinctiveness of the expressions. Both Cary and Dayman are far happier. Cary says:

> Of whatsoe'er to hear, or to discourse,
> It pleases thee, that will we hear, of that
> Freely with thee discourse . . .

And Dayman;

> And as to listen, or to speak, ye thirst,
> So will we listen, so will speak again.

The beauties of the original now come thicker upon us: the tissue of woe grows dark, and requires, in an increased degree, the force and point of individuality; and without any mark of the transition, the narrative, by which the speech is continued, commences in the singular; and woman, justly preferred in a tale of love and sorrow, becomes the sole speaker.

"Siede la terra dove nata fui Sulla marina, dove 'l Po discende Per aver pace co' seguaci sui."	In lands where Po with ample torrent flows To the broad sea, and finds at length repose, We sprung.

The original is of singular beauty. The great heart of Dante gushed with feeling when he, whose love of his own native city had been seared and blasted by faction, came to describe his foster-mother Ravenna, which was also the birth-place of Francesca. He too, like Po, the sire of floods, sought that shore to have rest in death. Nor can there well be found an image of beauty more complete than this of the river, as of a creature, wearied with that headlong furious leaping from the hills, by which the streams of northern Italy lash into foam their infant waters, and then, self-subdued into the placid course, with which they track her broad and open plains, and gently sink into the lap of Ocean, symbolising that movement towards the centre of all being, by which man is attracted to his Creator.

> Ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si muove[6].

Now Lord John's verses, corresponding to the passage, are pretty; but, 1. He loses entirely the impersonation of the river, which, in Dante, not merely finds repose, but flows to the sea *in order* that it may find repose. 2. Of all terms, "torrent" is the most unfortunate to describe the actual stream of the Po, so

[6] Parad. iii. 86.

wide and smooth, and it least corresponds with the idea of *seeking* repose. 3. "La terra" is the immediate territory of Ravenna, and its distinctiveness is lost by the rendering "in lands." 4. It does not appear from the translation, that the city is (or rather was, for now it is no longer so) on the sea-shore, which is marked in the original by the words "*sulla marina*." 5. It is observable that the word "*siede*" has puzzled the translators. Dayman, and also Lord Byron, a new competitor, who enters the lists at this point, render it "sits"—Cary, far better, "is situate." Lord John solves the difficulty by the simple process of omission. 6. He very boldly and coolly amends his master, by translating "*nata fui*," "we sprung," and thus loses all that concentration of interest upon Francesca, which we suppose Dante to have intended by the transition to the singular. Here is the commander of the Channel fleet!

"Amor, ch' al cor gentil ratto s' apprende
Prese costui della bella persona
Che mi fu tolta; e 'l modo ancor m' offende."

...There love, by which each gentle heart
Is quickly fired, my Paolo's heart possessed,
For that fair form, torn from me in such chill
And cruel fashion as afflicts me still.

It is only due to Lord John to observe here, that the inspection of all the rival versions does but the more clearly show the immense difficulty of undertaking to represent Dante in English. We must, however, again note an extreme of license in rendering the simple "il modo," by "such chill and cruel fashion," especially as the first epithet is a mere makeweight to supply a rhyme.

The tale proceeds:

"Amor, ch' a nullo amato amar perdona,
Mi prese del costui piacer sì forte,
Che, come vedi, ancor non m' abbandona."

True love by love must ever be repaid:
I learned to please him so, that still his shade
Is seen, e'en here, to wander by my side.

The first line of these three is a severe trial. It is rendered by Byron,

Love, who to none beloved to love again
Remits . . . . .

By Dayman,

Love, that to no beloved one love's return
Excuseth . . . . .

By Cary,

Love, that denial takes from none beloved . . . .

Of the four, it appears to us that Lord John's is the easiest line, Cary's the best version, and Lord Byron's the worst.

The next verse contains a difficulty. Lord John, as usual, quietly passes it by, separates the lines, and simply states, that Francesca learned to please Paolo, which does not appear difficult or surprising, since she had just announced that he was already desperately in love with her. Lord Byron renders it, "Love .... seized me with wish to please" (him). Dayman, "Made me feel desire so vast to pleasure him,"—surely an ungainly and unpleasurable version. Cary writes, "Caught me with pleasing him so passing well." We do not discern at all the idea of the wish or desire to please in the original. Again, it is not quite easy to draw out Cary's meaning from his words. But we cannot help thinking the sense of Dante is more probably this, "seized," that is to say, "touched, or imbued me with a delight in him:" and so Tasso seems, we think, to have understood it. We venture, however, to suggest, for the consideration of more competent judges, another and more literal construction: namely, that Francesca uses this form of thought and speech, "I was seized with a passion for his passion, with the love of his love for me, so strongly," &c. In support of this may be pointed out, firstly, the former line; the sense of which is, "love, that will be paid in love, that will not dispense with love, that has love for its proper and only correlative." Secondly, a turn of expression like this is to be found in Saint Augustine, one of Dante's teachers and models. Thus, *amore amoris tui facio istud.* And again, *diligenda est ipsa dilectio quâ diligitur quod diligi oportet*[7]. Such an interpretation as we have suggested is, we apprehend, the most literal and direct, and is not rendered improbable by the circumstance, that it has a touch of quaintness, or what now appears such.

"Amor condusse noi ad una morte." For love we lived, for love together died.

Far less forced than Lord Byron,—

Love to one death conducted us *along*.

Simpler than Dayman,—

Love led, love bound us in one death at last.

Less simple than Cary,—

Love brought us to one death.

Every one will be reminded of the beautiful verse of Scripture, "Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided[8]."

[7] S. Aug. Conc. viii. 4. In Ps. 118.

[8] 2 Sam. i. 23.

" Caina attende chi vita ci spense."	But he by whose unnatural hand we bled With Cain shall dwell.

Not "with Cain," but far more forcibly "in Cainland," in the accursed of all accursed regions, which bears its name as a brand, derived from the father of bloody treacheries.

Queste parole da lor ci fur porte. Da ch' io intesi quell' anime offense, Chinai 'l viso, e tanto 'l tenni basso Fin che 'l poeta mi disse; Che pense?	These words the shadow said; Thoughtful I listened,—when I heard th' offence Borne by these gentle souls, in sad suspense I bent my eyes: the silence Virgil broke, And questioned of my thoughts: slowly I spoke.

Now, what is "the offence borne by these gentle souls?" It cannot be the offence of which they were bearing the consequences, because Dante had not yet heard it. If it is the wrong that had been done to them that the translator means to describe, we doubt his being justified in putting a sentiment into the mouth of Dante which tends to represent them as simply innocent and injured: for with admirable precision the great poet preserves throughout the balances between their guilt and their misery, and does not suffer his exquisite description of the latter, although in more prominent relief, to obliterate the idea of the former. By "anime offense," we take it that he means hurt or suffering spirits (Dayman says "tortured;" Lord Byron, for his rhyme, "offended"), and no more; as in Canto VII. 111:

> Vidi genti fangose in quel pantano,
> Ignude tutte, e con *sembiante offeso.*

Again; what does Lord John mean by "bent eyes?" A strange expression: most legitimately to be understood of those who squint. Dante speaks not of bending his eyes, but of depressing them. Then he goes on to describe dramatically his downcast aspect—tanto 'l tenni basso—"thus low;" as if he had been reciting the verse, and in doing so had suited the action to the word. A mode of expression of which an instance will occur to the memory of the reader in the fourth chapter of St. John's Gospel, verse the sixth: "Jesus, therefore, being wearied with his journey, *sat thus* on the well." And so we believe is rendered the passage in the fourth Æneid, containing Dido's dying words [9].

> moriemur inultæ,
> Sed moriamur, ait; *sic*, juvat ire sub umbras:

Each "sic" being supposed to be accompanied with a stroke of

[9] Æn. iv. 659. Compare Livy i. 7. Inde ab irato Romulo (quum verbis quoque increpitans adjecisset, "*sic* deinde, quicunque alius transiliet mœnia mea,") interfectum.

the dagger. Now this is a beauty, we think, in the style of Dante,—at least, it is a feature having character; but it was too small a matter for the regard of our "commander of the Channel fleet," so he has, according to his wont, omitted it, and passes from the "bent eyes" at once to Virgil's speaking. We return to the text.

Quando risposi, cominciai: "O lasso!
Quanti dolci pensier', quanto disio
Menò costoro al doloroso passo!"

"Alas!" I said, "how soft and light a train
Of sweet desires led these to endless pain!"

Doubtless much worse lines might have been written; but it was no light train of thoughts that in this case led to the catastrophe; on the contrary, the reciprocal attraction of these spirits was unconscious and intense, and profound was the movement that it occasioned. Again, it seems to us that "al doloroso passo" deserves a more specific rendering than "to endless pain." Lord Byron has, "led these their evil fortune to fulfil;" wider still of the mark. Let us again hear Cary:

I in answer thus:
Alas! by what sweet thoughts, what fond desire,
Must they at length to that ill pass have reached!

Is it not allowable and natural to refer "il doloroso passo" to the passage of that awful gate, whose image, once presented at the commencement of the third Canto, never can cease to possess the mind of the reader throughout his perusal of the book?

Poi mi rivolsi a loro, e parla' io
E cominciai: "Francesca, i tuoi martiri
A lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio.
Ma dimmi: Al tempo de' dolci sospiri,
A che, e come, concedette amore
Che conosceste i dubbiosi desiri?"

Then, turning round, the lovers I addressed;
"Your griefs, Francesca, weigh upon my breast,
And fill my eyes with tears; vouchsafe to tell,
In love's spring season of fond sighs, what spell
First brought the bud of secret hope to flower,
And taught your hearts the presence of his power?"

It is sad that the necessities of rhyme obliged Lord John to force in the words "weigh upon my breast," which add nothing whatever to the idea; whereas Dante is as usual perfectly distinctive, describing pain by the one epithet, pity by the other. And it is also to be regretted that the translator has imported "the spring season of love," and "the bud of secret hope," and a spell "bringing the same to flower;" of all which there is scarcely the faintest trace in the exquisitely chaste and touching diction by which Dante asks how and whence it came, that their passion, at first hidden even from themselves (as Lord Byron writes with felicity, their "dim desires"), was brought inwardly

into the light of consciousness? This thought, we conceive, Lord John has considerably enveloped in artificial ornaments, destroying that sharpness of outline which is as remarkable in every portion of the works of Dante as it was in his profile.

Ed ella a me. "Nessun maggior dolore,
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria: e ciò sa 'l tuo dottere.
Ma se a conoscer la prima radice
Del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto
Farò come colui che piange e dice."

"Alas," she said, "when only pangs remain,
The memory of past joy is sharpest pain,
And this your master knows: yet if desire,
So strong and eager, prompts you to inquire
Whence sprung our love, the story you shall hear,
Tho' every word be followed by a tear."

These verses of the translation appear to us to be the best which we have yet encountered: easy, like most of the others, more simple in expression, and very far more faithful to the original. Cary had a great advantage in the use of blank verse; but Lord John, so far as this passage is concerned, appears to us in every way superior. Cary's verses are,—

She replied,
"No greater grief than to remember days
Of joy when misery is at hand. That kens
Thy learned instructor. Yet so eagerly
If thou art bent to know the primal root
From whence our love gat being, I will do
As one who weeps and tells his tale."

The expression, "Farò," &c. recals that of Canto XXXIII. 9.—

Parlare e lagrimar vedrai insieme.

We may observe in this place, that the commentators hold there is no passage in Virgil corresponding with the sentiment apparently ascribed to him; and they consequently resort to far-fetched explanations. But it appears to us that there is sufficiently clear reference to the lines at the commencement of the second Æneid.

. . si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros,
Et breviter Trojæ supremum audire laborem:
Quanquam animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit:
Incipiam.

It is not, we apprehend, simply the remembrance of pain which causes the revulsion in the mind of Æneas, but it is the revival of the impressions attending a terrible transition from prosperity, domestic peace, security, and power,—to exile, peril, and want; so that the idea of the *tempo felice* is fairly included in his retrospect, though not so much the object of direct contemplation as in that of Francesca. But let us resume.

"Noi leggevamo un giorno per diletto
Di Lancilotto, come amor lo strinse:
Soli eravamo, e senza alcun sospetto."

"One day, intent to while away the time,
Alone, yet void of fear as free from crime,
We read of Lancelot's love."

We have here to object, 1. that the idea of reading for delight is very distinct from that of being "intent to while away the time," which is more the case of those listless and exhausted beings that live upon supplies of novels from our modern circulating libraries, than of human beings under the influence of genuine passion. They sought not "to while away the time," but to realize and enjoy it. 2. "Sospetto," we apprehend, means neither "fear" nor "crime," but self-suspicion. Lord Byron's rendering is not inaccurate, though tame:—

"We were alone, quite unsuspiciously."

"Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse
Quella lettura, e scoloròcci il viso."

"Oft from the book
We raised our eyes, and each commingling look
Led to a blush."

There is difficulty in translating satisfactorily the term "sospinse." Mr. Dayman writes "held us suspense;" but the commentators and versions generally give the sense, "caused us to look at one another." "*Amorosamente riguardarsi;*" "*gli incitò ad occhiate vicendevole.*" This appears to us rather an arbitrary and conjectural exposition than a translation. We are bound to speak with submission: but may not the allusion be to the state of the eyes when vision is intercepted and bewildered by strong emotion—the "oculos tremulo fulgore micantes?" and would not the idea of Dante almost require the hardy expression, "*smote* our eyes?"

We regret to add, there is no such difficulty in passing judgment upon the words "led to a blush," by which Lord John has rendered "scolorócci il viso," while it is quite obvious that the opposite extreme of paleness is intended. There is something of levity in thus handling the choicest passages of the greatest books, if the error arose from carelessness; but much more of superciliousness, if it was consciously committed, which we cannot believe.

"Ma solo un punto fu quel, che ci vinse.
Quando leggemmo il disiato riso
Esser baciato da cotanto amante,
Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso,
La bocca mi baciò tutto tremante."

———"the story we pursued
Till one short fatal passage all subdued.
For when we read, the lover crowned with bliss,
Her rapturous smile, and his more ardent kiss,
He, who is ever to my side attached,
He from my lips a kiss all trembling snatched."

Here again we cannot pass without protest, "the lover

crowned with bliss," the "rapturous smile," and "the more ardent kiss." Dante does indeed speak of a smile, nay, a beloved smile, of a lover; nay, of *such* a lover, and of a kiss; but for the rest, he is not responsible,—they are the Birmingham ware, without which the pure silver would not have been fine enough for its destination in the pages of an annual.

Lord John shares with Cary the imperfection of the phrase "all trembling," as the representation of "tutto tremante." The word "all," thus prefixed, has been found so fatally convenient for supplying a gap in a limping verse, that it has become wholly unemphatic, and is now little beyond a mere expletive. Far different is the "tutto" of the original, which has the force of the German *durch* in composition, and would not be exaggerated by our phrase, "through and through."

"Galeotto fu il libro, e chi lo scrisse.
Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante."

No conscious slave th' impassioned message bore,
Save that frail book; that day we read no more.

Dante's line may be literally translated thus: "the book, and its author, were our panders." Lord John's version of it is loose and verbose: it further implies, grammatically, that the book was a "conscious slave:" above all, calling it a "frail book," and omitting the author altogether, it fails to brand the author and his work, which Dante has done with his usual smiting brevity, by fixing upon them the name of one who was already infamous, as if it had been an acknowledged and appropriate epithet. In this passage, again, it seems to us that Lord John has, in his too hasty survey, been caught simply by that tone of commiseration in the narrative, which, indeed, none can overlook, and which is even its leading characteristic; but he has omitted those compensations by which Dante has shown that his profound sympathy with human sorrow did not blunt the keen strict edge of his perceptions of Divine and eternal justice.

Mentre che l' uno spirto questo disse,
L' altro piangeva sì, che di pietade
Io venni meno, come s' io morisse,
E caddi, come corpo morto cade.

As thus one shadow told the mournful tale,
The other did so feelingly bewail,
That pity checked my voice, my blood, my breath,
And sunk me to the ground as one in death.

The first of these concluding couplets we think a good translation: the second is overcharged with words, and offends, like too many of its predecessors, against the simplicity of its original.

We have reached the end of the tale and of Lord John

Russell's lines; and it may, perhaps, be thought that, independently of possible or probable error in particular criticisms, we are ourselves fundamentally wrong, both in the minuteness of our examination, and because of the mass into which our remarks upon a subject apparently so narrow have accumulated.

If we have done Lord John Russell injustice, it has not been wilful: we are free to admit that translations might have been made by others, by ourselves among the number, embracing every fault which we have charged upon him, and not one of the merits which we allow to his verses, and in some places to his mode of rendering his original. Especially we repeat the expression of lively satisfaction with which we contemplate the adroit and experienced, we may almost say the veteran politician, bestowing his leisure upon the perusal of so great a master, both of Christianity and of poetry, and able to find zest and relish in pleasures so genuine and simple as those which alone this effort could have afforded.

But we are anxious to see a far higher conception of Dante spread abroad among our countrymen; and we are sure that if they are to advance in their moral health and intellectual vigour, he must advance in their estimation. For this end we desire, that every thing which professes to represent him, should be strictly and minutely canvassed, lest he should be degraded by counterfeits and caricatures. And for *him*, no examination can be too severe and searching. He should be viewed both in the magnificence of his outline, and in the precision of his detail. He is like those ancient Egyptians, of whom it was said, that they wrought upon the scale of giants and with the nicety of jewellers. Dante has comprehended all creation in one vast picture: and portions of that picture, like the story of Francesca, are selected for admiring study, on account of their transcendant beauty: but let those portions again be resolved into their constituent parts, a new range of graces is unfolded in every line and almost every word, and we at length come to measure the extraordinary scope of his faculties, and acknowledge in him the jeweller as well as the giant. It is no slight matter, to transfer into a language other than his own, any one passage of his book. It is not an after-dinner relaxation. If we show that Lord John Russell has not adequately bent the bow of Ulysses, we have given an useful warning to weaker men. Dante was not made for annuals in silk covers. He is not to be the plaything of the butterflies of literature. It must be recollected that the translator of a poem becomes in no small degree a rival of him whom he translates; and they that grapple with this poet in such a capacity, will be apt to find that they have set their teeth upon a

file. Let us not lightly match our dwarfish stature against his majestic height. Let him tower unapproachable in his grandeur: let us contemplate him from the distance which befits inferiority combined with veneration.

Churton: on the authority of the Papers. Hist.

Art. VI.—*Theophilus Anglicanus; or, Instruction for the Young Student, concerning the Church, and our own Branch of it. By* Christopher Wordsworth, *D.D., Head Master of Harrow School, late Fellow of Trinity College, and Public Orator in the University of Cambridge.* London: Rivingtons.

This is so remarkable a book, that for many reasons it demands a particular notice. In the first place, let it be acknowledged as a sign of hope, in the midst of the gloomy controversial strifes on which we are fallen, that so many diligent presbyters and teachers in the English Church are turning their attention and devoting their talent to the composition of catechisms. A promising little work of this kind, though not free from imperfections, and one that we understand has received some testimonies of approval from names of high authority, is, "A Catechism on the Common Prayer, by the Rev. Alexander Watson, of St. John's, Cheltenham." It is a praiseworthy attempt, at least, to supply the young member of the Church of England with a manual, by which he may understand and know how to value his Prayer-Book. But this Catechism is almost confined to the Morning and Evening Offices of Daily Prayer. It does not comprise the Communion Office, nor any of the Occasional Services; the author's intention probably being to furnish the younger members of his flock with an explanation of that portion of the Prayer-Book in which they are continually called to bear a part. There is another portion, the Ordination Services, for which many short catechisms have been recently composed; and some of them explaining clearly and instructively the Church's doctrine about the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. But there was still wanting one that should be of use to teach the future teachers, to arrange and digest, and enforce by a collection of firm proofs from Scripture and ancient authors, that all-important subject, on which the unity of the Church and its rule of communion centres; of which St. Chrysostom said, and Bishop Pearson took his words as the text of his immortal Vindication of St. Ignatius, that "we must contend for it with like earnestness as for the faith once delivered to the saints."

It was lately that the writer who pens these words had in his

hands the theological papers and literary remains of a young clergyman, who many years since was cut off at a very early age, in the fourth year from his ordination. What he wrote was before the appearance of the Discourses at Cambridge by the late incomparable Hugh Rose, and other works which have since turned the current of theological inquiry that way. We quote his words, as a proof how, without determined concert or design, the minds of many thoughtful students, meditating on the signs of the times, were led to an agreement on the means to be applied, under God, for the restoration of truth and order.

"If we believe," he says, "in the Communion of Saints, that is, that Christ has united his Church as a body or community, not only by invisible grace, but by visible forms, it is one of the first duties which flow from that belief, to receive that system of laws which He was pleased to give to his Church as a visible, though a spiritual body. We are not to exalt that discipline or system of laws above his holy word and blessed sacraments; but we cannot think less of it, than as being to the doctrine and the sacraments, what, in the Jewish Temple, the ark was to the holy things which were therein kept and treasured, not indeed more precious than the tables of the covenant and the pot of manna, yet to be honoured and reverenced as itself also the work of God, the divinely-appointed safeguard of the treasures which it secured.

"That therefore a thing so necessary for every Christian man to know and believe was yet omitted in the elementary instruction of our Church, was not, we may suppose, because it was undervalued, but more probably because the want of it was not then felt. In the time of our Reformers, that part of the discipline of Christ, by which practically the whole is upheld,—the authority of an Apostolic ministry,—was not yet disregarded, or invaded. In the early part of the sixteenth century there was not in the Universal Church, as there never had been from its foundation, a minister who had not received episcopal ordination. Could they, by whose agency the Divine Ruler of the Church restored this part of his kingdom from darkness to light,—could they have foreseen that the National Church, which they left united, was soon to be so utterly and piecemeal rent and severed, that there would be found, in every cure of her ministry, Christians, who not only commit, but justify, that sin, from which their Saviour so earnestly besought his Father to deliver them; we may well suppose that they would have taught the young catechumen in Christianity not only what it is to be a Christian, but also what it is to be a member of a true Church; a blessing which they, doubtless, held to be second only to that first and greatest of all blessings."

We quote these remarkable words as a proof how the course of things has forced the attention of serious-minded men to seek a remedy for the prevailing distractions, rather than as expecting a full assent to the grounds which are here assumed. For, perhaps, it is a portion of instruction which the Reformers of the

sixteenth century rather left incomplete, than overlooked from not foreseeing its importance. Archbishop Cranmer's Sermon on the Power of the Keys, in which there are some remarkable variations from the Latin of Justus Jonas,—some portions of the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man,—and the directions embodied in the Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests[1],—all show that there was an intention, and that counsel was taken upon the mode, to make these matters a part of the Church's catechetical discipline. That the object was not accomplished at that period, we have perhaps less reason to regret, because it may be doubted, whether the sense of antiquity was then so fully known as it has been since the literary monuments of the primitive Church have been so much more perfectly restored. It is not very easy, for instance, except from the preface to the Ordination Services, which Bale ascribes to him, to collect what was Cranmer's view of the Divine institution of the Three Orders of the Priesthood. His foreign adviser, Bucer, has left several testimonies to prove his own wish to preserve the distribution of Ecclesiastical Government, which the old canons prescribed, to bishops and metropolitans[2]. But his own theory was confused, and his knowledge imperfect. He speaks of the Three Orders, as if the term Presbyter belonged alike to all, as if the name of cardinal was anciently given to all ministers of the second order, and does not well distinguish the duties of the bishop from the presbyter's[3]. And something of uncertainty on this last point seems to pervade most of the documents of the time; though we do not concur with Burnet, that they speak of bishops and priests as one and the same office, but rather think that they speak of the duties which belong to both offices in common, which the bishops of that time were supposed to have neglected, without defining, at the same time, those rights and that authority which they believed to belong pre-eminently to the first order.

Bishop Burnet's further remarks, on the cause of this doubtful language, are such as, in the main, may be considered to harmonise with the judgment of more profound inquirers.

"In the ancient Church," he says, "it was thought enough that a bishop was to be dedicated to his function by a new imposition of hands; and that several offices could not be performed without bishops, such as Ordination, Confirmation, &c.; but they did not refine in these matters so much as to inquire whether bishops and priests differed in order and office, or only in degree."

This will not do. A new ordination implies a new order con-

[1] Burnet's Reformation. Records, Part 1. Addenda, No. 5.
[2] Script. Anglicana, p. 565.
[3] Script. Anglicana, p. 259.

ferred; and were it only a difference in degree, there had been no need of a new ordination. There is no refinement in this. But let us hear the rest.

"But after the schoolmen fell to examine matters of divinity with *logical and unintelligible niceties*, and the canonists began *to comment upon the rules of the ancient Church*,"—

We are sorry to interrupt the historian again; but one would think an illogical nicety was more likely to make an argument unintelligible than a logical one; and as to the canonists, we had thought their crime was the substitution of something else to comment on, in the place of the "rules of the ancient Church."

—"they studied to make bishops and priests seem very near one another, so that the difference was but small. They did it with different designs. The schoolmen, having set up the grand mystery of transubstantiation, were to exalt the priestly office as much as possible.... therefore, as they changed the form of ordination from what it was anciently believed to consist in to a delivering of the sacred vessels, and held, that a priest had his orders by that rite, and not by the imposition of hands; so they raised their order or office so high, as to make it equal with the order of a bishop. But, as they designed to extol the order of priesthood, so the canonists had as great a mind to depress the episcopal order. They generally wrote for preferment; and the way to it was to exalt the papacy. Nothing could do that so effectually as to bring down the power of bishops. This only could justify the exemptions of the monks and friars, the pope's setting up legatine courts, and receiving at first appeals, and then original causes before them, together with many other encroachments on their jurisdiction; all which were unlawful, if the bishops had by Divine right jurisdiction in their dioceses: therefore it was necessary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the power they held was rather as delegates of the Apostolic See, than by a commission from Christ or his Apostles. So that they looked on the declaring episcopal authority to be of Divine right as a blow that would be fatal to the court of Rome; and therefore they did after this, at Trent, use all possible endeavours to hinder any such decision. It having been then the common style of that age to reckon bishops and priests as the same office, it is no wonder if, at this time, the clergy of this Church retained still the former phrases in this particular."—*Hist. Reform.* i. pp. 662, 663.

This explanation of the fact, confirmed as it is by some opinions of eminent authority, seems both more equitable and more probable, than the supposition that Cranmer and his colleagues disregarded these matters as of minor importance, or spoke of them in accordance with the views of some of the foreign re-

formed, which were not at this period so plainly developed. Meantime, it is certain that it was among the designs which Cranmer entertained, to oblige the clergy to instruct the people committed to their charge concerning the Divine institution and functions of the Christian priesthood[4]. With this evidence remaining, it is perhaps the more singular, that no attempt should have been made, after sad experience might seem to have taught the Church its necessity, on the Restoration, to supply what was still wanting. The work before us, however, has effectually removed the defect for all young students within the pale of the Church, who are able to obtain a liberal education. We feel the fullest confidence, that it will be extensively used in the institutions which are set apart for the training of this important portion of society, and imbue many a vigorous mind with healthful doctrine, which will hereafter be poured forth in those lesser canals and rivulets which feed the remote borders of the sacred vineyard.

As we have a respect for that old method of reviewing, which prevailed before questions of loans, currency, and rail-roads were reckoned as portions of polite literature, we shall begin by giving a short outline of the plan of the book, its arrangement, its main positions, and the authorities on which they are based; and then, in conclusion, endeavour to select a few specimens, which must, however, be imperfect without their context, to enable the reader to judge of its execution.

"It is well known," says the author in his Preface, "that the Expositions of the Catechism of the Church of England, which are in most common use in our grammar schools, were not designed for persons who have made any proficiency in the Latin or Greek languages; and it is obvious, therefore, that these treatises are not able to convey to the classical student all that instruction and satisfaction, which he could not fail to derive from the application of his literary attainments to the illustration of sacred truth.

"It may also be observed, that, although the Church Catechism, by means of the Ninth and Tenth Articles of the Apostles' Creed,—viz. The Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints, and The Forgiveness of Sins,—and of the questions which it contains on the Christian Sacraments, naturally leads a teacher, with the Book of Common Prayer in his hands, to such a series of enquiries concerning the Church in general, and our own branch of it in particular, as may be found in the following pages; yet it would appear to be desirable that these interrogatories should be put systematically before the eye of the scholar, and that he should receive such instruction concerning them as

[4] In the Declaration before referred to.

is due to his character as an English *Theophilus*, receiving a liberal education, and desirous to 'know the certainty of the things wherein he has been instructed[5].'"

One must say, that the design here announced is one which the very analogy of a liberal education seems to demand. The instruction of a young scholar, capable of receiving such an education, is imperfect without it. Yet we should not have known where to look for any manual to aid the teacher in imparting such instruction, for any treatise at once learned, systematic, and compendious, before the appearance of *Theophilus Anglicanus*.

The work is divided into four parts. The first and fullest portion is entitled, *On the Church;* catechetically explaining its name and attributes, as expressed in the Creeds, distinguishing those which belong to it as a visible and militant society, from those which relate to it as the invisible family of God; declaring the necessity of seeking salvation in the Church, and how far errors or heresies separate men from it; setting forth its privileges, as the witness and keeper of the Word of God, and its authoritative interpreter; and then admirably dividing all the heads of instruction which meet in the recognition of a lawful divinely-instituted ministry; as the due administration of the Sacraments, the functions of the Three Orders, the power of the Keys, Sacerdotal Intercession and Benediction, and, lastly, what we trust will never be last in the list of benefits for which a thoughtful young Christian learns to be thankful, the blessing of a sound Form of Public Prayer. The second part is an excellent historical treatise on the Anglican Branch of the Church Catholic; treating the points of dispute concerning the Roman supremacy in that most effectual mode of argument—an appeal to facts of old and undoubted record; meeting the charge of schism urged against our branch on the same ground; defending the right by which our Reformation was effected, and clearing the succession and validity of our orders. It is scarcely possible to commend too highly the closeness and clearness of statement with which this part is also drawn up. The third and fourth parts are necessary to complete the instruction which a young Christian requires; the one, to explain the Church's position as to its civil relations, not barely, as we have seen it done too much, as a lawful establishment, or endowed appointment of officers, but as a part of the commonwealth, which He, "by whom kings reign," has entrusted to the keeping of civil governors and magistrates, a part that ought to be the principal thing in their care; the other, briefly to defend the few and edifying ceremo-

[5] Luke i. 3, 4.

nies which the Church retains, and to remove objections urged against them. In the third part the royal supremacy is, on just grounds, asserted and maintained.

It will be evident to a considerate reader, that a work which, within the compass of less than three hundred pages, comprises a course of sound systematic instruction on so many points as are here enumerated, is no common performance. What is more, on the greater proportion of these points the author has supported almost every statement of doctrine, and frequently the very words and phrases, of his catechetical answers, with a most happily selected array of citations from those good teachers of the primitive Church, and of our own, to whom it is scarcely possible for a disciple to listen, without being made wiser and better, without finding his understanding put to make proof of itself, and his love attracted to the ways of truth, and order, and beauty. And this excellent array of citations has evidently not been the fruit of a few leisure hours; they are no gatherings from an ordinary common-place book, the amusement of an indolent scholar,

> collecting toys,
> As children gathering pebbles on the shore;

but are in themselves proofs, that the learned catechist, who brings them to support his doctrine, has mastered the contents of many an ancient and modern treatise, and knows where to find whatever has been said most appositely, eloquently, and convincingly, on the point he wishes to enforce.

There are one or two reflections which have struck us on the perusal of these proofs, arrayed in the good order in which they stand in the pages of this treatise. There are some persons, and some whom we would mention with respect, who seem to have spoken doubtfully of late about the standard theology of the Reformed Church of England, as if they knew not where to find it, or as if it had received no kind of public recognition from the Church in whose bosom it has been matured. What is the ground for these doubts and uncertainty? Is it less clear than it was two hundred years ago, whether Hooker or Cartwright, Laud or Prynne, was the truer witness of his time for the system and principles of the Church of England? Can a thousand names to some novel and ill-concocted declaration of principles shake the faith of the consistent churchman in the doctrines of Andrewes, of Hammond, and Taylor? We may well leave these things to die out in their own imbecility; only entreating those who are most busy in disseminating them, if they have any respect, as some of them profess to have, for the memory of Leighton, to

consider what judgment he has left recorded upon these compacts made with untempered mortar. "The truth is," says Leighton, "that, besides many other evils, the iniquity and unhappiness of such oaths and covenants lies much in this, that being commonly framed by persons that, even among themselves, are not fully of one mind, but have their different opinions and interests to serve, they commonly patch up so many several articles and clauses, and those too of so versatile and ambiguous terms, that they prove most wretched snares and thickets of briars and thorns to the consciences of those that are engaged in them, and matters of endless contention and dispute about the sense of them[6]." The breath of these stormy days may blow against the stream of Catholic doctrine, which, as we may see by many an instance in these pages, flowed from Augustine and Chrysostom to Andrewes, Hooker, and Pearson: but the stream will hold its course.

Again, while we rejoice in the reviving taste and many instances of munificence which have been shown in building and restoring churches, let us suggest a modest caution against the danger of having too large a portion of the Church's rising talent too exclusively devoted to the cause of ecclesiastical architecture, and the very unmeasured terms with which certain solecisms in this science have been assailed. These things have tended to encourage a too undiscerning sympathy with the *ages* of Early English or of Perpendicular. Far be it from us to speak of the pious memory of Henry VI., of Wykeham, or of Wainfleet, with diminished veneration. Such men were chosen agents of a good Providence, to lay the foundations of glorious edifices, and give birth to societies which remain as the safeguards of religion, learning, and virtue. But one might almost judge from the language one hears in some quarters, that there were those who looked upon the Church as debased in every other quality from the time that its architecture became debased. Was there then nothing wanting in the age of Wykeham or of Bekington? Or did the inward glory of doctrine keep its course in harmonious proportion with the awful beauties of the sacred choir? The bishops who could build cathedrals or found colleges, disappeared at the Reformation; for the hand of the spoiler had left them little wealth to maintain the charges which daily came upon them. But from that time the seat of doctrine was restored, and men arose who proved themselves in doctrine the true successors of Fathers and Apostles. Hooker could not found a new church, but he could write the Ecclesiastical Polity; without which

[6] Def. of Moderate Episcopacy.

Heaven knows what would now be the fate of our churches and cathedrals. Laud and Cosin had no better architects for their buildings than Inigo Jones or his disciples; but they could write, and suffer loss of all; meeting death, or exile and proscription, rather than endure that the Church's order and the honour of the episcopate should be impaired. And what less can be said for these men, and others like-minded, but that they found, and lighted anew, the torch of primitive truth, which had been hidden in dark vaults, then trodden under foot and almost extinguished, till they set it upon a candlestick, where all that should come afterwards might see the light? Let any reader of "Theophilus Anglicanus" note the sound words of Bramhall, Casaubon, and Hammond; of Hooker, Laud[7], and Pearson; and ask whether, while such words are so treasured up and remembered, we have reason to despond for the Church of a generation yet to come?

But we delay too long to give our extracts from the work itself. The exercise of selection is difficult; for each portion stands in its appropriate place, like one of the pillars in a fair church-aisle, and cannot well be removed, or viewed separately, without losing something of its peculiar gracefulness derived from its proportion to the rest. But we will take the first of the chapters, which are devoted to the subject of "Privileges in the Church;"—the first place being most properly assigned to the "Word of God."

"What privileges do the members of the Church derive through her means from God?

"A. First, the pure and entire Word of God. 1 Pet. i. 23. James ii. 18; iii. 17.

"Q. How is the Word of God received through the Church?

"A. She is the appointed Witness, Keeper, and Interpreter of Holy Writ, and is thence called στῦλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, *the pillar and ground of the truth*. 1 Tim. iii. 15.

"Q. How is the Church a Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ?

"A. The Old Testament is received by us from the Church of the Jews, to whom were committed the oracles of God (Rom. iii. 2); and we know that it was by them delivered, pure and entire, into the hands of the Christian Church, from the fact that Christ, when reproving the scribes and lawyers, never charges them with the sin of corrupting the books of the law[8]; and that He and his Apostles

[7] We insert the name of Laud advisedly: for no one can read the extracts given by Dr. C. Wordsworth, from his immortal "Conference with Fisher," without feeling an increased conviction of his great powers as a divine, and his ability in clear concise statement and solution of difficult questions. He stands among the foremost ranks of the Church's doctors. See Theoph. Anglicanus, pp. 201, 202.

[8] Nunquam Dominus et Apostoli, qui cætera crimina arguunt in Scribis et Pharisæis, de hoc crimine, quod erat maximum, reticuissent. S. Hieron. Comment. in Isai. c. vi.

quote the Scriptures of the Old Testament as they existed then among the Jews, and as they still exist derived through them to us.

"Q. Next, what has been the office of the Church with respect to the New Testament?

"A. To deliver it also down to us, from age to age, as it was first written. That these writings, as we possess them, are precisely the same as they were when they were first given to the world, we know from the facts of their having been received by synods of the Church; from their having been openly read, immediately after their publication, in congregations of the Church in numerous places very distant from each other; from their having been translated at an early period into different languages for the use of various Churches; which versions thus made are found to coincide precisely with the present text; and from the fact, that the Fathers of the Church, in all parts of the world, have quoted them and commented upon them, without any discrepancy from the copies which have been handed down to us."—pp. 33, 34.

We know not whether we ought to pause in our quotation to notice an objection which we have sometimes heard from persons imperfectly acquainted with such questions,—an objection to which some late German critics have helped them, and which they might have borrowed before from Collins,—founded on the thirty thousand or fifty thousand various readings in the New Testament. The short and decisive answer, as the experienced know, is that given by Bentley, that where the copies of any work are numerous, though the various readings always increase in proportion, there the text, by an accurate collation, is always the most correct, and there is the least doubt about the true words of the original writer. But perhaps the learned author, though he does not verbally state this objection, may be thought to have met it by the last words of the answer given above; for what possible weight can be given to Griesbach's doubt, derived from existing manuscripts, concerning the first eleven verses of the eighth chapter of St. John, by any one who reads St. Augustine's Commentary on that narrative? And most convincing are the words which our author quotes from St. Augustine, among other authorities on this question: "Corrumpi Scripturæ non possunt, quia sunt in manibus omnium Christianorum: et quisquis hoc primitus ausus esset, multorum codicum vetustiorum collatione confutaretur; maxime quia non una lingua, sed multis, continetur Scriptura."—Contr. Faust. xxxii.

We proceed.

"Q. How do we know that the Books of the New Testament are genuine,—i. e. were written by those whose names they bear?

"A. From the testimony of the Church, which received them as such both in general councils collectively, and also separately in distant

parts of the world, and read them publicly as the works of such writers from the time of their first appearance.

"Q. Next, have we any witness of the Church that these writings are inspired,—i. e. are the Word of God?

"A. Yes; the primitive Church, which had both the supernatural power of trying and discerning the spirits, and also the best natural opportunities for ascertaining the truth, received them as inspired, while at the same time she rejected other writings falsely pretending to be so.

"Q. Do we rest, then, on the authority of the Church for our belief that the Bible is the Word of God?

"A. No. First, God gives us reason and grace; and then the Church prepares, predisposes, and moves us, by her authority, to this belief, by showing us that it is supported by the evidence of all successive ages, even from the time of the Apostles and Evangelists, who were incompetent of themselves to write and do what they wrote and did; whose lives, actions, and sufferings, together with the effects produced by them, prove that they could neither be deceived nor deceive in this matter; and then, through the grace of the Spirit of God, the Scripture itself, by its own virtues, its moral purity, its Divine beauty, the fulfilment of its prophecies, confirms itself to be the voice of God."—p. 35, 36.

This answer is confirmed by two well-selected passages from Hooker and Laud. The passage from Hooker is from Eccl. Pol. III. c. viii. 14. "By experience we all know that the first outward motive leading men to esteem of Scripture [as God's Word] is the authority of Christ's Church: afterwards, the more we bestow our time in reading and hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth answer our received opinions concerning it: so that the former inducement, prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail when the very thing hath ministered further reason." It appears to us, that the commentary which Chillingworth has bestowed on this passage and its context, in Rel. Prot. ii. 30, is by no means a good specimen of the dialectic powers for which he has been so much celebrated. The passage from Laud is to be found in his conference with Fisher, p. 69; and the great primate and martyr is both a better interpreter of Hooker, and delivers doctrine of his own, which admirably fills up the outline he had before him: "Tradition of the Church is the first motive to belief; but the belief itself, that the Scripture is the Word of God, rests upon Scripture, when a man finds it to answer and exceed all that the Church gave in testimony. And as in the voice of the primitive and apostolical Church there was simply Divine authority delivering the Scripture as God's Word, so, after tradition of the present Church hath taught and informed

the soul, the voice of God is plainly heard in Scripture itself. And then here is double authority, and both Divine, that confirms Scripture to be the Word of God, tradition of the Apostles delivering it, and the internal worth and argument in the Scripture, obvious to a soul prepared by the present Church,—tradition, and God's grace."

It would be unfair to end our quotation without adding the next question and answer:—

"Q. How does the Church employ the Scripture, of which she is the Witness and Keeper, in teaching us the true faith?

"A. Both by her language and by her practice, in her own person, and in that of our parents and teachers, who act by her guidance and with her authority, she invites and leads us by the hand to Christ, to whom she is subject, and whom she hears, worships, and obeys, as her Husband, her Head, her Teacher, and her Saviour; she instructs us in His will, she calls us to hear His doctrine, as revealed by Him in Holy Scripture, of which she is the Witness and Guardian; and then the doctrine itself finally persuades, convinces, settles, and stablishes us in the faith, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, whose word the Scripture is, by its own inherent truth and power. The Church, like the Virgin Mary at Cana, tells us, 'whatsoever He saith unto you, do it.' Like the sister of Lazarus, she sits at Christ's feet, and listens to His words. She performs to us the part of the Samaritan woman, who brought her friends to Christ; concerning whom we read, that they first believed on Him for her saying; but when He had remained with them two days, and they had heard Him, they believed because of His own word, and said unto the woman, as we now say to the Church, 'Now we believe, not because of thy saying: for we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world.'" John iv. 42.—pp. 37, 38.

We might select equally satisfactory portions from the chapters on "Absolution," and on "Sacerdotal Intercession and Benediction;" and a beautifully executed chapter in the second part (chap. iii.), on the "Mission of Augustine;" but we must content ourselves with a reference to the conclusion of chap. vi. in the same part, where an important controverted point is admirably summed up.

"Q. Since a Church cannot exist without a priesthood, and it is alleged that there is no priesthood without a *sacrifice*, can it be said that there is any sacrifice in the Church of England; and if not, has she a true priesthood, and is she a true Church?

"A. The Church of England has all the sacrifice which the Catholic Church has, and she dares not have more. In her office for the Holy Communion she has a sacrificium *eucharisticum*, a sacrifice of praise

and thanksgiving, a sacrificium *votivum*, in which the communicant presents himself, his soul and body, to be a sacrifice to God; a sacrificium *commemorativum*, commemorative of the death of Christ; a sacrificium *repræsentativum*, which represents His meritorious sufferings to God; a sacrificium *impetrativum*, which implores the benefits of Christ's death from God; and a sacrificium *applicativum*, which applies them to the worthy receiver. But she has no sacrificium *defectivum*, in which the cup is denied to the lay communicant; nor on the other hand, has she a sacrificium *suppletivum*, to supply any supposed defects in the one great sacrifice offered once for all, for the sins of the world." Heb. vii. 27; x. 14.—p. 166.

And here, again, we have our instruction well fenced with other authorities, and the sound words of Laud: "In the Eucharist we offer up to God three sacrifices: one by the priest only, that is the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death, represented in the bread broken and the wine poured out; another by the priest and people jointly, and that is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for all the benefits and graces we receive by the precious death of Christ; the third, by every particular man for himself, and that is the sacrifice of every man's body and soul to serve Him in both all the rest of his life."—Conf. with Fisher, p. 35.

There are, perhaps, a few slight corrections, which we might wish to see in a future edition; some of the questions are, perhaps, drawn up in too conversational a form for a catechism; there is, perhaps, a little repetition of similar matter relating to the controversy with Rome in the first and second parts; and we would suggest, with regard to the Greek derivation of the word "Catholic," p. 4, whether it would not be better to refer it first to the common adverb, καθόλου, before stating its component parts[9]. We have not room to do more than refer to one of several excellent summary refutations of common popular fallacies; it occurs in the second chapter of the third part.

"Q. But did not Christ, when He was before Pilate, disclaim all civil power, and renounce all exercise of it in His behalf, when He said, *My kingdom is not of this world?*

"A. Christ, when He spake these words, stood before the Roman Governor, being accused by the Jews of usurping Cæsar's authority: this is what He disclaimed; and it is to be observed that He does not say, My kingdom is not *in* this world, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, but, it is not *from*, that is, not *derived from*, this world, ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου: an expression which he used in the same sense on two other

[9] There is also a recommendation, p. 63, of Mr. W. Hey's *Authority of a Three-fold Ministry*. A writer in the Christian Remembrancer of last month, pp. 276, 277, has pointed out rather an important error in that treatise.

occasions. (John viii. 23 ; xv. 19.) And it is clear from Holy Scripture, that, though Christ did not come into the world to exercise earthly power, yet that all they, who have earthly power, are bound to exercise it for the promotion of His glory. Christ did not come to make Himself a King, but He did come to make kings members of his kingdom."—p. 213.

The substance of this answer is taken from an excellent instructive passage in Theodoret's Commentary on St. John, which the learned author immediately subjoins. We can only end as we began, devoutly hoping that a work so admirably calculated to form the future teachers of the Church, to supply a portion of Christian instruction, without which all training of the young members of the Church must be lame and imperfect, and to supply it in the best manner, may be generally admitted into the number of class-books in the principal schools of our native land. There was a time, when such a book would have been welcomed with open arms by the rightful guardians of Christian education, the rightful licensers of the Church's catechists ; if there are none among them to welcome it now, the more is our regret, and the greater the public loss. But let us hope it will not pass unregarded ; for our praise is inharmonious, if it mingles a word of despondency with its tones in speaking of a work which has called forth such strains as have saluted it from the aged bard of the lakes and mountains,—

THE POET LAUREATE.

TO THE REV. CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., MASTER OF HARROW SCHOOL, AFTER THE PERUSAL OF HIS "THEOPHILUS ANGLICANUS."

Enlightened Teacher, gladly from thy hand
Have I received this proof of pains bestowed
By thee, to guide thy pupils on the road
That in our native isle, and every land
The Church, when trusting in Divine command,
And in her Catholic attributes hath trod.
O, may these lessons be with profit scanned
To thy heart's wish—thy labour blest by God!
So the bright faces of the young and gay
Shall look more bright—the happy, happier still,
Catch in the pauses of their keenest play,
Motions of thought, which elevate the will,
And, like the spire that from your classic hill
Points heavenward, indicate the end and way.

Rydal Mount. WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

ART. VII.—1. *The Voyages and Services of the Nemesis, from* 1840 *to* 1843, *from Notes of her late Commander*, W. H. HALL, R.N.; *and Observations made in China and other parts, by* W. D. BERNARD, Esq., A.M., *in* 2 vols. 8vo. *with maps and illustrations.*

2. *The Chinese War; an account of all the operations of the British forces, from the commencement to the treaty of Nanking, by* LIEUT. JOHN OUCHTERLONY, F.G.S., *of the Madras Engineers, with fifty-three illustrations.*

WHATEVER view we take of the empire of China, whether we regard its vast extent, its amount of population, the singularity and extensive use of its written language, its early acquaintance with the arts and most useful inventions of civilized life, the stupendous monuments of its skill and power, its high and venerable antiquity, the stability of its government, the unchanging and exclusive nature of its institutions, or the manners, customs, and religious tenets of its inhabitants, it is impossible to contemplate it without a deep and mingled feeling of interest.

The nation which is entitled to claim for itself the three most important inventions or discoveries of modern times—the art of printing, the composition of gunpowder, and the mariner's compass; and which may also claim to be the inventor of the two remarkable manufactures of porcelain and silk, must be admitted to have attained a high degree of civilization; and, however small the advancement which they may have made in the more abstract sciences, yet, as we are told by Sir John Barrow, "when the kings of France introduced the luxury of silk stockings, the peasantry of the middle provinces of China were clothed in silks from head to foot; and when the nobility of England were sleeping on straw, a peasant of China had his mat and his pillow, and the man in office enjoyed his silken mattress," we cannot but feel an intense desire to become better acquainted with a people who, at that early period, were so far in advance of ourselves.

Hitherto China, comparatively speaking, has been to us almost a sealed book; but the recent termination of hostilities in the East, the success with which it has pleased God to crown the efforts of our gallant soldiers and sailors, the greatly extended sphere of commercial intercourse which it has opened to us, and the prospect it offers of the re-introduction of Christianity, all combine to heighten our interest in the steps which have led to this great change: and looking forward to what may possibly be the consequences of an extended communication with a people whose

written language is understood by all Eastern Asia, or by fully one-third of the inhabitants of the globe, we cannot but view it as the most remarkable event of modern times, and hardly less pregnant with important results than the discovery of America by Columbus.

With these views, then, we are glad to welcome the first complete narratives that have been made public of the late war in China, drawn up by two officers in the sister services, who actually took a foremost part, and were companions in arms, in the scenes they describe; the one compiled from the log-book of a sailor, who, with the characteristic frankness usually attributed to his profession, jots down the daily occurrences in the order in which they happen, giving us his first impressions dashed off at the moment, and almost enabling us to see the rapid evolutions of the steam flotilla, which formed so essential a part of our naval force in the China seas. The other, from the pen of a well-educated soldier, an officer of the distinguished corps of the Madras Engineers, making us acquainted with all the detail of military movements, and who, while relating the gallant deeds of his brother soldiers, evinces a generous sympathy for the poor creatures who unfortunately suffered from the inevitable evils of war.

The circumstances connected with the progress and conclusion of the late events in China must be still so fresh in the memory of our readers, that we prefer following the *personal* narrative of one of the most active of the ships engaged, to giving a summary of events which our limits would necessarily render extremely brief and unsatisfactory.

The *Nemesis* iron, armed steamer, in the East India Company's service, of 700 tons, and 120 horse power, commanded by Mr. W. H. Hall, master in the royal navy, left England on the 28th of March, 1840; and touching at the islands of Madeira, Prince's, and St. Thomas's, after a long passage of ninety-five days, reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 1st of July. Here she appears to have excited much astonishment, by running alongside an old town-pier usually frequented only by boats, which her light draft of water, being less than six feet, enabled her to do; while the curiosity of the people, both here and elsewhere, was excited by the uncertainty of the vessel's destination, which was kept a profound secret.

"A few days after leaving the Cape a heavy storm arose, vivid flashes of lightning ran along the sky, and the sea became so heavy, that it threatened to overwhelm the long, low *Nemesis;* for the sail that could be put upon her scarcely sufficed to keep her before it. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 17th, a tremendous sea at length struck

her on the quarter. Her whole frame quivered with the blow, and so violent was the shock, that the first impression of all on board was that the ship had been actually riven asunder. As daylight dawned, it was found that the starboard paddle-wheel had been smashed, and a perpendicular crack, two feet and a half in length, was discovered on both sides of the vessel, just abaft the paddles. The iron plates had been burst asunder with such violence, that the broken part projected to the extent of two inches, leaving a formidable opening in the ship's sides. In reality, the ship had begun to separate amidships."

Happily the gale moderated, and by great exertion temporary repairs were executed both in the paddle-wheel and the cracked sides. On the following day, however, the gale came on again from the north-east, and a heavy cross-sea arose; the openings in the sides began to extend in an alarming manner, not only up and down, but the sides of the ship worked in and out; to add to the difficulty, one of the furnaces was found injured, and could scarcely be used at all. This was an anxious time, and every expedient was resorted to that the good seamanship of the captain and other officers on board could suggest as a remedy.

"But the openings still increased; they had now extended downwards *more than three feet and a half* on both sides. The only sail the ship now carried was torn away in shreds, and the steam itself had little power. The ship heaved and strained most fearfully, the leaks increased, the openings spread, and yet she floated. When the vessel rolled from side to side, the plates worked laterally not less than five inches. As the storm increased, it was found that in spite of every exertion to strengthen the part, in the short space of two hours and a half, the openings had increased eighteen inches. The dangerous state of the vessel was appalling, not only from the fear of her separating amidships; but from the chance of the bilge-pumps becoming choked, or the fires being put out by the rush of waters. The ship groaned and worked tremendously, and reports were brought in quick succession from different parts of the vessel, that she was fast breaking up in pieces. In this dilemma it was still necessary to inspire the drooping spirits of the men with some new exertion. The captain tried to smile, and by a cool collected manner sought to awaken hope, which in secret he himself could scarcely feel. 'You may smile, sir,' said one of the sturdiest of the men, a hardy boiler-maker by trade, 'but you don't know the nature of iron; how should you!' (as if in pity of his ignorance), and then added, as if for comfort, 'Ah, sir! when once it works and cracks, as our sides are doing, it's sure to go on, nothing can stop it.'"

And nothing but the merciful interposition of Providence could have stopped it; the gale abated, the ship was saved, and was repaired by being laid ashore in Delagoa Bay.

And here we must pause to express our indignation at the manner in which this vessel was sent from England;—before quitting the channel, the *Nemesis*, owing to the imperfect or rather the erroneous action of her compasses, ran upon "the stones," a reef of rock off the Land's End, and was nearly wrecked, and yet with these compasses she had to steer through the intricate navigation of the Mozambique channel and the China sea! Before reaching the Cape, her "drop or false rudder" was broken off, and the vessel refused to steer until a temporary rudder was constructed on board,—the very same accident that happened to the iron steamers of the Niger expedition; while, instead of having a fixed keel, which might have been unbolted on arriving in shallow waters, she had a "drop or sliding keel," which was of little or no use, and they were obliged at sea to substitute a "lee-board," like a Dutch galliot. Besides these defects, the *Nemesis*, of "about 700 tons burthen," had only engines of 120 horse-power, two-thirds the force she should have had to ascend the rapid Chinese rivers; no paddle-box boats were provided to save the crew in case of wreck; and, as we have just seen, the vessel, 184 feet long, was so weak that the first heavy gale she encountered, she all but broke in halves! A little more, and the recent fate of the *Elberfeldt* would have been the fate of the *Nemesis* and her gallant crew, and none have survived to tell the tale. May the emphatic warning proclaimed by these two examples not be lost on the builders of our iron steamers.

After a delay of twenty days, spent in repairing damages, the *Nemesis* left Delagoa Bay for Mozambique, where they found the Portugese governor, General Joaquim Pereira Morinho, who had served under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula, quite in earnest in putting down the slave-trade. Captain Hall was so struck by this honourable fact, that he invited his excellency on board, fêted him, and encouraged him all in his power to persevere in this noble course of proceeding. Just as the *Nemesis* was leaving the harbour, a large piece of excellent coal, "apparently fit for steaming purposes," was brought on board, said to have been procured at Killimane, a settlement about three hundred miles to the southward: should this prove correct, it will be of great value, and might supply Aden for our Bombay steamers, the Cape, Mauritius, and other parts where the demand for fuel is daily increasing. Touching at Johanna, one of the Comoro islands, since, we believe, taken possession of by the French, Captain Hall afforded all the assistance in his power to the poor Sultan 'Alewí: thence to the Maldive islands, which, thanks to the

liberality of the Indian government, and to the accurate charts of Captains Moresby and Powell, of the Indian navy, are now a guide instead of a bugbear to navigators; and on the 5th of October reached Point de Galle in Ceylon. Here orders were received, much to the delight of all on board, to join the fleet off Canton—not a moment was lost in refitting ship. Penang, the "Gem of the Eastern Seas; Singapore, the triumph of free-trade; Pedra Branca, an admirable site for a lighthouse in memory of that excellent hydrographer, Horsburgh; the lofty and picturesque mountains of Manilla, and the harbour of Macao, were soon left astern, and the *Nemesis*, after a lapse of eight months from England, dropped her anchor in the midst of the British fleet in Tong-ku Road, just below the forts of the Boca Tigris.

The various events, extending over a series of years, which combined to produce imperceptibly, but surely, that crisis in our political relations with the empire of China which rendered war inevitable, can barely be touched upon here, except to recapitulate briefly the most remarkable that occurred in the latter part of the year 1838 and beginning of 1839; events which led immediately to the first armament directed by the British Government against the shores of China.

The abolition of the privileges of the East India Company, and the consequent general freedom of trade; the unhappy death of Lord Napier, whose talent, energy, and devotedness to the object of his mission, no one can question; the failure of the attempts of his successor to carry out the instructions of Government concerning the manner of his intercourse with the Chinese authorities; and the banishment of Mr. Innes, an English merchant, from Canton; terminated the year 1838, with gloomy forebodings as to the future. Early in the following year, the more stringent measures taken against the illicit introduction of opium, which in half a century had increased from 1000 to 40,000 chests; the appointment of the able, but headstrong, Lin as governor of Canton and the adjacent provinces; the surrender to him, by Captain Elliot, of all the opium in the merchants' warehouses, amounting to upwards of 20,000 tons, valued at two millions and a half sterling, and its destruction at the Bogue; the murder of a Chinaman, named Lin Wiehe, in a drunken row in Hong Kong; the persecution of the English merchants, till they were driven first from Canton and then from Macao; the blockade of Canton, and the attack on the corvettes *Volage* and *Hyacinth*, by war-junks under Admiral Kwan, brought to a close the memorable year 1839, which found the two em-

pires in a position of undisguised hostility; for there was no longer any choice between a declaration of war, or submission to the dictates of an ill-advised and domineering Tartar.

The commencement of 1840 brought with it an order in council for an embargo on all Chinese vessels, and reprisals in the China seas: and here we must say a very few words on that *vexata quæstio* of opium. Many high-minded and amiable individuals in this country looked upon the war as undertaken to enforce upon the Chinese the continuance of a traffic, the tendency of which upon the morals and welfare of the people was of the most pernicious kind; but as Mr. Ouchterlony, and we think justly, says:—

"The fallacy of this supposition was obvious to all who, from extensive personal intercourse with the Chinese, and from the means and opportunities of forming correct opinions upon the subject of our past and present relations with the Empire, which they had thereby enjoyed, were well qualified to pronounce upon the merits of this important question, in its connexion with the war now about to be waged. The opium question should be regarded merely as a spark blown into a mine, which, during the past half century, the vindictiveness and insufferable arrogance of the Chinese government had been gradually charging; and it can be no more considered the primary cause of the war, than can the match, which ignites the train, be styled the cause of the breach made by the explosion. That the quarrel was an unhappy one, and for many reasons to be deeply deplored, does not admit of a doubt; but that it was on our part just and unavoidable, and that the demands of our government were reasonable, and based upon the principle of reciprocity in commercial intercourse, every one must allow, after a dispassionate consideration of all the circumstances of the case."

Singapore was the rendezvous of the combined force forming the first "Eastern Expedition;" and so energetically had the measures directed by the ministry been carried out by the authorities in India, that the squadron and troops arrived off Macao on the 21st of June, and proceeded at once to Chusan, where the capital, Ting-hai, was taken, as related by Lord Jocelyn. Amoy was bombarded, Ning-po blockaded, and the admiral and superintendent started for Pe-chi-li, and anchored off the mouth of the Pei-ho, the nearest point to Pekin, only distant 83 miles, where a conference was held with the imperial commissioner, Kishen; the final result of which was, that the whole affair under dispute was with much adroitness again adjourned to Canton for settlement. While waiting for the Emperor's answer, the admiral paid a visit in a steamer to the spot, about 100 miles to the north-eastward, where that wonder of the world, the great

wall of China, abuts on the sea, in latitude 40° 4′ N., longitude 120° 2′ E.

"At this point of the coast of Pe-chi-li a lofty and bold range of mountains, which runs in a northerly direction parallel to the shore for several leagues, abruptly ceases, or becomes broken into low undulations of insignificant height. Along the summit of this rocky barrier the wall was seen to extend, crowning every commanding ridge, and descending the most precipitous scarps, which occurred in the rugged chain over which its course lay, until, on reaching the point where its continuity is broken, it was observed running down to the sea by an almost inaccessible slope, and terminating at the water's edge in a square fort, in which a strong body of troops was seen encamped. No attempt was made to land, but the steamer was moved slowly backward and forwards in front of the fort, to afford an opportunity of examining as closely as possible this stupendous monument."

This extraordinary work, constructed three centuries before the Christian era, extends in general in a westerly direction for 1500 miles to the desert of Shamo or Kobi, in Mongolia; it is chiefly of earth, faced with brick, twenty-five feet high by as many thick, and is well described in Sir George Staunton's account of Lord Macartney's embassy.

"During this absence of the admiral in the north, the operations conducted by Captain R. D. Bethune, R.N., in the Yang-tse Kiang, had been successful, and of much interest: a passage for vessels of a large class at spring tides, and for 30 miles upwards from the entrance, was surveyed and correctly noted on a chart, and the result of the labours of this able and zealous officer was highly satisfactory. An elaborate survey at the same time was proceeding of the Chusan Archipelago, and main line of coast, under the superintendence of Captain Collinson, R.N., who had come out in the *Blenheim*, specially charged by the admiralty with the conduct of all surveys and astronomical observations which might fall within the means of the expedition."

Such an appointment was absolutely necessary; for it must be remembered, that operations were carrying on along a coast almost unknown, and that our surveyors, in addition to their usual duties, as commanding vessels of war, had to carry on their soundings often by night as well as by day, and not unfrequently under the batteries of the enemy; in this service, besides the first named officers, Captain Belcher and Captain Kellett were chiefly employed; and we know that Admiral Sir W. Parker, in his public despatches, bore honourable testimony to the valuable assistance he had received from the surveyors attached to his fleet. The results of their examinations, as soon as received in England, were published in a series of ten charts of the China coast, drawn up for the occasion from Horsburgh, Ross, and

every available source; and not a day was lost in despatching them overland to Canton early in 1840, so that the fleet on its second eastern expedition was supplied with the best charts that Europe could produce; imperfect we admit, but in consequence of the little intercourse with the coasts of China, no better could be had. This, we trust, will soon be remedied, as three of these surveyors are now actively engaged in the examination of the more important parts of the China sea. Had we an officer in every ship sent to a foreign station qualified to act as a surveyor, with instructions never to lose an opportunity of collecting hydrographic information; or, if the commanders of our vessels generally, in imitation of Captain Drinkwater Bethune, would take advantage of their various passages, to measure exact meridian distances by their chronometers, between the ports they may touch at, and send them home to the admiralty, they would very materially aid in the improvement of our charts; and would have the gratification of knowing they were the probable means of warning vessels from danger, and of saving many a fellow creature from shipwreck and from death.

The Chu-kiang, or Pearl river, or, as Europeans call it, the Canton river, in point of size, depth, and picturesque character, is one of the finest navigable rivers in the world; its width at the entrance, between Macao and the island of Lintao, is $17\frac{1}{2}$ geographic miles, and the distance from these points to Canton is about 70 miles.

Perhaps few scenes more beautiful or of more interest can be imagined, than that presented from the loftiest of one of the cliffs of the rocky peninsula of Macao, looking down upon this vast estuary, with its Archipelago of islands, where, among others, the remarkable outline of Lintin is conspicuous; with San-shau, memorable as the closing scene of life of the great apostle of the Indies,—Francisco Xavier; while, still further to the eastward, lies the island of Hong Kong, now a British colony. On these heights was the favourite station of the most illustrious of Portuguese poets, who was here accustomed daily to take his stand; and "Camoens' cave" is still held in reverence, and one of the first spots visited by the pilgrim of the far west, when he casts anchor in the port of Macao.

Far other thoughts occupied the minds of those on board our fleet, in the beginning of the year 1841, when preparing to force the Boca Tigris. The forts on either side of Chuen-pi and Ty-kok-tau were soon silenced, and the war-junks in Anson's Bay destroyed. On all these occasions the *Nemesis*, from her small draft of water and dashing character, played a conspicuous part.

"The junks with which she was engaged in Anson's Bay, were provided with quite a new sort of boarding nettings, if they can be so called. Probably old Admiral Kwan, whose reputation as a seaman was not very great, had heard that English ships of war were sometimes provided with nets when going into action; and, therefore, without knowing very well what might be the purpose of them, he determined to have them likewise. But, alas! he made a sad mistake concerning the object for which they were intended. He very naturally thought, that, in the position which he had taken up in shallow waters, only the boats of the squadron could come close to him, and he hit upon the bright notion of trying to catch them with his nets, just as a poacher catches his sleeping game by throwing a net over them. A number of strong fishing-nets were fastened all round the sides of the junks, not extended, so as to impede any one trying to get on board, but triced up outside over each of the guns in such a way, that when our boats should come alongside, the nets were to be thrown over them, men and all; and thus our jolly tars, of course, as he imagined, struck powerless with fear, were to be caught like hares in their forms, and handed over with great facility to the tender mercies of the emperor. Certainly this scheme had the merit of novelty and ingenuity, but unfortunately for Kwan, our men were not hares or rabbits. No sooner did the guns of the *Nemesis* open fire, than the nets were all forgotten in their fear of the shot and the rockets; and long before the boats could get alongside, the defenders and men-catchers were glad to be off, to avoid being themselves caught."

The Boca Tigris forts fell next, and the light squadron and steamers went up the river and anchored off Canton. A dashing exploit, perhaps as much so as any during the war, was performed by the *Nemesis* in forcing the Broadway, or "Inner passage" from Macao, in which 115 guns, 6 batteries, and 9 war junks, were captured. On the 18th March, the city of Canton was invested, and all the water defences destroyed, which led to a short suspension of hostilities, renewed again on the 21st May, when the Chinese fire-rafts made a formidable night attack upon our squadron, but without success; this was followed up by the destruction of the Chinese flotilla by the *Nemesis*, and the boats of the squadron. British forbearance was now taxed to the utmost; no time was lost in bringing up the troops; all the advanced forts and heights around Canton were rapidly secured; when, at the moment of opening our batteries on the city, a truce was proclaimed,—not a little to the mortification of those who had suffered so much in reaching the commanding position we had then attained.

"The conditions of peace were much criticised at the time, and have since afforded matter for warm discussion amongst those who, from long acquaintance with the peculiar tribe who inhabit the Canton province,

could not but anticipate, with the deepest interest and anxiety, the completest humiliation to a city whose gates had ever been inhospitably closed against them. The humbling of the provincial capital was deemed incomplete; and it was contended that, in consideration of the extreme provocation which the treachery of the Chinese authorities and the arrogance of the people had caused, no terms of accommodation should have been listened to until the British flag had been planted on the ramparts of the hitherto inviolate city. But the considerations which influenced Captain Elliot were of great weight, and may be thus stated. The total numerical strength of the force under arms before Canton, on the morning of the 27th May, did not exceed 2200 men of all arms, while, within the city, there were not less than 20,000 troops, after making a very large allowance for exaggeration; fearful odds to be encountered in the pent-up space of a closely built city, where a knowledge of the localities would have given the Chinese abundant opportunity to molest our troops. Sickness, consequent upon the dreadful weather to which the troops were exposed, as well as disorder from the temptations of plunder and intoxicating liquors, which would have beset them on every side, were also much to be dreaded in any prolonged occupation of the city; and though the avowed confidence of Sir Hugh Gough in the discipline of his officers and men was great and well founded, yet it must be admitted, that his excellency's position, *in terrorem*, within an assaulted, but yet unconquered, city, filled with a rancorous and vindictive populace, opposed in front by a regular force, and in rear by the armed population of the surrounding villages, would have been a most difficult one to maintain, without the risk of a loss, which, with the small force at his command, would have been fatal. It should, moreover, be borne in mind, that in the confusion which a bombardment of the town would have created, all public order must have been overthrown, and in all probability the greater part of the city destroyed by fire, and its treasures plundered by the mob. It appears now to be generally admitted, that the course pursued by Captain Elliot was, under the circumstances, the most judicious which could have been adopted. The leaders, and the force generally, were much chagrined at their withdrawal to without the Boca Tigris; but this was a necessary condition of the ransom of the city of Canton."

The squadron and troops were withdrawn to Hong Kong, where they experienced much sickness, and two typhoons, which did a great deal of damage. On the 10th of August, Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir W. Parker arrived. Vigorous measures were instantly adopted. By day-light on the 21st, the whole fleet were on their way to the northward; on the 27th, the forts of Amoy were bombarded and stormed; by the 1st of October, Ting-hai, the capital of Chusan, was again taken. Chin hai, at the western entrance of the river Tahia, fell, after a fearful slaughter of the natives; and the troops moved up to Ning-po, where no resistance

was offered. By a singular coincidence it chanced that our soldiers were quartered, on the night of the occupation, in the identical building which, one year previously, had contained the captives of the brig *Kite;* and Major Anstruther, who now marched as conqueror at the head of the Madras artillery into the prison, found the loathsome cage in which he had been tortured still standing in the yard, and the marks of his pencil still on the walls.

The beginning of the year 1842 found the British forces in quiet possession of Ning-po, and the inhabitants of the town very friendly towards them. The winter had set in with much rigour, the snow lying thickly on the ground in and around the city, and all water, except in a rapid stream, frozen over more or less, and this in the latitude of 30° N., about the parallel of Madeira, Cairo, and Basrah, at the head of the Persian gulf. So great is the influence of the high land of Thibet upon climate even at such a distance.

On the 10th of March a bold night attack was made upon the city, and the assailants penetrated into the main street; here, however, they were met by the British troops, with whom they evidently had not come in contact before, and were ignorant of the destructive effects of our musketry and grape-shot, which mowed them down as with a scythe.

"Among those who took the lead on this occasion, were a large body of half-savage mountaineers, from the country of the Maoutses, who, it is said, have never yet submitted entirely to the yoke of the Tartars; as a strong proof of which, it may be observed, that this hardy race alone, of all the population of the empire, do not conform to the national custom of wearing the long tail of hair, by the compulsory imposition of which the Tartars have so strikingly marked their conquest over the southern inhabitants of the empire. Many of these men were taken, wounded, from the pile in the suburb, and attended by our surgeons in the military hospitals. Their appearance and habits seemed ferocious and uncivilized, and the style of their features showed a marked difference from that stamped upon the faces of the Chinese, having low, receding foreheads, broad, flat noses, and sinewy limbs, besides other physical evidences of a barbarous condition, and an active and muscular habit of body."

We pass over the brilliant affair of the heights of Segaon, the capture of Cha-pu, with the gallant defence of the Tartar troops, and the dreadful immolation of their wives and children, and accompany the fleet to the Yang-tse Kiang, or "child of the ocean." The entrance to this river, although it possesses no picturesque beauty, yet offers much in its physical and geographical aspect which is of great interest. Expanding at its mouth

into an estuary of vast extent, it pours into the sea a mighty body of turbid water, so highly charged with earthy matter as to confirm the belief expressed by some writers, that, in conjunction with the Hoang-ho, or Yellow river, it is silently but surely effecting a change in the relation of land and water on the shores of the China sea, upon a scale commensurate with the prodigious amount of deposit which is being perpetually made.

Here the town of Wu-sung was captured after a spirited affair; Shang-hai followed, and the *Nemesis* dashed sixty miles up the river, towards the important trading town of Su-chau-fu, but owing to the shallowness of the water, did not reach it. Returning, they met with some junks laden with coal, which the people described as being abundant in the neighbourhood, and it was afterwards found in plenty at Nan-king. On the 20th July, the whole British armament, consisting of 15 sailing vessels and 10 steamers of war, carrying 12,000 fighting men, anchored off the city of Chin-kiang-fu. The appearance of this portion of the Yang-tse Kiang, which includes in the landscape the two most important termini of the grand canal, the towns of Chin-kiang-fu and Kwang-chau, on either bank of the river, and the celebrated and sacred Golden island in the centre of its stream, was highly picturesque.

"The *coup-d'œil* from the heights commanded as striking a panorama as it has perhaps ever fallen to the lot of wanderers in strange lands to gaze upon, abounding in all that constitutes the picturesque in a lovely landscape, and presenting features of surpassing interest, both from their novelty and from the historical and statistical importance attached to them. Here, for the first time, we looked down upon the grand canal, and were able to note the countless off-shoots of that extraordinary and admirable channel of communication, with whose name we had so long been accustomed to associate ideas of all that is indispensable to the welfare and integrity of the vast empire, whose most remote districts it connects, as is the spine to the human body. Beside us rolled the magnificent river, whose turbid waters bore along in silence the vast mass of matter, the abraded ruins of the old world, which were to form the foundations of future continents and regions, sweeping onwards majestically through a country so rich and densely clothed with verdure, that, as it lay outspread before us like a map, the eye was unable to embrace all its beauties, so dazzling and brilliant did it appear.

"In the middle of the stream, about midway between the two embouchures of the river, we saw the picturesque rock covered with buildings, whose roofs of glazed tiles, of a bright yellow colour, combined, probably, with the former wealth of its temples, gained for it the name of the Golden isle; a mass of picturesque and ancient buildings, crowned by a tall and elegant minaret or pagoda, which made it a very

striking object in the view before us. Another island, much of the same description, situate a mile to the eastward of the town, is also beautifully wooded, and adorned by many handsome and curious temples; but the term of Silver island, which is applied to it by the Chinese, denotes their inferiority, both in value and sanctity, to those of the sister isle."

The morning of the 21st July rose upon a fearful scene of desolation: the late peaceful and flourishing city of Chin-kiang-fu was carried by storm; not even Tartar desperation could resist the determined valour of our troops, and by noon the devoted city was a spectacle of ruin; its ramparts and streets encumbered with the corpses of the slain, and the bodies of the wounded and dying. In addition to the usual horrors of war, the barbarous determination of the Mant-chu Tartars to admit of no quarter, and to massacre their wives and children, frightfully aggravated the dreadful scene presented by the interior of the city; so painful in their revolting details, as to impress with deep and lasting horror all who witnessed this happily rare example of the miseries and ferocities of war.

"When the brave Tartars at length saw that their utmost efforts were of no avail, then began the scenes of horror, and the tragedy of self-immolation, which makes one's very blood run cold to hear of. Some of the Tartars kept the doors of their houses with their very lives, while others could be seen within, deliberately cutting the throats of their women, and destroying their children, some by strangulation, and others by throwing them into wells.

"In other houses numbers of poor creatures were found dead, some by their own hands or the hands of each other, and the rest by the hands of their husbands. In one house no less than fourteen dead bodies were discovered, principally women; in others, the men began to cut their own throats the moment they saw any of our soldiers approaching; while in other instances, they rushed out furiously from some hiding place, and attacked with the sword any one who came in their way.

"It is impossible to calculate the number of victims to the barbarous practice of self-immolation and wholesale murder which met their voluntary doom. Chin-kiang-fu was a Tartar stronghold, considered by them as impregnable; they could not brook defeat or the desecration of their hearths by the tread of the unknown but thoroughly-hated barbarian; every house had its victims; and to add to the horrors of the day and the desolation of the city, the Chinese plunderers flocked in from the country in multitudes, pillaging in all directions. They even set fire to the streets in some parts, to enable them to carry on their work with less interruption in others.

"The waste and even wanton destruction of property was enormous. When more valuable objects were discovered, those of smaller value

were left in the streets; costly furs lay strewed in all directions, silks and satins lay about in such profusion that the only difficulty was to choose among them. So little had the inhabitants expected that their stronghold would fall, that valuables of all kinds, gems, and gold ornaments, and curiosities of every description, and in some instances even money, were left in the wardrobes of the best houses, at the mercy of the first comers."

The great object of the campaign of the Yang-tse Kiang had thus been accomplished. The empire was severed in two; and the utter incapacity of the government to defend its people, and to avert from them the calamities which their rulers had vainly assured them could never be carried beyond the shores of the maritime districts, had now been amply and fatally demonstrated at a spot from which, as one of the main *foci* of communication with the centre of the empire, the dangerous truth must soon radiate, and be understood and discussed in every obscure village community of its remotest provinces.

The whole fleet, however, moved to Nan-king, about forty miles higher up the river; and perhaps no single act during the whole of the war redounds more to the honour of the British service than that of conducting a fleet of nearly eighty sail, including two line-of-battle ships, without accident, 170 miles up a river till then unknown, through a hostile country, and placing them under the walls of Nan-king.

This demonstration of force was decisive. Imperial commissioners, fully authorized to treat for peace, soon made their appearance on board the flag-ship, and evinced in their negociations a spirit of fairness very much at variance with that which characterized all their previous proceedings; the preliminaries of peace were soon agreed upon, and the treaty of Nan-king was finally signed, amidst bumpers of cherry-brandy and a royal salute, on the 29th August, 1842.

It is hardly necessary to say that promotion and honours awaited all who had taken a share in bringing this war to a close; and not the least distinguished among them was the gallant commander of the *Nemesis*, Captain W. H. Hall, now of Her Majesty's yacht; and we venture to express a hope, that as soon as his rank will permit it, we may see conferred on him the same honourable title that already graces the names of those of his gallant companions in arms who were employed in the protracted and anxious services of the China war.

Our limits forbid us to touch upon the Porcelain Tower; the

Hall of Ancestors; the supposed tomb of the Mings; the avenue of colossal marble quadrupeds, reminding us of the celebrated alley of the sphinxes at Luxor; or the cast-iron pagoda, said to be 1700 years old; for all of which we must refer our readers to the illustrations of Mr. Bernard's and Lieutenant Ouchterlony's volumes; where these and many other works of art are described.

How much is it to be regretted that no naturalists were attached to this expedition. Ignorant as we are of the animals, the plants, and the minerals of China, what information on these subjects might have been acquired, even by a commonly diligent collector. The five months spent at Ning-po and in its neighbourhood, surely would have afforded an ample harvest. Whence comes all the Sycee silver? Whence the abundance of coal found at Nan-king? was there not one fossil to be picked up? Could not one specimen be found of the *Yu* stone, so conspicuous, we are told, in that world of precious trifles, with which the Chinese and Tartar ladies love to intertwine their hair? Was there no zoologist to shoot one of the beautiful Chinese orioles, or a "barred-tailed pheasant," or even a "horned pheasant," lately rendered familiar to us by the splendid representations of Mr. Gould? Did not a lantern-fly, or a gorgeous butterfly, or even a large Atlas moth, tempt any of our young midshipmen to give chase? And could they pass unheeded the yellow-blossomed Mou-tan peony, the beautiful orchideæ, including the air-plants with their long spikes of delicate and fragrant flowers, the numerous varieties of the camellia japonica, and chrysanthemum Sinese? Not bring us home one bit of the sea-weed, of which the birds make their nests, and then the Chinese their soup? or even one single root of gen-seng, were it only to recompense us for the three hundred packages of dried Chinese plants and seeds, which, in the wreck of the *Alceste*, were thrown overboard, "to make room for some linen of one of the gentlemen of Lord Amherst's embassy."

But if natural productions had no charms for our warriors, was there no one who could guess at the probable value of the books, the leaves of which our soldiers were daily in the habit of using to kindle their fires, to singe their fowls, and to light their cigars? Surely there was more than one A.M. attached to the expedition, who might have thought of the British Museum as he wandered through the libraries of Ning-po and Chin-kiang-fu. And what a gratifying trophy a well-selected assortment of Chinese curiosities, or works of art, would have been to add to

our national collection! Had any other European nations possessed such an opportunity, we fancy that Berlin, or Vienna, or Paris, or St. Petersburg, would not have been without its Chinese museum.

A few words on our future prospects.

The ports for trade secured to us by treaty, are Canton, Amoy, Fu-chau-fu, Ning-po, and Shang-hai. Canton is well known. Amoy is situated at the south-western corner of an island, at the head of a spacious bay, towards the southern part of the maritime province of Fo-kien, and opposite the island of Formosa, with which it carries on much trade. The city is extensive, and contains at least 200,000 inhabitants; it is well fortified, but commanded by the rocky island of Ko-ling-su. Its excellent sheltered harbour, with deep water up to the quays, has made it from time immemorial one of the greatest emporia of China, and one of the most important markets of Asia. Amoy is not improbably the Zai-tun of Marco Polo, the port where that excellent old Venetian traveller embarked on his return to Europe in the year 1294, and not impossibly that which Ibn Batuta visited about 1330. The Dutch in 1622 first landed here; and the English had formerly a factory in the eastern suburb of the town. It lies in latitude 24° 27′ N., and 260 miles north-east of Hong Kong.

Fu-chau-fu, in the same province, is on the northern bank of the river Min, in the neighbourhood of which are grown the best black teas; it is said to contain 300,000 inhabitants. From the enterprising character of the people, the vicinity of the tea districts, and from the constant demand for corn and timber, this port will probably prove one of the best in China for foreign commerce; but the shallowness of the river will not allow ships to approach within a few miles, we believe, of the town. It is in latitude 26° 12′ N., about 520 miles to the north-east of Hong Kong.

Ning-po, in the northern part of the province of Che-kiang, stands upon the extremity of a tongue of land at the point of junction of two branches of the Tahia or Ning-po river, on its western bank, at about 10 miles from the sea; its population is estimated at 300,000, who are famed for the production of beautiful silks. From its vicinity to the island of Chusan, being at no great distance from Hang-chau-fu, the capital of the province, and only 50 miles from Cha-pu, which possesses a monopoly of the trade with Japan and Corea, it offers a fair prospect for trade. Here was formerly a British factory. Our troops found that ornamental English gilt buttons were in much demand for the dresses of the Chinese ladies; also what is called Russian cloth,

that is, cloth manufactured in England for the Russian overland trade with China. This, it is fair to presume, may now become a direct trade in our hands. Ning-po is in latitude 29° 53′ N., and 700 miles from Hong Kong.

Shang-hai, in the province of Kiang-nan, is situated on the western bank of the river Wu-sung, about 9 miles from its outlet into the great Yang-tse Kiang. It is connected, by an elaborate system of inland navigation, with all the principal cities of the province, among which is Su-chau-fu, the most important manufacturing town of the empire. It must necessarily, therefore, serve as the entrepôt of a considerable export and import trade. Its population is rated at 300,000. Shang-hai is in latitude 31° 12′ N., and about 800 miles from Hong Kong.

Thus, then, it will be seen, that these eastern ports, to which we have gained access, are the emporia of the central provinces, where all the richest productions, and all the finest manufactures, are procured; and, in return, their immense population will afford an almost unlimited market for British fabrics, hitherto obtained only at second-hand and high prices.

Hong Kong was proclaimed as a part of the British empire, and created into a separate colony, on the 26th June, 1843. It is one of the larger of a group of islands which lie scattered over the eastern part of the estuary of the Chu-kiang, about 80 miles S.S.E. of Canton, 35 to the eastward of Macao, and separated from the main land to the north by a channel varying from a quarter of a mile to 4 miles in width. Its length, from east to west, is about 8 miles, by 3 miles average breadth, having an area of about 24 square miles; a range of rugged granitic mountains extends throughout from east to west, its highest point reaching 1825 feet above the sea, intersected by deep ravines, in which is found abundance of good water.

The roadstead of Hong Kong and the Bay of Victoria, form an excellent anchorage, having deep water very near the shore; and the lake-like appearance of the harbour is beautiful. The town is built on the north side of the island, at the very foot of the mountain, and close to the sea. The wonderful progress of this settlement affords a striking instance of the public spirit shown by government, and of the energy and enterprise of the British character. In August, 1841, a few mat sheds and temporary huts were all that indicated the future site of the town of Victoria, yet by October the first house was built.

"Within one year from the completion of the first house, not only were regular streets and bazaars for the Chinese erected, but numerous large substantial warehouses were built, mostly of stone, some already

finished, and others in progress. Wharfs and jetties were constructed of the most substantial kind: the sound of the stonemason's hammer was heard in every direction, a good road was in progress, and an admirable market was established in English style, under covered sheds, and well regulated by police. The road, which was carried along the foot of the hills, extended already to a distance of nearly four miles, and at intervals substantial and even elegant buildings were erected: stone bridges were in progress, and the road was being rapidly continued over the hills at the eastern end of Victoria Bay, leading down to Tytam Bay, and the picturesque village of Chek-chau. The Chinese inhabitants seemed to fall readily into our ways and habits; their labourers and mechanics worked well and willingly for moderate pay, came over in crowds from the opposite coast to seek work, and brought abundant supplies of every description, readily submitting themselves to all our regulations. Portuguese Missionaries arrived, and built a sort of convent and a chapel; the Morrison Education Society, and the Missionary Hospital Society, commenced their buildings; more than one Missionary Society made it their head-quarters; and the Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca, was about to be removed to this more favourable spot. A small Roman Catholic chapel was nearly finished, and an American Baptist chapel had been opened for Divine service, being the first Protestant place of public worship established in Hong Kong, as there was no Church of England service performed at that time on the island."

Happily, this want has at length been remedied by the appointment of a chaplain, the Rev. Vincent Stanton, who, we believe, has been furnished by the Prayer-Book and Homily Society with the means of printing, in China, 3000 copies of the beautiful Liturgy of our Church, from Dr. Morrison's last revised edition; and 600*l.* from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. His church, however, has yet to be built; as by the latest accounts from Hong Kong, while the Roman Catholic Clergy have a finished chapel, the Church of England has only a matted shed!

As early as the year 1552, China was visited by Francisco Xavier, who twice crossed the sea from Cape Comorin to China, and even to Japan; the dying wish of the "Apostle of the Indies" was to set his foot within the limits of the Chinese Empire,—he saw it only from the island of San-chau, near the Boca Tigris, and expired. Xavier was followed by two Spanish Augustine friars in 1575, and shortly after by some Franciscans; but there is reason to believe that Christianity had spread into the Chinese Empire as early even as the 7th century. In 1579, the Jesuits, Ruggiero, Ricci, and Almeida, were well received, and allowed to settle at Nan-king. Schaal, or Scaliger, was in such favour as to be made a mandarin by Chun-chi, the first monarch

of the Tartar race; at the end of the 17th century upwards of a million of Christians are supposed to have existed within the empire, and even to this day 200,000 converts are said to remain, but much scattered.

"While lying off Shang-hai, on board the *Queen* steamer, our plenipotentiary received a visit from a Roman Catholic priest, who bears the high-sounding title of 'Archbishop of Nanking.' He is a Frenchman, and reputed for mental attainments and enthusiasm in his calling. He came under cover of the darkness, at ten o'clock at night, in the dress of a Chinaman, with a long tail, &c., and remained closeted with the plenipotentiary for a considerable time. His ordinary place of abode is Nanking; but the signs of the times had induced him to remove to the neighbourhood of Shang-hai, where there was, we understood, a large community of Christians.

"About the time of the entrance of the Yang-tse Kiang by the expedition, a number of Roman Catholic missionaries took advantage of the general confusion, and of the temporary dispersion of the mandarins, to follow in our wake, and effect a landing on the banks of the rivers, for the purpose of penetrating, in the disguise of Chinese, (being accompanied and directed by native converts, brought up in the institution of the Propaganda,) into the heart of the empire, to carry out those projects and fulfil those sacred vows, upon which their lives are so devotedly staked and so often sacrificed."

In a retired spot, on the slope of the hill of Capo di Monte, at Naples, stands the little known Collegio Cinese, where natives of China are brought up in the Christian religion, and afterwards return to their own country as missionaries. Its founder was Padre Matteo Ripa, of Eboli, a Neapolitan missionary, companion of Beato Alfonso de Liguori, who returned from China with four youths in 1721. These children, usually born of Christian parents, are smuggled out of the country, at the age of fourteen, by the missionaries, sent to Macao, and thence to Europe. On leaving the college, after eight years' education, they go to Rome to be examined; and, if approved as missionaries, the Propaganda furnishes them with the means of returning to Macao, where they again assume the Chinese dress, to enable them to penetrate into the empire. The superior of the college, a Neapolitan missionary, stated, that in general they are of moderate abilities, are patient and submissive, and excel in anything mechanical. The portraits of all those educated here, about ninety, hang round the hall. Its Chinese inmates, when we were at Naples, in 1834, were ten in number; one, a blind man, called Padre Giovanni, was one of those who returned to Europe with Sir George Staunton. The interpreters in Lord Macartney's embassy were, we believe, furnished from this college.

The first English missionary who entered China was Dr. Morrison, since so justly celebrated as a philological scholar. Leaving England in January, 1807, he arrived at Macao in September of the same year, and soon afterwards reached Canton. Finding how utterly in vain was any attempt to preach the Gospel to the Chinese without a thorough knowledge of the language, he applied himself resolutely to the task, and in less than two years he could converse freely in Chinese. After four years' residence he completed his Chinese Grammar, and in his seventh year he began to print his great work,—the Chinese and English Dictionary. This imperishable monument of his perseverance and his proficiency consists of six quarto volumes, and was completed in about eight years from the date of the first number. The entire expense of the publication, amounting to about 12,000*l.*, was defrayed, with munificent liberality, by the East India Company,—alike honourable to the patrons and the author.

But the great work to which Dr. Morrison had consecrated his life, was the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Chinese. In the sixth year he printed his translation of the entire New Testament; and in the twelfth year, by the aid of his friend and coadjutor, Dr. Milne, he brought to completion both the translation and publication of the Old Testament; thus opening the treasures of Divine revelation to more than one-third of the human race.

In the year 1818, he munificently established the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca (now transferred to Hong Kong), chiefly with a view to the final object of his mission,—the introduction of Christianity into China.

Dr. Morrison also translated our beautiful Liturgy into Chinese, and lived to revise a third edition of it, and a fourth edition is, we believe, at this moment, issuing from the press at Hong Kong.

Several other Missionaries, both from England and America, have followed in the steps of Morrison; among whom the names of Milne, Medhurst, and Gutzlaff, are the best known. Mr. Medhurst has published a Fo-kien-Chinese and English Dictionary, and Mr. Gutzlaff's "Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China," is familiar to all.

Thus, then, some of the chief difficulties in acquiring Chinese are removed, and we hope that the youth of England will not be left behind in the study of a language which is now diligently cultivated in France, Russia, and other European nations.

"A boundless field has at length been opened for missionary enterprise in this benighted empire; for, although it cannot be said that the country has been made completely accessible to the foreigner, still the hostility of the government has been materially modified.

"It rests with Christian nations to profit as Christians by the opportunities which cannot fail to offer; not of pushing themselves by forcible means into the country, not of violating the ancient social prejudices of the people, or of interfering with the laws or habits which regulate their intercourse, but of winning the gentler affections of individuals, and, through individual sympathies, of working upon the feelings and the judgment of multitudes, so that they may be made sensible of the blessings presented to them, and learn to become mutual instructors to their own countrymen.

"The most valuable of all aids to these undertakings, is that of medical knowledge, which may be considered as almost indispensable to the proper character of a missionary in China. The relief of bodily suffering softens the feelings of our nature, and paves the way for kinder influences over the mind itself. It will open the family mansion of the most secluded and prejudiced Chinese, when words or doctrines first propounded would meet an unwilling, or perhaps a hostile listener. Religious teaching and the practice of the healing art, the comfort of the suffering mind and the solace of the tortured body, must go hand in hand in effecting the good work of "opening" China.

"Why is it that other nations have taken precedence of the English in this great and glorious work? For many years an American medical missionary, Dr. Parker, has dispensed this double blessing upon the Chinese at Canton, and can testify to the gratitude of the people, from the highest to the lowest, and the readiness with which they have accepted his counsel and his teaching in both capacities. At Macao, Hong Kong, Ko-ling-su, and Chusan, other nations have alike preceded us. But it is to be hoped that this great country, though not the first to commence, will soon be the most energetic to extend the good work. England incurred a solemn duty when she extorted a peace with China; and a heavier burden was imposed upon her than the settlement of a tariff, when she demanded and exacted the concession of those privileges, of which she caused all nations to be partakers."

These are truths well deserving serious consideration; and we are of opinion, that Mr. Bernard has fairly stated the difficulties of introducing Christianity into China. But are these difficulties insurmountable? we think not. Let but our Church put forth her strength, and gird herself in earnest for the task, and with the blessing of God upon her labours she must prevail. Shall our soldiers and sailors fearlessly encounter every hardship, and risk their lives to open a communication with China, and they, whose privilege it is to carry the Gospel to the heathen, refuse to take advantage of it? we cannot believe it. Let us not deceive ourselves; it is no longer a question whether the heathen shall be left to themselves; in China, as elsewhere, our colonies are already planted in the midst of them; in the island of Hong Kong they are our fellow-subjects, and we must as a nation

exercise an untold influence over them for good or for evil. Our Church must extend itself with the extension of our empire, were it only to prevent our country from becoming a curse to the pagan world, and also to save our own countrymen, our merchants, and our garrisons, from lapsing into infidelity. To quote the sentiments, if not the words, of the eloquent author of the Bampton Lectures for 1843, it is no longer possible to hinder the Gospel from being made known among the heathen nations which border on our colonies: if the Church therefore do not take the lead in this blessed work, others, self-appointed teachers, will, and then all the evils represented above, it is to be feared, may occur. It does not fall within our province to point out how this desirable object is to be effected; but one obvious means would be, to establish chaplains, not only at Hong Kong, where, indeed, it may be hoped that we shall have several, but one at least at each of the ports with which, by our treaty, we are to trade. These ports are all in important positions, communicating with the interior of the country, and affording an excellent opportunity for acquiring some of the most useful dialects of the native language: in each of them we already have a consul; our shipping will resort to them, our merchants will settle there, and gradually a small congregation will grow up. With a people like the Chinese, the force of example has far more weight than precept; and if a steady line of Christian conduct were maintained, doubtless some natives would be found to listen, and eventually embrace the truth. In all other great kingdoms of Asia, both ancient and modern, religion has been administered by a powerful priesthood supported by the State, resting on a complicated creed, and surrounded by the pomp of superstitious rites; not so, however, in China; here we should not have to contend, as in India, with a sacerdotal caste, holding a rank and influence superior to all others; nor is the national religion, that is, the worship of Fo, or Buddhism, so interwoven with the habits of ordinary life, that it cannot be renounced without the sacrifice of every temporal good; neither do we consider that the reverence or worship paid to ancestors, or the magical incantations of Lao-tze, would prove any great obstacle to the introduction of Christianity, if its pure and simple doctrines could be clearly explained to the people in their own tongue, and enforced by examples of a consistent Christian life.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Marshall's Episcopal Polity. 2. Isenberg and Krapf's Journal. 3. Despatches of Cortes—Prescott's Mexico. 4. Cattermole's Literature of the Church of England. 5. Gillespie on the Existence of God. 6. Pridden's Australia. 7. Spain under Charles II., by Lord Mahon. 8. A Day in the Sanctuary, by Rev. R. Wilson Evans. 9. Gilbert's Liber Scholasticus. 10. Neale's Hierologus. 11. Lane's Kur-án. 12. Wright's St. Patrick's Purgatory. 13. Mill's Analysis of Pearson. 14. Biber's Position of the Anglican Church. 15. Townsend's Scriptural Communion with God—Best's Pietas Domestica. 16. Sermons, by Watson, Slade, Trower, and Hopwood. 17. Biber's Catholicity of the Anglican Church. 18. Ambrose Ward—The Distant Hills—The two Kingdoms—Truth without Prejudice—What is the Church of Christ?—Preces Selectæ—History of Jerusalem—Arabian Tales—The Strange Planet. 19. Harington on the Church of Scotland. 20. Pamphlets, &c. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

1.—*Notes on the Episcopal Polity of the Holy Catholic Church: with some Account of the Development of the Modern Religious Systems. By* THOMAS WILLIAM MARSHALL, *B.A., Curate of Swallowcliffe and Anstey, in the diocese of Salisbury.* 8vo. London: Burns.

THIS is by far the most elaborate treatise on Episcopacy which has been produced for many years. Looking at the title-page of this remarkable volume, one cannot but feel its publication as a sort of tacit reproof to many writers who have been possessed of advantages which could not have been within reach of the author of this work, in the possession of leisure, and of all the facilities for acquirement which our universities and cathedral-towns supply to the student. The work before us furnishes a most pleasing proof of what may be accomplished by men who are engaged in parochial duties; and we have to thank Mr. Marshall for a highly valuable accession to our theological literature.

The argument in vindication of the Divine institution of Episcopacy has been handled by so many writers of ability in former ages and in the present, that we could not reasonably have expected any considerable amount of novelty in the leading arguments of any new work on the subject. "Some variety of arrangement," as the writer modestly observes, "or a different selection of evidence from the same originals," which former writers so diligently explored, "this is the sum of what can now be done by those who have come after them."

But there is still one argument which appears to have been as yet undeveloped, and which lends its chief interest and value to

the publication before us; and we shall here leave Mr. Marshall to speak for himself.

"The Anglican divines of the 16th and 17th centuries might refer, as they did, in enforcing allegiance to the successors of the Apostles, to the history of earlier times, and point to the uniform progress from schism to heresy which that history records. So far they occupied the same position with ourselves. But when they went on to predict a like declension for the principles against which their own writings were directed, and to warn men, from the analogies of the past, that innovation in discipline would infallibly lead to corruption in doctrine, it is obvious that their adversaries would be in no way embarrassed in dealing with a prophecy whose force depended almost entirely upon its fulfilment. That fulfilment, once so little dreaded, it has been reserved to us to witness; and the development of the modern religious systems, though even now imperfect, is at length so far complete as to enable us to determine with accuracy their true character.

"The present condition of the various Protestant communities of Christendom,—of which the original organization was a human device, and therefore defective,—is perhaps the most extraordinary and appalling subject of contemplation to the thoughtful mind, which our own or any other age of the Church supplies. To call attention to their actual condition is the main object with which these pages have been written; and as this portion of their contents is, from the nature of the case, almost entirely novel, it may perhaps be relied upon as an adequate apology for their appearance."—p. v. vi.

The course of argument pursued by Mr. Marshall is as follows. The *à priori* objection from the indeterminateness of the sacred records, and the probabilities on the other side from prophecy and prescription, are discussed in the first instance. The positive evidence of holy Scripture, and of antiquity, including that supplied by early heretics and schismatics, is then fully examined; and this is succeeded by the testimonies of the Reformers in favour of Episcopacy, and the admissions of many of the most learned and distinguished adherents of Presbyterianism, and of other human systems of Church government. We do not remember to have seen so copious and valuable a collection of these testimonies, as that for which we are here indebted to Mr. Marshall. It amounts to a complete demonstration of what has been too much kept out of view, that the ecclesiastical system of the Foreign Reformation in general, so far as it was devoid of the Episcopal order, and of the ordinary modes of ordination, was a merely *provisional* system, arising from the necessity of the case, and only justified and justifiable as a temporary expedient. But we revert to the course of Mr. Marshall's argument, which concludes with a review of the actual history of those religious bodies which have been severed from the Apostolical Succession, and were originally founded either on a rejection of

the Episcopate, or on the supposed sufficiency of other forms of Church government to maintain and preserve the Christian faith; and deduces from their melancholy apostasy, a very convincing proof of the essential connexion between Episcopacy and the Catholic faith.

This short notice can convey but an imperfect idea of the interesting and multifarious contents of the work before us. We can only notice a very few of the points which seem to be most ably handled. The whole argument, in proof that St. James was bishop of Jerusalem (p. 31—45), is well managed, and must, we think, be deemed conclusive by every fair and unprejudiced mind. The proof that the "Angels" of the seven Churches in the Apocalypse were really bishops, is thus summed up:

"The case, then, that we may bring it to an end, seems to be as follows. The Divine messages in the Revelation are addressed to certain rulers of the Churches, under the title of 'Angels.' These angels are challenged by God as the responsible governors of their respective Churches; strict account of the condition of those Churches is demanded at their hands; to have '*tried*' and convicted pseudo-apostles is made the praise of one angel; to have '*suffered*' false teachers the reproach of another; their office *seems* to have been apostolical; the primitive Christians believed that it was so; their very title is used interchangeably with that of Apostle by St. John himself (Rev. xxi. 12); the friends of apostles, as Ignatius, write *to* them—their immediate successors, as Irenæus, write *of* them; at the very date of the Revelation we find single rulers in their chairs, and trace the succession of others in the same thrones; they hold their office for life—twenty, thirty, forty, fifty years—and they are followed by others who do the same; the catalogues in each Church are preserved from the beginning; and whilst some boast that their first bishop was the friend of St. John, others tell of his speech and mien, record his words, and 'the manner of his life;'—(vide S. Irenæi, Epist. ad Florinum;)—lastly, in accordance with this combined testimony, the holy Fathers believed and taught that these Angels were Bishops in the Church of Christ, and for fifteen ages no man had any other thought of them."—p. 92, 93.

The note on this passage may convey some notion of the care and labour which are manifest in every page of the volume. It comprises extracts from, and references to, St. Augustin. contra Donatist. Pertinac. Epist. clxii. tom. ii. p. 281; Paulinus Augustino, Epist. xxxi.; the Epistle to Alypius, Epist. xxxv.; August. contra Epist. Parmen. l. ii. c. x. t. vii. p. 10; Epiphanius, Hæres. xxv. § 3; Timothei Presbyt. Const. Orat. i.; Isidorus, citat. a Corderio; Hilarius Pictav. adv. Arian.; Basil. Epist. xci.; Dionysius Areop. Cœlest. Hierarch.; Pseudo-Ambros. in 1 Cor.; Hieronymus in 1 Cor.; Gregorius Magnus, Exposit.

Moral.; Gemma Animæ; Optatus, adv. Parmen. And it is clear that this is not mere second-hand learning; for the quotations in general have all the marks of original research and investigation; such as minuteness of citation; allusions to the attendant circumstances; knowledge of the drift of the argument, &c.

The whole subject of the Scripture use of the terms "Presbyter" and "Bishop" appears to be well treated. In reply to the objection that "St. Paul in his Epistles recognises but *two* orders of the Ministry, Bishops and Deacons," and that "those whom in one passage he calls Elders and Presbyters are denominated in another Bishops," whence it is inferred that only two orders of ministers are enumerated in the Scriptures, our author replies, that it is observable, at first sight, how exactly this reasoning coincides with that of the Arian or Socinian, who argue in some such manner as the following:—

"The Bible declares again and again that there is only one God; *therefore* there cannot be a Trinity. It no where speaks of God the Holy Ghost; therefore He is not a Person in the Godhead. Christ says, 'My Father is greater than I;' therefore Christ did not assume to be equal with God."—p. 98.

Space does not permit us to enter further on this branch of the subject, which is, however, very well managed.

In pp. 109—112 will be found a great body of evidence demonstrating the belief of the Church in all ages, that Bishops are successors of the Apostles, and that their institution is not human but Divine. This subject is again taken up (p. 195, &c.), and the testimony of the Reformers is added. The startling consequences which result from the assertion of sectaries that Episcopacy is a *corruption*, are stated in a very striking manner (p. 116—119). In p. 151, &c. we have an interesting summary of the evidence for the genuineness of the epistles of St. Ignatius. But one of the most valuable portions of this work is that which states the sentiments of the Reformers on the subject of Episcopacy. The inquiry, which is carried on at considerable length, establishes very satisfactorily the following important points: first, that the Reformers did not hesitate freely to acknowledge that their condition as separated from the Episcopate, and unable to continue the ordinary succession, was *defective;* secondly, that they admitted the value of the ordinary vocation in the Church, by *apologizing* for that which was extraordinary in their own case; thirdly, that they professed to justify their acts not as *inherently lawful*, but on the ground of *necessity*, in consequence of the corruptions and tyranny of Rome; and fourthly, that

Romanists themselves have made admissions in reference to the corruptions prevalent before the Reformation, which tend to justify the Reformers.

We extract the following passage, as illustrative of views and feelings which are widely prevalent at this time, and with which every good churchman must cordially sympathize, while he earnestly hopes that the desire for Catholic communion, which is here expressed in such forcible terms, may be in all cases combined with a remembrance of the solemn duties which connect us with the Apostolic Church of which we are members, and a resolution to maintain the great truths which she has placed before us, as a warning against superstition on the one hand, and unbelief on the other:—

"It remains to be shown, in the last place, that the line of defence adopted by the first leaders of the Calvinistic and Lutheran sects has received the only sanction of which it was capable, in the copious and humiliating confessions of the most devoted adherents to the chair of Rome. And keenly painful as it must be to Catholic sympathies to dwell, even for a moment, on such a subject, it would be an additional grief to be supposed to do so in that temper of unreasoning hostility which has so long prevailed amongst us. If the errors which we have been taught to discern in the Roman Church be such as the widest charity cannot conceal or deny; if her degenerate sons have, as we suppose, dishonoured the holy Fathers of blessed memory, profaned by irreverent definitions the 'tremendous mysteries' of our religion, and, in their zeal to expose 'the fair beauty' of the spouse of Christ, torn away the veil which screened her comeliness from common eyes: if they have substituted a particular Church of the day for the Church Catholic of all ages, and the decrees of individual Popes for the faith 'once delivered to the saints,' *we*, at least, in all this have no cause for rejoicing. Our own position, as a lonely and isolated people, is without parallel or precedent in the history of the Church of Christ. And if we are ever again to be at one with our brethren, whom no estrangement can separate from our affection, it must be by mutual confession and mutual repentance."—p. 291.

We cannot bring our remarks to a close without again directing particular attention to the concluding part of this interesting and learned volume, extending from p. 368 to p. 515, in which the decline of religion in all the religious societies which have unhappily been deprived of Episcopacy, or have withdrawn themselves from it, is portrayed in all its melancholy detail. Germany, Switzerland, France, Scotland, Holland, Belgium, Hungary, the Vaudois, England, Denmark, Prussia, Russia, and the United States, pass in review before us, disclosing in turn the unhappy condition of their sectaries. In one case

we think that Mr. Marshall has not fully estimated the strength of his position: we allude to the state of Presbyterianism in Scotland. If the Arianism and Socinianism which had made great inroads in Presbyterianism in the course of last century did not become generally prevalent, what was the cause? Obviously, it was the proximity to, and the influence of orthodoxy in the English Church which arrested the progress of this semi-infidelity in Scotland. If the doctrines of the creeds have been preserved in that portion of the empire, it has assuredly been by the indirect influence of a Catholic Episcopate. We would remark, too, that there seems to be a slight mistake (p. 403), into which the author has been led by a pamphlet of Dr. Wolff's, "on Mystical Rationalism in Germany." It is not correct, we believe, to say, that Dr. Neander, so celebrated as a writer, was designed by the King of Prussia for consecration by the English bishops. If there was any foundation for the report, it probably had reference to *another person* bearing the same name, who, we believe, already holds the rank of "bishop" at Berlin.

We have in conclusion to repeat our thanks to Mr. Marshall for his valuable and elaborate work, which cannot fail to be referred to by every one who wishes for the fullest and most accurate information on the important subject of which it treats. It may be that particular passages or sentiments here and there will not meet with the concurrence of all good Churchmen, but, on the whole, they have reason to feel most grateful for Mr. Marshall's labours.

II.—*Journals of the Rev. Messrs.* ISENBERG *and* KRAPF, *Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, detailing their proceedings in the Kingdom of Shoa, and Journeys in other parts of Abyssinia, in the years* 1839, 1840, 1841, *and* 1842. sm. 8vo. London: Seeley.

THE opposition experienced by the agents of the Church Missionary Society in Abyssinia in 1838, and which was fomented by certain members of the Roman communion in that country, appears for a time to have interposed almost insurmountable obstacles, in the way of any effort to improve and elevate the religious condition of its people. It may be apprehended, indeed, that the respectable and pious men who were employed in this arduous office by the Church Missionary Society, were not in all cases gifted with such discretion, or imbued with such principles, as were best calculated to promote the objects of their mission. It would seem from the interesting volume before us, as well as from the journal of Mr. Gobat, that there was too little con-

sideration for the excusable prejudices of the Abyssinian Christians, and, in general, a want of a conciliatory spirit in dealing with religious questions. Of the sincerity and good faith, however, which characterized the conduct of Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, their journal affords very convincing evidence. It furnishes much valuable geographical information, of which Mr. McQueen has availed himself in "a geographical memoir of Abyssinia and Southern Africa," accompanied by two maps, and prefixed to the journal.

But the most interesting part of this work is the information which it supplies with reference to the religious tenets and practices of the Monophysites, or native Christians, in Abyssinia, and to this we shall direct more particular attention. The following passage comprises the information supplied by the priest *Abba Tseddoo* to the missionaries, on the government, discipline, and usages of the Abyssinians:—

"Government.—The number of priests and deacons which are thought necessary for each church is twenty: one-third of whom have to officiate during one week, while the other two-thirds rest. There are, however, few churches at present in this kingdom which possess the full number, owing to the want of an Abuna or Bishop (the ancient constitution of the Abyssinian Church provides only one bishop for this extensive country) for the last eleven years, to ordain priests and deacons; so that there are many churches which have been shut for want of priests. During the week the priests officiate they live apart from their families. Each priest has got a number of spiritual children. In one sense, all those who are under his clerical care as penitents, to whom he administers absolution and sacrament, are his spiritual children; but more strictly the boys who go to him to be instructed, and entrust themselves to his special clerical care, are called his spiritual sons. At the commencement of their wardship, they solemnly promise that they will obey their priests, observe all the usages prescribed by the Church (and Abba Tseddoo said, the Word of God), give alms to friars, (?) to the poor, the widow, and orphan; and frequently take the Lord's Supper. In this manner they remain with the priest for several years, and then they decide whether they will marry; and if so, whether they will devote themselves to the priesthood or not, or whether they give themselves to the monastic life. If they intend to marry, the priest has to guide their choice, &c."—p. 126, 127.

It seems that discipline is in some respects maintained with great strictness. In certain cases of immorality a monk is excommunicated for *twenty* years, while a married man is excommunicated for *forty* years, and a priest loses his office and is removed into the laity.

"I asked Abba Tseddoo what was done when an excommunicated

person died before his time had expired. He answered, that in such cases the priest endeavoured to prepare the dying penitent; that if the latter really repented of his sins, the priest promised to take half the remaining time of penitence upon himself, and to work it out by fasting and prayer; and for the other half, he endeavoured to persuade him, if he possessed any property, to distribute it among the poor, the priests and monks; to order tescars-feastings to the clergy and the poor in remembrance of the dead person, for the purpose of encouraging many prayers for him, to see prayers performed, and the Lord's Supper administered in his favour; and thus the priest dismissed the dying person with the absolution; and then the latter would, after his death, arrive in the Sheol—intermediate state between hell and heaven—where he had to stay until by his alms, tescars, prayers, fastings, and communion (masses), he got to heaven. I asked him whether this discipline was really observed. He replied, very seldom; though it is still acknowledged."—p. 127, 128.

With reference to fasting, which is generally observed with great strictness in Abyssinia, and to which the utmost importance is attached, we have the following remarks:—

"He mentioned that many people did not observe the forty-days' fasting (of Lent), nor the fast of the Apostles (after Whit-Sunday, of twelve days' continuance), nor that of the Virgin's assumption (a fortnight), nor Tsoma Ledat (Advent); but he that observed no fasting at all, would not be interred in the Church's burial-ground. I asked, how it was that so many people scarcely ever fasted. He replied, that they still fasted every Wednesday and Friday; and that they were not admitted to the Communion, except they made penances for their non-observance of the Saints' fastings. An honourable burial, however, was not refused to them. I asked him, whether they would bury us, since we did not observe their fastings. He said that they would; for our Church did not prescribe fasting."—p. 131, 132.

We select with pleasure the following passages, as evincing the existence of a spirit of Christian charity and wisdom, and of indulgence for what are conceived to be the prejudices of others, which are indispensable to the success of Christian missions, and which were so fully exemplified in the conduct of the Apostles. Assuredly, he who is desirous of promoting the spiritual welfare of a people circumstanced like the Abyssinians, ought to be prepared to make some concessions on points of minor importance, in order to obtain a hearing for the essential and vital truths which he is desirous of inculcating.

"In the evening several people came to see us, and among others Tseddoo, a priest of St. George, who began speaking about fasting. He said that our doctrines and lives were blameless, only they would like us to fast, and receive with them the blessed Sacrament. We re-

plied, that we were much inclined to yield to their wish in respect to fasting, if it were not that we were grieved at seeing them aiming to be justified thereby before God. As to the Lord's Supper, I remarked, that though I wished to receive it, I could not do so, as their ecclesiastical laws excluded unmarried people from partaking of it. Besides, I had other reasons for not communicating with them."—p. 138.

What these "reasons" are, we are not informed. It is needless to say that the Missionaries acted perfectly right in refusing to *communicate* with the Abyssinians, who are Monophysites and reject the fourth œcumenical synod; but whether such consideration were likely to have had much weight with the Missionaries does not appear.

"After the priest had left me, I thought it fit to consult with brother Isenberg on this point, before he departed. First, we considered that the omission of fasting had been a continual stumbling-block in the eyes of the Abyssinians since the commencement of our mission in this country; secondly, that fasting is not sinful in itself, and hence not against the principles of the Bible, nor the Church of England; and thirdly, we referred to the example of the Apostles, particularly to that of St. Paul, who, though he strictly adhered to justification by faith, yet condescended in this respect of his own accord to the weakness of his brethren. Relying on this great example, we thought we could, with the Lord's assistance, resolve to fast, but only voluntarily and out of love to our brethren, not seeking thereby our own righteousness."—p. 138, 139.

This is real charity emancipating itself from the trammels of a somewhat narrow system of theology, which finds cause of jealousy and of terror in every attempt to inculcate Christian *duties*, under the apprehension that those who thus simply and unhesitatingly pursue the very course of the Scriptures themselves, have in view to establish their own righteousness, and to place their reliance on some system of human merit. There are innumerable traces in the volume before us of the too great influence of such a system on the minds of these pious and devoted Missionaries; and we cannot but think that their want of success in the first instance is, in some degree, attributable to the extreme views alluded to. At the same time it must in candour be admitted, that there is an absolute necessity for dwelling on the Christian doctrine of justification, in any attempt to benefit those who, like the Abyssinians, appear to place their chief reliance on formal and ritual observances.

The following statements, relative to the economy of a monastery, will be read with some interest:—

"I obtained from the Alaca (head) the following information. Each

friar (monk) receives daily one cake of bread from the common baker, who receives the meal, wood, &c., from the common stock, and a quantity of beer from the common brewhouse. . . . . The common funds are very scanty at present; so that if an individual should want more, he must provide it at his own expense. . . . . They are not allowed to prepare food, &c., in their own houses; and if any were to transgress this regulation he would be excommunicated by the Alaca. Clothes are also given from the common stock. Each monk has a share in the lands, which are, however, at present in the hands of the Gallas. . . . . A married man may live a long time on the island; but as soon as he turns monk, he must divorce his wife. . . . . The principal business of the friars is to say the prayers prescribed in their books. . . . . There may be about 100 houses, each being for a monk with a few boys [whom he educates for priests or monks]. Each house has a little garden, surrounded by a fence. The streets are very narrow; but the whole appearance of the island, which, I should think, is about 5000 feet above the level of the sea, certainly affords some of the finest scenery in Abyssinia. The climate is very agreeable, being neither too hot nor too cold. The heat is always tempered by the sea-breeze. Indeed, the island appears to be suitable for persons who wish to live a sorrowless life, which is the principal thing desired by an Abyssinian saint or monk. Were these islanders real Christians in their doctrines and lives, they would, undoubtedly, be able to contribute a great deal to the propagation of Christianity in Abyssinia and beyond it; but at present they are, in my judgment, complete hypocrites, being a proud, ignorant, beggar-like, raving, and worldly-minded people."—p. 414, 415.

With this account of the Abyssinian monks we must bring our extracts to a close; and while we are obliged in candour to say, that there are various points in which we are compelled to differ in opinion from these devoted Missionaries, we cannot dismiss the subject without avowing our respect for their zeal and their piety, and the strong interest which the narrative of their disappointments, their labours, and their sufferings has excited. At the same time, it is impossible not to express a wish that the spirit of Christian zeal, and self-devotion, and humility, had been in all cases associated and combined with more of reverence for Ecclesiastical authority and Ecclesiastical observances. Why should we not combine *Evangelical truth* with *Apostolical order?* It is only by their union that the world can be overcome.

III.—*The Despatches of* HERNANDO CORTES, *the Conqueror of Mexico, addressed to the Emperor Charles V. Written during the Conquest, and containing a Narrative of its Events. Now*

first translated from the original Spanish, with an Introduction and Notes by George Folsom. 8vo. New York.

History of th e Conquest of Mexico, with a preliminary View of the ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortes. By William H. Prescott. 3 vols. 8vo. London, Richard Bentley.

The first feeling which occurs on the perusal of the "Despatches of Hernando Cortes" is surprise, that documents of such remarkable value and interest should now, for the first time, in the nineteenth century, be translated into English. The despatches of Cortes have all the interest arising from reality, and freshness, and vividness of detail which might have been anticipated from the circumstances under which they were composed; and they are written with a sort of stateliness and gravity truly Spanish. The impressions left on our minds by the narrative of the arbitrary and violent measures exercised by the Spaniards on the almost defenceless inhabitants of South America; the seizure of Montezuma in Mexico, and the cruelties of Pizarro in Peru, are certainly most unfavourable to the religious character of the conquerors. We look on them rather as blood-stained tyrants than as zealous Christians: and yet, strange to say, the propagation of Christianity was avowed as their leading motive; and the destruction of idolatry by force, and the introduction of the Christian religion, were the invariable effects which resulted from their supremacy in arms. The submission of the whole population of South America and of Mexico to the Cross is not to be attributed so much to the persuasions of missionaries as to the prowess of the Spanish conquerors; nor does it seem that religious conquests thus brought about furnish any very decisive proofs of the peculiar efficacy, or spirituality, or health of the system of religion which was thus propagated, as compared with the slower progress of the missions of other religious systems. It is very justly stated in Mr. Folsom's introduction, that every reader must be struck by the *religious* feeling every where displayed in these despatches, "which gives to his (Cortes') expedition quite as much the air of a crusade against infidel pagans," as of an attempt to enlarge the dominions of the Emperor Charles V. The sincerity of Cortes in these professions is attested by the boldness with which he attacked and subverted the idolatrous rites of the Mexicans. "He never temporized with the superstitions of the natives, and the conquest effected as complete a revolution in the religious as the civil institutions of the country. The result was, that the whole population of the country were

brought nominally, at least, into the Christian fold. Peter of Ghent, a priest, writing from Mexico in 1529, states, that another priest and himself had baptized more than 200,000 persons in the province of Mexico, and often eight, ten, or fourteen thousand in a day." (Introduct. p. 3.)

It would be impossible for us to follow Cortes through all the interesting details of conquests which have more of the marvellous and almost the supernatural than is to be found in any other part of history. There is, however, one curious passage, which we are tempted to extract, because it shows the opinions in regard to the condition of the clergy of the Roman communion, at the period of the Reformation, which were entertained by zealous adherents of that Church.

"Every time I have written to your Sacred Majesty, I have mentioned to your Highness the disposition that exists in some of the nations of those parts to embrace our holy Catholic faith and become Christians; and I have begged your Imperial Majesty to direct that religious persons of good life and example be provided . . . . By the deputies, Antonio de Quinones and Alonso Davila, the councils of the towns of New Spain and myself did send to supplicate your Majesty to supply bishops and other prelates for the administration of the offices of the Church and divine worship, and such was the view I then entertained of the course best to be pursued; but having well considered this matter, the plan I would recommend is, that a number of religious persons (or priests), as I have already mentioned, zealous for the conversion of this people, should come out, for whom houses and monasteries should be erected in the provinces wherever it may seem proper; and that tithes be assigned them to defray the expense of building their churches, and for their support . . . . for if Bishops and other prelates are sent, they will follow the custom practised by them for our sins at the present day, by disposing of the estates of the Church, and expending them in pageants and other foolish matters, and bestowing rights of inheritance on their sons or relatives. A still greater evil would result from this state of things; the natives of this country formerly had their priests, who were engaged in conducting the rites of their religion; and so strict were they in the practice of honesty and chastity, that any deviation therefrom was punished with death: now if they saw that the affairs of the Church and what related to the service of God were entrusted to canons and other dignitaries, and if they understood that these were the ministers of God, whom they beheld indulging in vicious habits and profaneness, as is the case in these days in Spain, it would lead them to undervalue our faith, and treat it with derision, and all the preaching in the world would not be able to counteract the mischief arising from this source."—p. 424—426.

We must now take our leave of this interesting volume, with the remark that it supplies some valuable information on the

origin and uses of those extraordinary and magnificent buildings which cover so many parts of Mexico and Yucatan with their ruins, and which Mr. Stephens' delightful volumes have recently brought before us in so interesting a form.

The second work on this subject which we have to notice, is Mr. Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico, and we can have no hesitation in saying that it is calculated fully to sustain the reputation which its distinguished author has acquired. Mr. Prescott has selected a subject of the highest interest, and he has applied himself to its details, and to the development of all the attendant circumstances, with a mind so richly stored with knowledge, and with a pen so skilled in historical composition, that the volumes now before us cannot fail to rank amongst our most popular and standard historical works. The despatches of Cortes, above noticed, are in one respect defective: the *first* despatch, comprising all the earlier history of the expedition, appears not to have been printed; or at least no trace of it is found either in print or manuscript in Spain or in Germany. This deficiency is supplied in some degree by the Introductory Essay which Mr. Folsom has prefixed to his Edition of the despatches; but Mr. Prescott has given a much fuller and more elaborate view of all the preparatory circumstances, including a view of the climate and products, the Primitive races, and the empire of the Aztecs in Mexico; with all that can be collected relative to their Sovereigns, Nobility, Laws, Military Institutions, Mythology, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Ancient History. An account of the early life of Cortes precedes the history of his expedition to Mexico, and the narrative is continued to the close of his eventful career. Mr. Prescott remarks in his Preface, that there is some degree of hazard in prolonging the narrative beyond the actual conquest of Mexico, lest the interest which has been so powerfully excited by witnessing so great a catastrophe may flag in tracing the subsequent fortunes of an individual; but the character and achievements of Cortes are so remarkable, that there seems very little risk of wearying the most fastidious reader by conducting to its conclusion the narrative of his life. There is a very interesting disquisition, at the conclusion of Mr. Prescott's work, on the connexion between the ancient population of America and that of Eastern Asia, in which many remarkable affinities are pointed out; but the whole inquiry is conducted with a sobriety, and a freedom from mere love of theory, which are deserving of every praise. It is almost superfluous to add, that Mr. Prescott has collected materials from all quarters for his work. The archives of Madrid, of Seville, and of Mexico, and the collections of Count Camaldoli at Naples, of the Duke of

Serradifalco in Sicily, and of the Duke of Monteleone, the present representative of Cortes, have all contributed to enrich the pages of this valuable work.

IV.—*The Literature of the Church of England indicated in Selections from the Writings of Eminent Divines; with Memoirs of their Lives, and Historical Sketches of the Times in which they lived. By the* Rev. Richard Cattermole, *B.D.* 2 vols. 8vo. London: J. W. Parker: 1844.

The object of this work, as stated in the preface, is to stimulate and to guide the reviving interest in the writings of our eminent English theologians, by placing before the reader characteristic specimens of their works; and it is intended for the use of young persons, whether designed for the sacred profession or not, and of intelligent persons, of more advanced years, who have not hitherto given attention to our theological literature. We can safely recommend this publication to both of these classes of readers. The selections appear to be from unexceptionable sources: they furnish specimens of the writings of all our best theologians, and are arranged under chronological periods, each of which is introduced by an historical sketch. There is also a short account of each writer prefixed to the selections from his writings. On the whole, we think that these biographical and historical sketches reflect considerable credit on their writer. The tone of moderation and good feeling in which they are composed, is very pleasing; and it seems to us, that the opinions expressed are in general correct, and moderate, and consistent with Catholic principles. We would especially refer to the characters of Chillingworth (vol. i. p. 353), and Tillotson (vol. ii. p. 271), in which the defective views of those eminent men are very fairly pointed out. On the other hand, Mr. Cattermole is of opinion that the great writers of the seventeenth century attached too much weight to the authority of the Fathers,—a position in which we do not feel disposed to agree with him.

V.—*The Necessary Existence of God. By* William Gillespie. 8vo. Edinburgh: Philalethean Publication Office: 1843.

This volume is, it appears, "issued by the Philalethean Society, *for peaceably repressing Infidelity:*" a society, of the existence of which we were not aware, and which we are concerned to be obliged to suppose necessary in Scotland. It has been a common fault with those writers who have argued in proof of the being and attributes of God on abstract and metaphysical principles, to

commence their labours by endeavouring to demonstrate the *unsoundness* of all modes of proof except those which they themselves have adopted. This is a most rash and inexcusable mode of proceeding; and it has contributed to excite a prejudice against all *à priori* arguments on this subject. If men are really desirous to retain their brethren in the faith, or to convert them from unbelief, they will be most careful not voluntarily to instil doubts into any mind, or unnecessarily to shake principles which may possibly be well-founded, and which may be especially adapted to the capacity of large classes of men. We, therefore, cannot approve of Mr. Gillespie's work, which commences with a discovery of the defects in all *à posteriori* arguments founded on evidences of design, &c., and thence proceeds to demolish the systems of Locke, Samuel Clarke, Lowman, and Bishop Hamilton. That all good arguments may be liable to exceptions, Mr. Gillespie must himself be aware, as the work before us includes a reply to "a *refutation*" of his *own* argument, by Antitheos; while the "Presbyterian Review," "United Secession Magazine," &c., are also at issue with Mr. Gillespie, who indulges in such flowers of rhetoric as the following:—"The Reviewer *sticks at no dishonesty however gross.* The most *shameful* misquotations are never *boggled at*," &c. Mr. Gillespie is, however, perfectly satisfied that his argument "*à priori*" is, "in very deed, an *irrefragable demonstration!*"

VI.—*Australia, its History and Present Condition; containing an Account of the Bush, and of the Colonies, with their respective Inhabitants. By the* Rev. W. Pridden, *M.A.* London: Burns.

The design of the author of this interesting little volume is, while describing one of our most important colonies, in which the two extremes of savage and civilized life are exhibited in contrast to each other, to call public attention to the evils arising from the absence of moral restraint and religious instruction in our colonies. The work is compiled chiefly from the Travels of Captain Grey, Sir Thomas Mitchell, Captain Sturt, and Mr. Oxley; and from the publications of Lang, Montgomery Martin, Judge Burton, and other authentic sources; and it includes a great mass of very useful and entertaining information on the history, population, manners, customs, and religious condition of Australia and Tasmania.

VII.—*Spain under Charles the Second; or, Extracts from the Correspondence of the Hon. Alexander Stanhope, British Minister*

at Madrid. 1690—1699. *(Second Edition.)* *By* Lord Mahon. London: Murray.

Diplomatic correspondence, however valuable to the historian and the politician, is not usually of such a nature as to attract the interest of the general reader, or to obtain extensive circulation. But the amusing volume now before us has very little indeed of that character which we should expect to find in such a publication. It abounds in anecdote, and graphic details of manners and society at the Spanish Court; while at the same time it supplies an appropriate introduction to the history of a most important era in modern times,—the War of Succession to the Spanish throne. Mr. Stanhope's correspondence throws light on all the intrigues which preceded this war, and on the corruptions and misrule which had reduced the Spanish nation to its lowest state of decline. At the conclusion of this edition there is an interesting letter, describing the state of the Moorish antiquities at Grenada, together with some correspondence descriptive of events in the War of Succession.

viii.—*A Day in the Sanctuary: with an Introductory Treatise on Hymnology. By the* Rev. Robert Wilson Evans, *B.D.* 24mo. London: Rivingtons.

The Church is under so many obligations to the author of "the Rectory of Valehead" for the touching and beautiful pictures of a religious family which that exquisite volume portrays, that it can scarcely be necessary for us to draw attention to the interesting little work mentioned at the head of this article. "The Day in the Sanctuary" consists of 96 hymns, adapted respectively to the morning, the noon-day, and the evening; but the reader must not suppose that these hymns are in the ordinary form of metre and rhyme: they are composed on the system of *parallelism*, which we find exemplified in the Psalms, and in inspired poetry generally. This system is advocated by Mr. Evans in the Treatise on Hymnology, at the commencement of his book, as the only mode of poetical composition which is adapted to the use of the Christian Church; and he points out with great force all the objections which present themselves to the use of metrical hymns. His remarks on this point are amply deserving of attention; and they will have one good effect at least,—in inducing men to pause before they express regret that our Reformers did not retain the ancient metrical hymns in our Ritual; or before they seek to re-appropriate those hymns. We think that many of the hymns in this volume have caught no small portion of the spirit of the Psalms.

IX.—*The Parents' School and College Guide; or, Liber Scholasticus. By* RICHARD GILBERT. *(Second Edition.)* Sm. 8vo. London: Rivingtons.

"AN account of all the Fellowships, Scholarships, and Exhibitions at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, and Dublin, by whom founded, and whether open or restricted to particular places and persons: also of such Colleges, Public Schools, endowed Grammar Schools, chartered Companies of the City of London, Corporate Bodies, Trustees, &c., as have University privileges attached to them or in their patronage; with the Ecclesiastical patronage of the Universities, Colleges, Companies, Corporate Bodies, &c.," is a work which only requires to be known in order to obtain an extensive circulation. Mr. Gilbert has evidently bestowed great labour in collecting his materials; and in this second edition of his useful compilation he has received assistance from the heads of houses in the universities, and from the principals of many of the colleges and schools.

X.—*Hierologus; or, the Church Tourists. By the* REV. J. M. NEALE. 12mo. London: Burns.

THERE are so many indications in this work of abilities and attainments which might, if well directed, have been of much service to the Church, that we cannot but lament the tone and the principles which pervade it. Mr. Neale speaks of the middle ages in contradistinction to our own, as "*Catholic* times:" our ancient parish churches were "reared by *Catholic* hands;" (pp. 4, 5,) the meaning apparently being, that the *Reformed* Church is no longer Catholic. The revival of Church principles in England was, it appears, the subject of a *revelation*:—A hermit of great sanctity in Spain, in the time of Henry VIII., was "favoured with a vision" concerning the future fortunes of the English Church, and Mr. Neale gravely traces its fulfilment in the events of the present day. It would be a laborious task to cite all the instances of indiscretion, flippancy, and error, in this volume; but the following lines may suffice to show the author's principles:—

"Oh, the good old times of England! Ere in her evil day,
From their holy faith and their ancient rites her people fell away ...
And when the soul was fled from earth, the Church could yet do more,
For the chaunting priests came slow in front, and the Cross went on before;
And o'er the poor man's pall they bade the sacred banner wave,
To teach her sons that Holy Church hath victory o'er the grave.

"But times and things are altered now . . .
No gentle Nun with her comfort sweet, no Friar standeth nigh,
With ghostly strength and holy love to close the poor man's eye . . .
We mourn not for our abbey-lands; e'en pass they as they may!
But we mourn because the tyrant found a richer spoil than they:
He cast away, as a thing defiled, the remembrance of the just;
And the relics of our martyrs he scattered to the dust;
Yet two, at least, in their holy shrines, escaped the spoiler's hand,
And S. Cuthbert and S. Edward might alone redeem a land.

"England of saints! . . . .
Again shall long processions sweep through Lincoln's minster pile;
Again shall banner, cross, and cope gleam through the incensed aisle;
And the faithful dead shall claim their part in the Church's thoughtful prayer,
And the daily sacrifice to God be duly offered there."

We must pause here. We certainly feel disposed to agree with Mr. Newman, in his last volume of sermons, that there is danger in some quarters of substituting a mere taste for the æsthetics of religion for all that constitutes its essence and reality. We should rejoice to see the whole system of the English Church (even in mere external matters) fully carried into effect; but there are far more important things than banners, crosses, copes, &c.; and we more than doubt the *lawfulness* of agitating such questions when the public mind is wholly unfitted for them, and when their introduction (especially if regarded as prominent points in a religious system) is calculated to impede the progress of really vital and essential truth.

XI.—*Selections from the Kur-án, commonly called in England the Koran. By* Edward William Lane. 8vo. London: Madden, and Co.

The qualifications of Mr. Lane, as an Arabic scholar, have been fully established by his "Translation of the Thousand and One Nights," and his work on "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians." The work now before us consists of selections from the Koran on all the most interesting and important points of religious dogma and history. The version has been executed by Mr. Lane, and carefully compared with that of Sale, and with the Arabic commentaries of the Jeláleyn. The introduction, taken from Sale's "Preliminary Discourse," with corrections and additions, comprises a very copious and complete history of the rise and progress of Mahomedanism, including a life of its founder. On the whole, this work seems very well calculated to supply authentic information to all who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the principal features of Islamism.

XII.—*St. Patrick's Purgatory; an Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, current during the middle ages. By* THOMAS WRIGHT, *M.A., F.A.S.* 12mo. London: J. R. Smith.

IT is on all accounts most desirable that the opinions and practices of the middle ages should be fully understood in the present day, when men seem disposed, by a not unnatural reaction, to regard only the merits and the virtues of those ages, and to keep out of view their defects. Mr. Wright's publication is valuable as furnishing evidence of the nature of the popular religion under the mediæval system. He has treated the legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, not controversially, but simply as forming a curious chapter in mediæval literature. The results of his labours, however, are well worthy of attention in a theological point of view; while the antiquarian, and even the general reader will find interest and amusement in his pages. The following remarks in the preface are of considerable importance and weight, as testifying to circumstances of which Mr. Wright may be considered a competent witness.

"By the researches and observations which I have made myself, I am satisfied, that crime and vice were infinitely more prevalent and in their worst forms, during the ages of papal supremacy, than at any other period of history, if we except, perhaps, the most degenerate period of the Roman Cæsars. I can add, both from my own observations, and from those of a friend who has passed much of his life in examining the judicial records of the English local courts, that the amount of crime diminished in our own country constantly, from the Reformation to the end of the reign of Elizabeth; that it appears to have risen again very suddenly under James I. and Charles I.; that it began to diminish quickly again under the Commonwealth; and that in spite of the immorality in the higher classes after the Restoration, the general morality of the people has been continually improving down to the present time."—*Preface*, p. vi.

These facts are of great value, and we should be glad to see them established on ample and unexceptionable evidence.

XIII.—*An Analysis of the Exposition of the Creed by Bishop Pearson. By* W. H. MILL, *D.D., Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.* 8vo. Cambridge: Deightons.

THEOLOGICAL students, who are reading Bishop Pearson's inestimable work on the Creed, will derive much assistance from the masterly analysis which Dr. Mill has lately republished in this country. Originally designed for the use of students in Bishop's College, Calcutta, over which the respected author formerly presided, it comprises some valuable matter in reference to the

peculiar forms of Pagan theology prevalent in India; and it will therefore be found peculiarly adapted for the use of those who may be destined to take part in the Christian missions established in that vast region of idolatry.

XIV.—*The position of the Anglican Church, and the Work that is before her: being a collection of Occasional Sermons on the more important topics of the day. By the* REV. G. E. BIBER, *LL.D.* London: Rivingtons.

THE discourses comprised in this volume are on the following interesting subjects:—The worship of God, as a duty and a privilege — The present crisis of the Church — The ministerial office, and the duty of common prayer—Christian Education; its right foundation; its necessity for the safety of the Church; the sin of neglecting it—The doctrine of reserve—The doctrine of the Holy Eucharist—The best mode of opposing tendencies to Romanism — Catholic Communion. Dr. Biber's style is forcible and eloquent, and his sermons possess a peculiar character of freshness and reality, written as they are, with direct reference to the circumstances and feelings of those to whom they are addressed. Their frankness and sincerity are quite apparent: Dr. Biber has adopted perhaps the best mode of meeting the difficulties in which sound Churchmen are so often placed, by the fullest and most unreserved statements of his views; and while there are particular subjects, such as that of "Reserve," and Dr. Pusey's "Sermon on the Eucharist," in which his views are not likely to be acceptable to some of the authors of the Tracts for the Times, there is much, very much, to be found in his volume which every good Churchman must warmly approve. The second sermon on the Holy Eucharist appears to us to comprise a very admirable exposition of this important subject: the first is of a more controversial character.

We subjoin an extract which will furnish a fair specimen of Dr. Biber's style. In allusion to the prevalent want of devotion and Christian love he remarks:—

"This being the true cause of the dangers by which we are encompassed, there can be little doubt as to the remedies which must be applied, if from those dangers we are, by God's blessing, to be delivered. We must return to a more fervent love of God and of the brethren; we must cultivate in ourselves, and in one another, holy devotion and godly union.....If you are afraid, as justly you may be, of the advances of Popery; if you are desirous of making head against them, you must, brethren, surrender that selfishness, that coldness, that pride of heart, which unhappily alienates those who call themselves fellow-members of Christ's body, both from one another and from Christ their common Head; you must bring to bear upon your-

selves that holy discipline by which love is kindled, devotion inflamed, and union promoted, according to Christ's appointment...If we were but willing, brethren, to fill up in good earnest the outline of a life of piety and charity which our Church presents to us; if we were diligent in the daily offering of our praises and prayers unto God in the public congregation, in the house of his common worship; if we were frequent and devout partakers of the holy mysteries of Christ's most blessed body and blood...we should have no need to live in fear of Popery, of its wiles and its abominations."—pp. 219, 220.

With these sound and truly Christian views we most entirely concur.

xv.—1. *Scriptural Communion with God, or the Holy Bible arranged in Historical and Chronological order, &c. By the Rev.* George Townsend, *M.A., Canon of Durham. Parts I. and II.* 8vo. London: Rivingtons.
2. *Pietas Domestica, &c. By the Hon. and Rev.* Samuel Best, *M.A.* 12mo. London: Cleaver.

The object of Mr. Townsend's work is to assist parents and heads of families in communicating Scriptural knowledge to their children and servants, and to supply materials for family-worship. With this view the books of Holy Scripture are divided into sections of a moderate length, each of which is preceded by an exposition or address, and followed by a prayer. Copious historical and exegetical notes are added. So far as we have been able to examine the contents, we have been most favourably impressed: and we feel perfectly safe in recommending the work as a valuable help to those for whom it is more immediately designed, and as a useful commentary to the student of divinity.

Mr. Best's "Pietas Domestica" is also designed to facilitate the practice of family worship. It comprises prayers for every day in the week, selected from our Ritual; a calendar of short lessons for daily worship throughout the year; and very short discourses on all the services appointed by the Ritual for Sundays and Holy-days. The brevity of these discourses, combined with much simplicity and devotion, and a truly reverential feeling towards the Church, will, we doubt not, make them as extensively popular as they ought to be.

xvi.—1. *Sermons on Doctrine, Discipline, and Practice. By the Rev.* Alexander Watson, *M.A.* 8vo. London: Rivingtons.
2. *Plain Parochial Sermons. By the Rev.* James Slade, *M.A.* vol. v. 12mo. London: Rivingtons.
3. *Israel delivered out of Egypt, &c. By the Rev.* W. J. Trower, *M.A.* 8vo. London: Rivingtons.

4. *Elisha's Staff in the hand of Gehazi, and other Sermons. By the Rev.* Henry Hopwood. 12mo. London: Hatchards.

Mr. Watson's sermons are written in a tone of cordial and dutiful affection to the English Church, which, in times like those in which we live, is more than ever valuable. They display an integrity, an honesty, a firmness in the maintenance of catholic truth, and catholic discipline, "through evil report and good report," which is truly refreshing. Mr. Watson holds his course firmly between tendencies to Romanism on the one hand, and tendencies to Puritanism on the other: his standards are the Prayer-Book, and the other formularies of the Anglo-Catholic Church; and in the excellent volume before us, he has applied himself to establish the faith of her members in the principal doctrines of the Gospel, and to guide them amidst the controversies of the present times. We extract the following passage:—

"There is now a fearful error abroad, confounding the restoration of those who, after Baptism, have fallen into sin, with the new birth which first unites us to Christ. In fact, Regeneration is made to mean any thing and every thing but what the Scriptures and the Church define it; and then, with this creature of their own imaginings before them, men deny the plain words of Scripture, and the concurrent teaching of all professing Christians for fifteen hundred years, and say that there is not remission of sins in Baptism: that the atonement is not then applied: that we do not then put on Christ. Beware, my brethren, of looking for the new birth in ecstasies and fervours. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit.' To tell which way the breeze is setting, whence its current comes, we must see or feel its action. In its sound it gives no indication of its course. But if it impel us in one direction, and retard us in another, then we can determine somewhat about it. If we see it filling the full-set sails, and carrying the ship which hoists them quickly into the desired haven, then we speak with some confidence of its whence and whither. And so Regeneration is not to be known nor understood save by the holiness and devotedness of life, which indicate that the work which the Holy Spirit has begun, is being carried on by his gracious co-operation to perfection."—pp. 29, 30.

The twenty-four sermons which this volume comprises, are on the principal doctrines and duties of Christians: on the Church, Public Service, the Sacraments, &c.

The fifth volume of Mr. Slade's "plain parochial Sermons," comprises twenty-six discourses, which seem to be well adapted for country congregations. They are earnest and practical.

Mr. Trower's work consists of a series of discourses on the first fifteen chapters of the book of Exodus, forming a plain

commentary, and designed chiefly for the purpose of family instruction.

Several of the sermons in Mr. Hopwood's little volume have been preached before members of the Royal family. Their tone is generally very pleasing; and they abound in allusions and quotations which evince the author's familiarity with the writings of some of our best poets.

xvii.—*The Catholicity of the Anglican Church vindicated, and the alleged Catholicity of the Roman Church disproved. By the Rev.* G. E. Biber, *LL.D.* 8vo. London: Rivingtons.

We are glad to see collected in this form the valuable series of Letters which Dr. Biber published on occasion of the temporary lapse of a clergyman from the Anglo-Catholic communion. Every true member of the Church must feel very grateful for the ability and learning which have been, in this most excellent work, put forth in her vindication.

xviii.—1. *Ambrose Ward, or the Dissenter reclaimed.* London: Cleaver.
2. *The Distant Hills.* London: Rivingtons.
3. *The Two Kingdoms.* London: Seeley.
4. *Truth without Prejudice.* London: Rivingtons.
5. *What is the Church of Christ?* London: Rivingtons.
6. *Preces Selectæ.* London: Rivingtons.
7. *History of Jerusalem, from the German. By* Sophia Taylor. London: Wertheim.
8. *Select Tales from the Arabian and other sources.* London: Burns.
9. *The Strange Planet, and other Stories.* London: Hatchards.

The several publications of which we have transcribed the titles are designed chiefly for the perusal of young persons, and we have therefore included them in the same notice. "Ambrose Ward" is an interesting and well written tale, tracing the process by which a young man of abilities, who had been perverted by the evil spirit of Dissent and Radicalism, is brought to the communion of the Church. Much sound and wholesome instruction is conveyed in this unpretending volume. "The Distant Hills" can need no commendation from us: all who have perused "The Shadow of the Cross" will be desirous to renew the pleasure which they have derived from that exquisite allegory. "The Two Kingdoms" is also an allegory, but written on principles which we cannot approve in all respects; for instance, the

entrance to the kingdom of Christ on earth is represented as something quite different from baptism. "Truth without Prejudice" comprises practical, spiritual, and doctrinal instructions, which are well fitted for general perusal by young and imperfectly educated persons. It is free from controversy, and is written in a charitable and pious spirit. "What is the Church?" is also a useful manual, pointing out more especially the moral and religious duties of Churchmen, and well calculated to promote sobriety of devotion in times of religious excitement. The "Preces Selectæ" are for the use of Harrow School, and consist of prayers partly selected from the Ritual and partly from other sources, applicable to the circumstances of the young persons for whom it is designed. The selection seems to have been made with much judgment; and we wish all success to this attempt for the spiritual welfare of one of the most interesting classes in the community. "The History of Jerusalem" is translated from the German of the Rev. C. T. Ball, "Member of the Rhenish Protestant Church," and is a digest of the information supplied by the works of Von Raumer, Schubert, Robinson, &c., in reference to the modern state of Jerusalem, with accounts of its ancient history. Its merits scarcely extend further than piety and good intention. The "Select Tales from the Arabian," &c., supply a desideratum—a purified edition of the "Arabian Nights'," and they deserve to be extensively popular. "The Strange Planet," &c., is a collection of allegorical tales, in which the chief truths and lessons of Revelation are conveyed in a mode which is most calculated to excite the interest of children. Its doctrines seem in general to be unobjectionable; and it is illustrated by neat woodcuts.

XIX.—*Brief Notes on the Church of Scotland, from* 1555 *to* 1842, *&c. By* E. C. HARINGTON, *Incumbent of St. David's, Exeter.* 8vo. Exeter: Hannaford. London: Rivingtons.

IN the space of little more than 100 pages, the author of this work has stated all the leading events of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland since the Reformation; referred in proof to all the most authentic sources of information; shown the invalidity of Presbyterian ordinations; and furnished accurate details of the constitution of Presbyterianism in Scotland. We have seldom seen so great a mass of information so well condensed.

XX.—PAMPHLETS, DETACHED SERMONS, PERIODICALS, &c.

MR. FORSYTH, of the Inner Temple, has published a Pamphlet on "The Law relating to Simony, with a view to its revision" (Hatchards); the object being "to remove *unnecessary restric-*

tions, and relieve certain transactions from the undeserved odium which attaches to them as simoniacal." We should certainly rejoice to see a revision of the law, but not in the way of *relaxing* any of the few remaining impediments against an abominable traffic in sacred things.—We have to thank Mr. J. W. White, of Doctors' Commons, for a reprint of a translation of Cardinal Otho's Constitutions, with Notes (Rivingtons), which formerly appeared in the British Magazine by desire of its lamented and revered editor, Hugh James Rose.—"A Letter to the Editor of the Times, on the Cause of the Poor," by Mr. G. J. Vincent (Cadell), is a vigorous attack on the New Poor Law, as inconsistent with the principles of religion and morality.—We have derived much pleasure from the perusal of "A Paper on Monuments," by the Rev. J. Armstrong, of Exeter. The bad taste so often manifested in our sepulchral memorials is criticized with equal justice and wit in this clever and amusing paper.—The Rev. W. J. Hall, of London, and the Rev. A. Watson, of Cheltenham, have published detached Sermons; the former "on the Character of Miriam" (Wix); the latter entitled, "Reverence for Forms not Formalism" (Rivingtons). Both Sermons have been published "by request." Mr. Watson's Sermon is able and interesting.—Whatever differences of opinion may have existed in the Church on some of the views or suggestions of the Cambridge Camden Society, there can be no doubt that its labours have been eminently successful in reviving attention to the important topics of Ecclesiastical Architecture, and the decorous celebration of Divine Service. To this revival, the "Ecclesiologist," of which Nos. XXIX. and XXX. are now before us, has much contributed. These numbers are full of interest for all students of Ecclesiastical Architecture.

We have seen with satisfaction several numbers of a useful little publication, entitled, "The Churchman's Monthly Companion," by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, which is adapted for circulation amongst young persons and the lower classes; and to which we wish all success.—We have much pleasure in recommending "Cleaver's Companion for Churchmen, a Calendar containing the Lessons," &c., as a convenient manual for those who are desirous of obeying the directions of the Church.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

We have to announce that a new edition of Mr. Dansey's learned and most valuable work, the "Horæ Decanicæ Rurales," is preparing for publication. This edition will be enriched by additional matter in reference to the Churches of Ireland and Scotland.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AMERICA.

Romish Missions in North America.—A letter from Madeira mentions the arrival of two French priests, Chassé and Vabret, on their passage to the diocese of Vincennes, in the state of Indiana, where, it is stated, (Roman) Catholicism is making rapid progress; the number of churches having increased, within the last eight years, from two to sixty-seven. The Protestant college at Vincennes had been purchased, and converted into a Romish seminary. Attached to this mission is a congregation of Sisters of Providence, who have an establishment for the instruction of American young women in the Roman Catholic faith at Sainte-Marie-des-Bois.

The Jesuits in South America.—The legislatures of New Granada and of Guatemala have opened those countries to the Jesuits, who are flocking there in great numbers. Eighteen Spanish Jesuits embarked, in January last, at Havre, for the state of New Granada. In North America likewise, and especially in the United States, the number of Jesuits is said to be very great.

AUSTRALIA.

State of the Diocese.—The Bishop of Australia gives a melancholy account of the state of his diocese, in which all efforts for the promotion of religious objects have been paralysed by the pecuniary embarrassments of the colony. New churches in progress of erection have necessarily been abandoned to the dilapidating effects of the weather. The Bishop was to embark, on the 15th of September last, at Port Philip, for Melbourne and Geelong, on a visitation to that part of his diocese.

New Churches.—A stone church, with a parsonage, is about to be erected at Penwortham, Stanley county, South Australia, and a wooden church, ten miles to the north, on the Hutt River. The erection of a church is also in contemplation at the Vasse, in Western Australia.

Missionary Operations.—Four clergymen are at this time engaged in the mission beyond the boundaries, viz. at Portland, Maneroo, Clarence River, and Moreton Bay.

Romish Movements.—A Roman Catholic cathedral has been erected at Sydney, on ground given by Wm. Davis, Esq., of Churchhill.

AUSTRIA.

Censorship.—It is rumoured that new and severe measures are about to be taken against the liberty of the press, not only by a stricter censorship over works printed within the Austrian states, but chiefly by

preventive regulations respecting the importation of works printed in other countries.

Died, Dec. 28, 1843, at Vienna, Prince *Colloredo*, Grand Master of the Imperial Household.

BARBADOS.

The Bishop of Barbados and the titular Bishop of Olympus.—The Vicar-Apostolic of the Romish missions in the West Indies, Daniel Macdonald, Bishop of Olympus *in partibus*, has published a tirade upon the Anglican Church, in the shape of a letter to Dr. Parry, the newly appointed Bishop of Barbados. The occasion of it were some passages reflecting neither uncharitably nor unjustly on the character of the Romish Church, contained in a Visitation Report of the Bishop to the Propagation Society, extracts from which were printed in the "Trinidad Standard." The Vicar-Apostolic, wroth at the intimation that the instruction of the Romish clergy might be "more scriptural," exclaims: "What is 'scriptural?' It is, and has long been, a nose of wax, fitting every face, from the turbulent enthusiast of Munster, to the fanatical rioter at Canterbury; and from Oliver Cromwell to Joanna Southcott; and from the Commonwealth to tea and tract societies; and from the murderers of Mary and Charles to the peace-loving followers of William Penn." Of the Church of England he thus speaks: "That body, for which the Catholics of England—though long sitting by the waters of bitterness, and the desolation of their ancient altars—must ever feel regard, for it has not allowed all to be utterly destroyed, but has conserved some of the best monuments of ancient faith,—that high-born, and learned, and affluent body—the Church of England—what has it become? I say it in deep-felt sadness, and not in heartless exultation: what is it, but a 'form of Christianity,' wasted by 'scriptural' atrophy, and fast vanishing from among men?" The Bishop of Barbados has replied, in the "Trinidad Standard," in temperate and courteous language, vindicating the right of a Catholic Bishop of the English Church to speak of Popery as of "a form of Christianity deeply imbued with foreign predilections, and sadly debased with numerous superstitions,"—that being the sentence which had most particularly provoked the ire of the titular of Olympus.

BELGIUM.

Deaf and Dumb School at Bruges.—An exceedingly interesting account of the Deaf and Dumb School at Bruges is contained in *Görres' Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland.* It enters with great minuteness into the course pursued by the head of the institution, *Abbé Carton*, in the instruction of a blind, deaf, and dumb girl, and of the manner in which he surmounted the complicated difficulties which her case presented.

Church of the Jesuits.—The Bishop of Ghent has consecrated a new church belonging to the Jesuits in that city.

CANADA.

Church Societies.—A Church Society has been formed in the diocese of Montreal; and the Bishop has addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity, in which, after stating that since his appointment, less than six years ago, the number of clergy has been fully doubled, almost wholly at the expense of the Church at home, he declares it "impossible to suppose that the diocese can go on for ever in this dependent condition, adding burden to burden, year after year, without limit, to those already undertaken by its generous friends on the other side of the Atlantic." He therefore calls upon the people of his diocese to make vigorous efforts for themselves.

The report of the Church Society in the diocese of Toronto presents a gratifying picture of the liberality of the colonists in making permanent provision for their clergy. Still the spiritual wants of the population are but most inadequately provided for. Out of 324 townships, embracing on an average an area of 60,000 to 70,000 acres each, there are but eighty which have a resident pastor.

Romish Missions.—Mgr. Provencher, Bishop of Juliopolis *in partibus*, and Vicar Apostolic of St. Boniface, Upper Canada, is absent on a visit to Europe, connected with the affairs of the mission under his charge. This mission is the farthest to the North of all the Romish missions in America, upwards of 800 leagues beyond Quebec. Missionaries have been dispatched from it across the Rocky Mountains into the Oregon territory, on the shores of the Pacific.

The Jesuits.—On Sunday, the 14th of January, being the feast of the holy Name of Jesus, the *Veni Creator* was chaunted in the Romish cathedral of Montreal, to inaugurate the establishment of the order of Jesuits in that city. About twenty of the order have already arrived in Canada. The Noviciate of Montreal is to be placed under the direction of the two Jesuit priests, Luiset and Martin.

DENMARK.

Punishment of Anabaptists.—Three Anabaptists have been prosecuted, and sentenced to pecuniary fines, for holding illegal religious meetings, and administering the Sacraments.

EGYPT.

Copy of the Rosetta Stone.—A copy of the celebrated Rosetta Stone has been discovered at Meroe, by Dr. Lepsius, who is engaged, by order of the king of Prussia, in antiquarian researches throughout Egypt, whence he is to proceed to Syria. The hieroglyphic and hieratic parts of the inscription on the Meroe Stone being remarkably perfect, great light will be thrown, in confirmation of Dr. Young's surmise of the trilingual character of the Rosetta Stone, upon the subject of ancient Egyptian writing.

Romish Missions.—The French Lazarists have obtained from Mehemet Ali a large grant of land and of building materials, for the erection of a college.

FRANCE.

The Education Question.—A question has arisen between the Church and the University, the termination of which it is impossible to anticipate. The indifferentism to which the government of France is constitutionally pledged, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the rationalistic and infidel tendency of that philosophy, which has laid hold of the mind of "*la jeune France*," and is superseding by its tinsel and flattery the sterling truth and wholesome discipline of genuine wisdom, furnishes the Clergy and the Jesuits with the most forcible arguments against committing the rising generations of the Church to the influence of a state education, conducted professedly and expressly on the principle of indifference to all religious creeds. But while thus an unanswerable case is made out against the state and its educational organ, the University, the gross superstitions, the arrogant pretensions, the wily intrigues of the Jesuit party, supply the state with arguments no less powerful against the proposal to entrust the nurture of the national mind and character to a body of men whose evident object is to darken and to enslave that mind, and so to make it subservient to the worst of purposes. It would be quite as clearly wrong to hand over the control of public education to the Romish Church, which is practically the Church of the nation, as it would be to retain it in the hands which at present wield it. The same cause which was at the root of all the horrors of the revolution,—the want of truth and holiness in either of the two systems which divided then, as they do now, the minds of the French people, seems to present an insurmountable obstacle to the only healing measure, from which a national regeneration can be expected, the sound and religious training up of the rising generations. And where it is all to end, who shall tell?

Meanwhile, the controversy is most actively carried on. The minister of public instruction, M. Villemain, introduced his "*projet de loi sur l'Instruction secondaire*," on the 2nd of February in the Chamber of Peers, by an elaborate *exposé* of the views on which it is founded, going deeply into the constitutional history of the relations between Church and State, as affecting this question. Before that *projet* becomes the law of France, the two Chambers will be converted into an arena for a conflict no less hot than that which the contending parties have for some time been carrying on in the field of literature. The press teems with books and pamphlets; the periodicals are filled with letters and articles on this momentous question; and that from the pens of the chief men of the land. Among the names which appear in the lists, we find the Count de Montalembert, the Archbishops of Paris and of Toulouse, the Bishops of Chartres, Langres, Limoges, Perpignan, and many others of lesser note. Royalty itself is almost

drawn into the controversy. The Archbishop of Paris and four of his suffragans having addressed a memorial to the king on this question, and published it in the papers, the Minister of Justice has replied in the *Moniteur*, strongly condemning the memorial and its publication.

Some of the combatants have gone far enough to subject themselves and their productions to the interference of the law. Two pamphlets, one by the Abbé Montonnet, the other by the Abbé Combalot, a popular preacher, who displayed Rachel's lamentation for her children on his title-page, have been seized by the police, and proceedings instituted against the authors. The latter has been condemned to fifteen days' imprisonment, and a fine of 4000 francs.

While the main battle is being fought in the legislative assemblies and in the field of literature, occasional skirmishes take place in different localities when an opportunity occurs. Thus the Bishop of Rennes has withdrawn the Chaplain from the Royal College of that city, on the ground that no attention was paid to his remonstrances against the infidel teaching of Mr. Zévort, the professor of philosophy. At Poitiers, the Protestants complain that the authorities, from an undue leaning to the Romish party, have extruded the Protestant Chaplain from the Royal College, who was anxious to continue his services even gratuitously.

The spirit by which the Romish party is animated, may be judged of by the following circumstance:—The *Revue des Ecoles*, published at Périgueux, contains, in the official part of the journal, a letter from the Inspector of Schools in the department of Dordogne, to the teachers of schools in that department, stating that he has been informed by the (Roman) clergy of the introduction of Bibles and Gospels into the schools, which, he says, "contain precepts opposed to the true religion." The letter directs the immediate removal of "those dangerous books" from the schools; and intimates that the inspector, accompanied by the priest of the parish, intends forthwith to visit every school, when all such books, if still found in it, will be burnt. The only books which the inspector will allow to be used in any of the schools, are—1, the Catechism of the diocese; 2, a reading book of moral tendency; 3, an arithmetic book. The whole question will, no doubt, be referred to the Minister of Public Instruction.

Liberty of Worship.—Another question, which will occupy the attention of the French Chambers, is the extent of toleration to be allowed to the Protestant bodies. Many of the Protestant congregations are petitioning the legislature for an unlimited liberty of worship for sects of every creed, while others only wish for a removal of certain restrictions to which the regularly recognised Protestant Churches are subjected in places where the number of Protestants is insufficient to support a stated ministry. The Consistory of Nîmes has incurred the displeasure of the extreme liberal party, by advocating the more limited measure in a circular, in which it proceeds upon the principle, that the consistories alone have a right to authorise the holding of Protestant religious assemblies.

Missions to China.—A charitable institution has been formed under the name "*Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance;*" which has for its object to redeem pagan children in idolatrous countries, especially in China, for the purpose of educating them in the Roman Catholic faith. It is to be supported mainly by the contributions of young persons, and has received the countenance of several of the French Bishops. The Père Lacordaire thus alluded to it in his farewell discourse at Notre Dame: "You know that long lost people at the other end of the world, ruled over by a system of human mechanism which is indeed exceedingly ancient, and founded on great learning, yet for all that it has not prevented that people from being the only people in the world to whom the term 'a silly people' is justly applicable. You perceive at once that I am speaking of China. Well! in this land of China, brimful as it is of the purely human civilization of the mandarin system, there exists a crying and standing crime against infancy, which bears witness to the whole world, that the word of man alone rules over that country. There is a hope now of our being able to diminish the extent of this crime committed by force against extreme feebleness, since an heretical nation, which, however, affords hopes of a return to the unity of the Church, has opened to us the gates of that distant empire. The Christian van-guard seems to have penetrated thither, and to be preparing there events concurrent with God's work among the European nations. As soon as the first flashes of this new light appeared, an illustrious prelate, [the Bishop of Nancy,] one to whom Catholic France is deeply indebted, and who, I may venture to say, is one of my oldest friends among the French clergy, established a charity intended for the redemption and baptism of the outcast children of China: he gave it the name 'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance,' because of Christian children he asked aid and protection for their little Chinese brethren. I recommend this charity to you, in order that hereafter, when China shall be Christian and civilized, it may be remembered, that from the pulpits of France voices were raised on behalf of a species of misfortune which seemed so foreign to us; and that it was the little children of France who, with their pence, redeemed both the present and future life of so many victims. Industry will hereafter introduce its railroads into China; we shall have outstripped it by the introduction of Christian love." —The steam frigate *L'Archimède*, bound for China, in the service of the French embassy, takes out fifteen Roman Catholic missionaries, to whom the government has given a free passage to that country.

Parochial Statistics.—The Bishop of Nevers has published, under date of December 7th, 1843, a circular explanatory of his mandate of the 15th of September last, on the sacrament of penance and on reserved cases. In this circular the Bishop invites the curates of his diocese to keep parochial registers, containing the history of their respective parishes as far back as possible, and furnishes them with a tabular form of statement on a variety of points on which they are to collect information, the result of which will be a complete body of ecclesiastical statistics. A similar order, embracing within its scope

architectural researches, has been published by the Archbishop of Rheims.

Ecclesiastical Archæology.—The Historical Committee of Arts and Sciences at Paris has determined, on the proposition of M. *Auguste Leprévost*, to collect all the information respecting ecclesiastical ornaments of which it is possessed, in a work to be illustrated by designs.

Restoration of an ancient Church.—One of the oldest and most celebrated churches in the neighbourhood of Paris, that of Aubervilliers-les-Vertus, is about to be restored. It suffered greatly during the siege of Paris in 1815, being repeatedly taken and re-taken by the contending forces.

Modern Miracles.—A subscription has been opened, under the patronage of the Bishop of Saint Dié, for the enlargement of the parish church of Mathincourt, which contains the tomb of *P. Fourrier*, who was priest of this parish in the early part of the seventeenth century. He was a stout opponent of the Protestant doctrines, and founded, with the approbation of Paul V., for the instruction of the youth of both sexes, a congregation of regular canons, and a congregation of nuns, called *de Notre Dame*. He died in the odour of sanctity, December 9, 1640, and was beatified, August 30, 1732. Since the centenary of his beatification, several miraculous cures are said to have been wrought at his tomb, and by his intercession. The church is overflowing with pilgrims; which is assigned as the reason for its intended enlargement, with a view, it seems, to its being placed under the patronage of P. Fourrier, in the event of a decree for his canonization being obtained on the evidence of the miracles before mentioned.

St. Bernard.—A subscription has been opened at Dijon for the erection of a monument to St. Bernard. It is to consist of a chapel containing the statue of the Saint.

Mariolatry.—As a specimen of the gross Mariolatry of the Roman Church in France, we copy the titles of two works of the *P. D'Argentan*, of which a new edition is just announced, as they stand in the advertisement side by side: *Les Grandeurs de Dieu*, in 3 vols. 12mo; *Les Grandeurs de la très-Sainte Vierge Marie Mère de Dieu*, in 3 vols. 12mo.

Proselytism.—The Bishop of La Rochelle has, during a late visit to Rome, obtained two grants of plenary indulgence for the members of an association formed in his diocese for the conversion of heretics.

The Bishop of Luçon has published a pastoral letter on behalf of the association of "the most holy and afflicted heart of Mary," the objects of which he states to be to convert sinners, to reclaim heretics and schismatics, to preserve the faith in France, and to propagate it abroad, and lastly, to procure relief for the most forlorn souls in purgatory. The altar of the Chapel of the association is privileged in perpetuity, and numerous and precious relics of all the holy patrons of the association have been presented to it by the sovereign Pontiff.

Abduction of a Neophyte.—A young girl, of twelve years old, has been

abducted at Montredon, in Languedoc, for the purpose, as appears by a letter since received from her, of being received into the Roman Church. Her parents had placed her at a Roman Catholic school, whence she has been carried off, it is supposed, to a neighbouring convent. The authorities, who were immediately appealed to, seem to have obstructed, rather than promoted, the discovery of the child's retreat.

Protestant Infirmaries. — Protestant infirmaries have been established, in connexion with the Protestant congregations, at Paris, Nîmes, Montpellier, Marseilles, and Avignon. The proselyting attempts of the Roman Catholic clergy and the sisters of charity, and the obstructions thrown in the way of the Protestant ministers in visiting the sick of their communion, have given rise to these establishments, which will serve at the same time as training schools for Protestant deaconesses.

Père Lacordaire.—The Père Lacordaire has been engaged, during the Advent season, in delivering a series of eloquent discourses on Catholicism, to crowded audiences, at the cathedral of Notre Dame. The Archbishop of Paris, with several other prelates and dignitaries, were constantly in attendance. He has since proceeded to Grenoble for a similar purpose.

The Marriage Contract.—The Archbishop of Cambrai has published a pastoral instruction on the dignity of the Sacrament of Matrimony, in opposition to the notion which represents marriage as a purely civil contract.

Institution for Female Servants.—The Ursuline convent in the rue Chanoinesse offers an asylum to female servants out of place. During the time they remain there, they are instructed as well as provided for; and a kind of supervision is exercised over them even after they have obtained situations.

Spiritual Destitution.—The new Bishop of Angoulême, Mgr. Régnier, in a *mandement*, published December 10th, 1843, on behalf of the diocesan seminaries for the education of young men for the ministry, complains of the destitute condition of his diocese, in which, it is stated, there are 79 parishes and 154 communal districts without a resident priest.

Protestant Missions.—A weekly penny subscription has been set on foot in some of the French Protestant churches, the produce of which is to be divided equally between the "Société des Missions Evangéliques" and the "Société Evangélique de France." The account of the Paris collections shows a progressive increase from quarter to quarter, and a sum total of 2793 *fcs.* for the nine months during which the plan has been in operation.

Bible Societies.—The report of the French and Foreign Bible Society states the number of copies of the Holy Scriptures annually distributed in France by different Bible Societies, at 180,000; the greater part of which are not given away, but sold.

Greek Manuscripts. — M. Minoïde Mynas, who is engaged on a literary mission in the East, for the purpose of searching for unpublished Greek manuscripts of an interesting character, and preparing a catalogue of them, has made a report of his proceedings to the Minister of Public Instruction, under whose directions he is acting.

Antiquities of Paris.—The General Council of the Département de la Seine, has determined to have a complete edition published of all ancient works, memoirs, manuscripts, registers, and collections, which have reference to the history, the manners, the customs, and habits of the city of Paris, including Boyleau's celebrated *livre des metiers.*

Compulsory Attendance on Roman Catholic Worship.—By a decision of the Court of Cassation of the 3d of February, the National Guards are compelled, without reference to their creed, to escort processions.

Observance of the Lord's Day. — The public notaries at Nîmes, Montpellier, and Uzès, have determined to close their offices on Sundays and on all Holydays recognised by the concordate.

Surveillance over Female Teachers.—The female teachers belonging to the class of "*institutrices primaires*" are, by a recent order of the Minister of Public Instruction, subjected to the same regulation as the male teachers, which forbids their changing their residence without an *exeat* from the rector of the academy.

Arabs from Algiers.—The Governor-General of Algiers has sent three young Arabs to Paris, to be educated there at his expense.

Casimir Delavigne.—The widow of Casimir Delavigne has been provided for by two pensions of 1500 francs each from the funds of the *Beaux-arts*, and the *Encouragemens littéraires;* and an exhibition at the College of Henry IV. has been bestowed upon her son. Mr. Vatout is to succeed Mr. Delavigne as librarian at Fontainebleau.

Resignation of a Bishop.—Mgr. Claudon de Trélissac, Bishop of Montauban, has resigned the charge of his diocese, on account of old age, and increasing infirmities.

Appointments.—Mr. *Amédeé de Damas*, son of the former minister of foreign affairs, Baron de Damas, who has recently been ordained subdeacon by the Bishop of Avignon, is to proceed on the Indian mission.—The *Abbé de la Bouillerie*, honorary canon of Paris, has been appointed vicar-general of Paris by the archbishop, and charged with the superintendence of all the charities in the diocese.

Died.—Oct. 27, 1843, at Cosnac, near Brives, aged 79, *Mons. de Cosnac*, Archbishop of Sens.

GERMANY.

Romanism and Protestantism.—While the Gustavus Adolphus association for the defence of Protestantism is receiving increased support, both from the governments and the people, an association for the maintenance of Roman Catholic interests is being organised on the banks of the Rhine.

Conversion of a Protestant minister to Rome.—Dr. Karl Hua, lately Protestant minister of Gröningen in Wurtemberg, publicly abjured the Protestant faith in the cathedral of Augsburg, on Sunday, the 4th of February.

Indulgences.—A papal letter of indulgence, published in Bavaria with the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities, and with the approbation of the Rector Magnificus and the Dean of the theological faculty at Munich, which is to be found in the prayer-books of the Roman Catholics of Bavaria, contains, among others, the following: "Whoever shall reverently say, 'Praise be to Jesus Christ!' obtains an indulgence of 500 days, and on his deathbed perfect absolution; whoever bows at the name of Jesus or Mary, an indulgence of 20 days; whoever devoutly says an Ave Maria, 60 days; whoever devoutly hears a mass, or causes it to be read, 3800 years; whoever says five Paternosters and five Ave Marias in honour of Christ's passion, and as many in honour of Mary the sorrowful Mother, 10,000 years." To make this arithmetic of absolution intelligible, it is added, that "all the indulgences obtained in this life benefit the soul in the next life," and that "in purgatory souls suffer in one instant as much pain as a man might suffer in one thousand years,—yea, as much as all the martyrs together did suffer;" but that "the faithful are enabled, during their lifetime, to quench these horrible pains by indulgences."

Censorship.—The circulating libraries, or book clubs, in Hanover, have been subjected to new censorship regulations. The French journal *Le Siècle* has been prohibited in Saxony.

Appointments.—Lic. *Karl Wieseler*, author of a chronological synopsis of the four Gospels, has been appointed professor extraordinary of theology in the University of Göttingen.—Dr. *Fried. Lücke*, professor of theology at Göttingen, has been raised to the dignity of Abbot of Bursfelde.—Dr. *F. A. Staudenmaier*, (R.C.) professor of theology in the University of Freiburg (Breisgau), has been preferred to a canonry in the Cathedral of the Archiepiscopal see of Freiburg.

Died.—Nov. 20, 1843, at Stuttgart, aged 71, Dr. *K. C. Von Flatt*, Lutheran General Superintendent and Prelate. He was formerly professor of theology at Tübingen, and author of several theological works,—one of the pillars of the old school of Lutheran orthodoxy.

The Evangelic Church Question.—The *Kirchliche Vierteljahrsschrift* contains an essay by Pastor *E. F. Dannhauer*, in which he reviews the whole question of ecclesiastical discipline in the Protestant Churches of Germany, and arrives at the conclusion, that, to carry out the principles of the Reformation, and especially those of Luther himself, consistently, all ecclesiastical discipline must be abolished.

Several works have recently appeared on the subject of the Evangelic Union, among which we notice the following:—The Union of the German Churches, by *K. F. Gaupp.*— Symbolicists and Antisymbolicists, or the point at issue, by *R. Gerhard.*—The Evangelic Church, in its relations to the symbolical books and to the state, by

H. Wasserschleben.—In connexion with this subject, which has created so deep an interest in Germany, we observe that translations have been published of *Gladstone's* work—The State in its relations with the Church, by *J. Treuherz;* and of *Vinet's* Prize Essay on the liberty of religious worship, by *Volkman.* To the former, an introduction from the pen of *Dr. Tholuck* is prefixed, and both are extensively reviewed in *Tholuck's Litterarischer Anzeiger.*

HOLLAND.

Loss of historical documents by fire.—It has been ascertained that the ancient archives, containing the original journals, notes, and reports of the celebrated Dutch seamen, have been almost entirely consumed by the fire which destroyed, early in January, the residence of the Minister of Marine at the Hague.

University of Leyden.—The Rev. *M. Sandifoot* has succeeded Professor *Schrant* in the office of *Rector Magnificus* of the University of Leyden. This is the first instance which has occurred since the foundation of the University, of a Roman Catholic Priest being called to that high office.

JAMAICA.

Installation of the Bishop.—The installation of the newly-appointed Bishop of Jamaica, Dr. Aubrey Spencer, took place on Sunday, the 21st of January, at the Cathedral of Saint Catherine, Spanish Town, which was densely crowded. The Bishop preached a sermon on Ps. lxviii. 24, in which, alluding to the present divisions in the Church, he dwelt strongly on the necessity of union and brotherly love.

JERUSALEM.

State of the Mission.—Letters recently received from Bishop Alexander give an encouraging account of the state of the mission under his episcopal charge. A new room, capable of holding 150 persons, was opened for the performance of Divine worship on the Sunday before Christmas, in the place of the old one, which had become dilapidated. On the afternoon of Christmas day the Bishop baptized six converts, among whom were a Jewish doctor, his wife, and daughter. The hospital was fast advancing towards completion.

Ill-treatment of a Jew by Christians.—Private letters from Beyrout, of the 10th of January, mention an occurrence said to have taken place at Jerusalem towards the close of December. An Algerine Jew, ignorant of the prohibition which forbids Jews from passing before the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, having approached that edifice, was cruelly ill-treated by a band of Christian fanatics, and left for dead on the spot. The Pacha has, in consequence, issued an order, threatening with the severest penalties Christians who should hereafter be guilty of ill-treating Israelites.

INDIA.

The Cathedral of Calcutta.—It is expected that the Cathedral of Calcutta will be completed in about a year.

Bishop's College, Calcutta.—A sum of 1000*l.*, which has been placed at the disposal of the Bishop of Calcutta, by a private individual, for promoting the advancement of the Gospel in India, will be applied, by his Lordship, to the foundation of a lectureship on the Evidences of Christianity, for the benefit of native inquirers.

The Rev. *S. C. Malan*, late professor of Bishop's College, Calcutta, states, in a pamphlet respecting that institution, that since its foundation by Bishop Middleton, in 1824, thirty-four missionaries, including eight native Hindoos, have been educated within its walls.

Brahmin Converts.—Baboo Gopal Chunder Mittre, a Brahmin convert, has been admitted to deacon's orders by the Bishop of Calcutta; he is the first native convert entirely educated at Bishop's College.

A Brahmin convert has been baptized at Secunderabad by the Roman Catholic missionary, Mr. Egan.

Romish Missions.—In a letter dated Nov. 30, 1843, it is stated that Mr. Roger, the Romish Missionary, has established at Vellore the association of "The Immaculate Heart of Mary," to whose protection he ascribes his success in the conversion of the heathen. No less than 660 persons were enrolled as members on the Sunday when the ceremony of its institution took place. The number of baptisms, chiefly of heathen converts, is stated as being on the increase.

The Rev. *P. Moré*, rector of the College of St. Xavier, at Calcutta, died in the course of last autumn. A reinforcement of eight Italian missionaries, of the congregation *Oblati di Maria*, has arrived in India.

ITALY.

The Via Aurelia.—The ancient *Via Aurelia* from Rome to Orbitello (near the site of the ancient Cosa), and thence to the fertile plains of Tuscany, has been completely laid open. This immense work was commenced in the year 1834, and has just been finished, under the direction of Governor *Rossi*.

Literature.—*Spicilegium Romanum*, a collection of various unpublished manuscripts in the Vatican Library (8 volumes have appeared from 1839 to 1842), attributed to *Angelo Mai*, the learned editor of "Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio e Vatic. codd. Romæ 1825—1832," and "Classici Auctores e Vatic. codd. editi Romæ 1828—1838."—A short account of the manuscripts found at Herculaneum, by *Lorenzo Blanco*.

Consistory Appointments.—A secret Consistory was held at the Vatican on the 22nd of January, when Cardinal Deacon *Th. Bernetti* was created Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Church and *Sommista* (compiler or registrar) of the Apostolic letters. The following appointments were confirmed by preconization: Cardinal *Vincent Macchi*, to the united

sees of Porto, S. Rufina, and Cività Vecchia; Cardinal *Castruccio Castracane degli Antelminelli*, to the see of Palestrina; Mgr. *Fabius-Maria Asquini*, to the patriarchal see of Constantinople *in partibus;* Mgr. *Garibaldi* (formerly apostolic *nuncio* in France, and destined to go to Naples in the same capacity), to the archbishopric of Myra *in part.;* Mgr. *J. F. Cometti* (master of the apostolic ceremonies), to the archbishopric of Nicomedia *in part.;* Mgr. *A. A. Scotti*, conservator of the Royal Library at Naples, to the archbishopric of Thessalonica *in part.* Bishops were also appointed to the sees of Sinigaglia, Montefiascone and Corneto, Assisi, Caneo, Besançon, Montauban, Troyes, Lamego, Funchal, Beja, Faro, Marianne, St. Louis de Maragnan, Balem de Para, Erythræa *in part.* The following were proclaimed Cardinal Priests: Mgr. *Pascal Gizzi*, Mgr. *Cagiano de Azevedo*, and Mgr. *Clarelli Paracciani.* Another Cardinal was created, but reserved *in petto.*

The three last-named received the Cardinal's hat from the Pope at a public congregation held on the 25th of January. On the same day, a secret consistory was held, in which Mgr. *Michel Der-Asdnazadrian* was appointed to the Armenian Patriarchate of Cilicia, under the name of Gregory-Peter VIII. Appointments were also made to the metropolitan church of Sens, and the sees of Vigerano, Sandomir, Iglesias, Cava and Sarno, Séez, Sion, Comayagua, Antequera, Rodiopolis *in part.* On this occasion, the Pope went through the usual ceremony of shutting the mouths of the three new Cardinals at the commencement, and opening them again at the close of the secret congregation.

Beatification of a Provincial of the Jesuits.—The increasing influence of the Order of Jesuits is strongly attested by a papal decree of January 28, 1844, which declares that *Peter Canisius*, deceased at Freiburg in 1595, was so certainly possessed of the theological and cardinal virtues, and the virtues connected with them, in an heroical degree, that further proceedings, with a view to his canonization, *i. e.* the examination of the four miracles necessary to establish his claim to a place in the Calendar, may with safety be adopted. *Peter Canisius* was the first provincial of the Order of Jesuits in Germany, where he took an active part in the discussions respecting the Reformation. From the decree it appears, that, as early as 1625 and 1630, the Jesuits took the first steps necessary to obtain his canonization. Various delays, however, intervened; the affair was repeatedly brought forward, in 1693, 1729, and 1735; but nothing definitive was done; and the subsequent suppression of the order put an end to the further pursuit of it. In 1833, the cause was revived before the congregation of Rites, and is now, it appears, to be proceeded with till *Peter Canisius* shall have obtained his place along with his master, *S. Ignatius* of Loyola, among the saints whose intercession the Roman Church invokes.

A new Female Saint.—It is understood that it is contemplated to add a female Saint also to the calendar, in the person of *Maria Clotilda Adelaide Xavier*, Princess of France, and Queen of Sardinia; but as the canonical time of fifty years has not yet elapsed since her

decease, which took place at Naples, in 1802, the act of canonization will have to be delayed for some time yet in this case.

A niece of Napoleon a Nun.—The princess Constance, youngest daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, has taken the veil in the convent of the French nuns of the "*Sacré Cœur de Notre Dame*," on Mount Pincio. Her superiors propose to send her, on account of her distinguished talents, to Warsaw, for the purpose of founding in that city an auxiliary congregation of the order.

A Vicar Apostolic for England.—On Sunday, January 28th, the Rev. *Charles Baggs* was consecrated Bishop of Pella, *in part. inf.*, to be Vicar Apostolic of the Western district of England.

Order of Bethlehemites.—Cardinal *Castracane* has been appointed protector of the order of Bethlehemites.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Want of Clergy.—There is a great want of clergymen in full orders in this diocese, in which, consequently, the operations of our Church, in the face of an active Romish Mission, are sadly crippled.

Romish Mission.—The Report of the Romish Mission in this Island states, that when the present Bishop Fleming went out there, in 1830, the country was divided into five districts, in which seven missionaries were employed. It is now divided into fifteen districts, and the number of priests is twenty-four.

NOVA SCOTIA.

New Churches.—Twenty-one new churches were consecrated by the Bishop of Nova Scotia, between May and September of last year.

Want of Clergy.—A letter from the Bishop, of February 5, 1844, gives an account of a village named Pugwash, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where a Church has been provided by the inhabitants, though there is not a clergyman to be found within forty miles of it, and the ministration of the word and sacraments among them is accordingly confined to occasional visits from the clergy of the nearest stations.

New Brunswick.—The governor of New Brunswick complains of the difficulty of obtaining clergymen for several parishes, in which the Church congregation has in consequence been dispersed. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities concur in urging the establishment of the proposed Bishopric ; the contributions for which, in this country, appear to have fallen short of the expectations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Windsor College.—The number of divinity students at Windsor College has again increased. The withdrawal of the annual government grant for scholarships had reduced the college to a low ebb ; but the timely aid of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has, for the present, restored its efficiency.

PRUSSIA.

Protestant Cathedral at Berlin.—A new cathedral, in the Italian style, after designs executed by Mr. Stieler, in accordance with the suggestions of the king himself, is about to be erected at Berlin, at an estimated expense of thirty-eight millions of florins.

Censorship.—In a *recess* of the provincial diet of the kingdom of Prussia, it is stated that the wish of the States for the establishment of the freedom of the press cannot be granted, on the ground of its being contrary to the laws of the German confederation.

University Regulations.—In consequence of a proposition submitted by the minister of Public Instruction to the University for their opinion, the object of which appears to be to put a more effectual check upon the attendance of the students at the University lectures, an alarm has been created, as if the "freedom of thought," the "liberty to hear and to teach," was in jeopardy.

Disciples of Hermes.—The coadjutor of Cologne, Herr Von Geissel, has suspended two of the priests of the diocese, Achterfeld and Braun, on the ground of their being tainted with the doctrines of Hermes. They had made their submission, but their sincerity being doubted, they have been interdicted from the exercise of all their sacerdotal functions, except the reading of low mass.

Roman Catholicism at Munster.—The King of Prussia has made a grant for the payment of a Roman Catholic priest, to be appointed by the Bishop of Munster, as chaplain to the Roman Catholic troops stationed in that city. The Church of the Gymnasium has been given up temporarily for the use of the new chaplain, whose installation was celebrated with great pomp, the governor of the province, Baron Plüel, being present with his staff on the occasion.

Projected Nunnery at Berlin.—A deputation from the institute of deaconesses at Kaiserswerth, in Westphalia, is to found a similar establishment at Berlin, for the visitation of the sick poor of the Roman faith.

RUSSIA.

The Roman Church in Poland and Lithuania.—The Russian government is taking measures for the confiscation of all Church property belonging to the Roman Catholic establishments in Poland and Lithuania. The clergy are to be paid henceforward by the state, the proposed salaries varying, in five classes, from 230 to 600 roubles (38*l.* to 100*l.*). This new arrangement is to take effect from the 1st of May next. In many rural districts, it is said, the result will be to deprive the Roman Catholics altogether of their present opportunities of public worship.

The Jews in Lithuania.—An imperial ukase has been received in Lithuania, directing the local authorities to transport all the Jews resident in that province to a distance of twelve leagues from their present places of residence. The number of families affected by this order is

estimated at 30,000. The time originally allowed for its execution was not much more than a month, notwithstanding the inclemency of a Polish winter. A new ukase has, however, since appeared, at the instance, it is said, of the king of Prussia and the grand duke Michael, which greatly mitigates the hardship of the measure. The time allowed for effecting the removal has been extended, according to circumstances, to three or four years; and a remission of taxes, for the space of five years, is announced as a sort of compensation.

Russian College Discipline.—Five young men of the Russian nobility, pupils in the military school at St. Petersburg, have been sentenced, by the emperor in person, to serve as common soldiers in the Caucasian army, after receiving a bastonade of fifty blows; their offence being, that they turned one of the masters of the school, a general officer, into ridicule.

SPAIN.

Reconciliation with Rome.—By an order of January 19th, 1844, the Spanish government has permitted the Archbishops of Seville and Santiago, who had been placed under surveillance at Madrid since February, 1836, to return to their dioceses. A farther order of February 6th, recals from exile the Archbishop of Tarragona, and the bishops of Pampeluna, Calahorra, and Valencia, all of whom are invited to return to the government of their dioceses. The only bishops still remaining in exile are the bishops of Cuba, Leon, Barbastro, and Orihuela. These measures are spoken of in a high tone of congratulation by the *Castellano*, which anticipates the speedy restoration of a good understanding between the Spanish government and the court of Rome. In furtherance of this object, it is said that the Queen will address an autograph letter to the Pope, in conformity with the ancient practice of her predecessors, on the "Catholic" throne of Spain.

SWEDEN.

Church Statistics.—There are in Sweden twelve dioceses under the metropolitan government of the Archbishop of Upsala; they are, besides the diocese of the metropolitan, the ancient bishoprics of *Skara*, *Wexiö*, *Linköping*, *Westeräs*, *Strengnäs*, and *Lund;* to which have been added, since the Reformation, the sees of *Gothland* or *Wisby*, *Carlstad*, *Calmar*, *Götheborg*, and *Hernösand*. These were originally districts under the care of superintendents, but were subsequently erected into bishoprics, and the office of superintendent altogether abolished. The twelve dioceses are subdivided into 171 districts, over each of which one of the beneficed clergy belonging to it is appointed by the Bishop, as *Kontrakts Prost*, an office answering to our rural deans. The number of parishes is 1222; two clergymen are generally appointed to every benefice, of whom one, the superior or rector, has the title *Kyrkoherde*, and the other, whose appointment is also for life, is called *Comminister*.

SWITZERLAND.

Appointments.—By the death of Mgr. *Bossi*, late Bishop of Coire, that see has passed into the hands of Mgr. *Gaspar Karl von Hohenbalken*, who was appointed coadjutor of the late bishop in 1842.—Professor *De Preux*, of the Jesuit college at Sion, has been appointed to the bishopric of that see.

Hospice of St. Bernard.—The government of the Canton de Vaud has prohibited within its territory the annual collections for the benefit of the monastery of the great St. Bernard. The expenditure of the monastery is estimated at between 50,000 and 60,000 francs, the number of travellers entertained there at from 12,000 to 15,000, annually.

Literature.—The society established at Neufchatel for the translation of German religious writings, has published translations of *Neander's* contributions to the history of Christianity and of the Christian life, and of *Sartorius'* popular Christology.

SYRIA.

Massacre of Christians.—A letter from Beyrout, of the 3rd of December last, gives an account of a cruel massacre of the Christian inhabitants of Deir-el-Khamar, in Mount Lebanon, by the Turkish troops under the command of Kadri-Bey.

The Maronites and the Druses.—The representatives of the five powers have at length obtained from the Ottoman Porte a settlement of the questions relative to the feuds between the Druses and the Maronites. The residence of the chiefs of the two people at Deir-el-Khamar, has been dispensed with.

Foreign Correspondence.

(*From a Correspondent in France.*)

TO THE EDITOR.

Paris, February 10, 1844.

Since my return to France I have heard much of the present state of England, and of the English Church in particular. These are common topics of conversation. You are not ignorant how much national prejudices, kept alive by recent untoward circumstances, have succeeded in perverting the popular mind in France, and in misleading even the strongest and best understandings on that most important subject. The Protestants themselves are seldom just towards England, and almost never towards the Church of England. Much remains to be done in order to remove these barriers between congenial minds and souls, which ought to be allied in promoting the welfare of humanity through the diffusion and right understanding of the Word of God.

French religious publications are numerous. One of them (*Le Semeur*) is Protestant, and is conducted by a man of great merit. This periodical advocates very strongly total separation between Church and State; and its supporters have conceived extravagant expectations from the "Free Church" movement lately effected in North-Britain. In other respects the *Semeur* is upright, candid, and moderate. It exercises a decided influence upon the Parisian Protestants (from 60,000 to 80,000 in number), and has many adherents in Switzerland. Its party will, ere long, sway the church in the Canton de Vaud. On the subject of the Church of England, this periodical is far from being without prejudices. The endeavours which King Frederick William of Prussia has been making, to bring the Evangelical Church of his states to a more regular discipline, and an organization approximating to that of the English Church, are looked on by the *Semeur* with distrust, and with some degree of ill-will.

Among the (Roman) Catholic publications the *Correspondant* ranks first. The number of able and distinguished writers who contribute to this publication is truly remarkable. Nevertheless the strong tide of Ultramontanism and Jesuitism has carried it along with fearful rapidity. You may guess, by reading this journal, or, rather, review, the most moderate and enlightened of all, what the remainder may be. You may, however, incidentally, derive useful information from the *Université Catholique*, which numbers amongst its contributors some able men from Louvain and Würtzburg. They have had judgment enough to get rid of some men of *Rio's* school, whose weak understandings were bewildered amidst a strange mixture of exalted mysticism and abject superstition; but, after all, a spirit of slavish and unreasoning obedience to the behests, not of the See of Rome, but of those

assuming people who pretend to express its will, pervades the whole of this association.

The *Univers*, the *Ami de la Religion*, are open and avowed organs of the Jesuitical system: the one daring, harsh, insulting; the other more inclined to dissimulation and timid proceedings.

The true principles of the Gallican Church are not forgotten; but they are entirely without any authorized organ. Some bishops, amongst whom is the Bishop of Evreux, are staunch believers in their soundness and expediency; but amongst the inferior clergy an unbounded Ultramontanism now reigns, and combines itself with a sort of democratic bitterness. The monks are still too weak to awaken the jealousy of the secular clergy. The bishops are even willing to admit Jesuits, Benedictines, and Dominicans to a share in public instruction, if it be resigned entirely into the hands of the clergy. Unfortunately our priests are taken, almost without exception, from the lowest classes. It has always been on such persons that Ultramontanism has built its strongest foundations. Gallicanism has no other support but the stedfastness of a few prelates, a few professors of theological science, and still fewer old clergymen; the most respectable, most benevolent, but most destitute of strength amongst our whole nation. The Government has, of late, entirely overlooked these things. It has left the Gallican principles without any support. It has betrayed, and is still betraying, the trust reposed in it by the honest and enlightened members of our Church. Hence it proceeds, that while France is certainly advancing in religious zeal and practical works of charity, the light of criticism has been almost extinguished in it: learning has been lost to a fearful extent, and we seem now about to turn resolutely towards the dark ages, with the certainty of meeting in the way sóme dreadful conflict, probably some tremendous catastrophe; for Infidelity is still strong amongst us, and it is not by Superstition that it can be put ultimately to flight.

As you may perceive by this hasty, but not, I believe, overcharged sketch, England must necessarily take the lead in advancing, in the true sense of the prophetic word, the kingdom of God upon earth; in advocating strongly, rightly, efficaciously, the true Catholic principles, which shall become a bond between nations, and unite successively all civilized nations in one great family. Of the three great intellectual communities now existing in Europe, Germany is split into too many jarring systems and institutions which clash with each other. France is still paying the penalty of what she did against social order and Christian faith. The inevitable reaction of her philosophical follies is now working on her intellectual strength. She cannot give, nor even at present receive, a sound impulsion towards the "Light of life." England alone remains, with great resources of every kind, great zeal, good institutions, an admirable ability for putting in practice principles once established, and resolutions once taken. England has done much of late. She has accomplished the most truly Christian revolution ever witnessed in abolishing first the slave trade, and next slavery itself in

her dominions. England must persevere and take the lead, without regarding whether it is at first followed or not in other countries. Ere long her influence will be felt in Germany: and who does not know how much Germany may and must effect in Poland, Hungary, and even Italy? Then, for France another and an opposite reaction will follow, how soon, remains only to be conjectured: then, but not before, may the good example of England be profitable to us. We have already taken from you our best political institutions: they were at first irksome to us: in process of time they have come to fit us so well, that we would not, at any price, be divested of them. So may it be with your truly Christian, truly Catholic religious institutions! If you succeed in healing the wounds of Ireland, in carrying Christianity to the heart of your extensive Asiatic empire, in combining strong (and therefore humble) faith with the freedom of science and manly frankness of legislation, the light you will have thus placed on a sublime height must shine upon the whole world, and lead every wayfarer to the wells of salvation. You cannot expect much aid from abroad: our country must rely upon your influence, and that without any immediate prospect of repaying the advantages it is to receive.

The quarrel between the Clergy and the University is a very complicated one. We have, properly speaking, *no University*. What we call by that name is *the State* itself, in its capacity of director of the public instruction. Now, our Ultramontane party wishes to extort from the State this direction, which has been already half resigned into the hands of the clergy. They (the advocates of Ultramontanism) want to have in their exclusive keeping every means of public education; to share them between the monastic orders and the bishops, with the ultimate view of wrenching from these last, one by one, the colleges and seminaries which should, in the first instance, be placed under them. Formerly they employed much address in their mode of insinuating themselves into every one's mind, and creeping into advantageous positions: now they mean to carry every thing by open warfare. They will not, however, succeed as yet. The law, as presented by the ministry, will be carried through, and even with the addition of some clauses against *openly* impugning Gallican principles in the schools.

Nevertheless, the contest will continue; and the true question is, not whether the law will be made or no, but whether, once made, it will be put honestly and seriously into operation; *there* is the real danger; and I, for my own part, believe, that during all the remainder of the present reign the encroachments of Ultramontanism will continue, without, however, any *formal* resignation of the superintendence of public instruction into the hands of monastic congregations or even of the bishops.

The Progress of Missions.

In devoting a certain portion of this Review to information on the subject of Missions, we shall be meeting a desire which not only every true Christian must entertain, but which of late years has manifested itself with peculiar eagerness.

In doing so, however, as we propose, we shall pursue a course which may need some explanation to secure us from misapprehension. In this department of Christian duty, the service of Christians, like the whole body itself, has been broken up into separate and independent modes of action. The various branches of the Church, estranged from one another, have been ignorant of each other's operations; each of the various sects has adopted its particular scheme and field of operations, and while paying no heed to the labours of that Body from which it is separated, has itself failed to draw much attention beyond the narrow sphere of its own adherents.

Our purpose, then, is to collect and record information on all operations, whether emanating from the English or other Church, or from any of the sects, which are directed towards the extension of the Gospel; and thus, at the least, to present *facts* to our readers which it is very important that the Church should be aware of in making any efforts towards the execution of this work.

At the same time, we desire to be understood as not expressing any approval of many of the proceedings which we notice, or of the mode in which they are conducted; nor as vouching even for the accuracy of the statements which we give, and which will be extracted from such authentic sources as we have access to;—we merely present events as they are recorded, either singly or in such combination as may lead to profitable and important reflection.

In our present Number, as introductory to the subject which we purpose, on subsequent occasions, to carry out into its details, it will perhaps be desirable to take a general survey of missionary operations throughout the world; to sketch, in outline, the field of heathenism, and to give, as it were, a tabular view of the several portions of it in which labourers are engaged.

Viewed, then, in its religious aspect, the area of paganism may be distributed into three parts:—

1. The district of Mahometanism, which, commencing at Central Asia, runs down the Peninsula of India, where its adherents are intermingled with the votaries of Hindooism. Thence it stretches westward, over Asia, touching Europe, skirting the north coast of Africa, and penetrating more or less into the interior. The number of worshippers subject to its sway is reckoned at 96,000,000.

2. The great district of Buddhism, including the kindred superstitions of Hindooism and Lamaism. This occupies the whole of Eastern Asia, Indo-China, China, and runs up, through Tartary, into Russian

Europe, where Buddhists, to the number of 113,000, are said to exist. The population enslaved to this superstition may be stated at 350,000,000.

3. The district of barbarous idolatry, which comprises Africa, with the negro population of the West Indies, the South Pacific islands, and the few remaining tribes of American aborigines; and which is represented as numbering votaries to the amount of about 135,000,000.

The two latter are the main fields in which missionary labour is either actively or successfully employed. With one consent it seems admitted that the faith of the Arabian prophet presents the most formidable barrier to the progress of Christianity. May it be, that, since it was planted on the ruins of corrupt and fallen Churches, it is permitted to remain as a judgment and a warning, until some special Providence of God shall interpose to remove it, or haply use it in the advancement of the Church?

Our survey, then, will be limited to the two latter districts; and, as a convenient division, we will represent the missionary condition of the countries within each: taking, first, the fruitful field of Asia, which will include India, Indo-China, China, Tartary, and the north-eastern coast of Russian Asia. Next, our attention will be directed to Africa, the Pacific Islands, and the West Indies, together with the American races, including the northern tribes of Labrador and Greenland.

ASIA.

MISSIONS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN INDIA AND CEYLON.

INDIA.

From the time that Fr. Xavier entered India in 1542, for above 150 years India was solely occupied by Roman Catholic missions along the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, reaching from Goa to Madras. The earliest missionary efforts of Protestants were made by two Danish ministers, Ziegenbalg and Plutcho, who were sent, in 1705, by Frederic the Fourth, King of Denmark, and were stationed at Tranquebar; and, from the first, we find the Church of England aiding the missions formed by them, through the medium of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Various presents were sent to these missionaries from time to time, and in 1728 a new mission was commenced, under the auspices of this Society, by Schultze, at Fort St. George, Madras. Afterwards, and throughout a whole century, the various missionaries in this country, amongst whom was the venerable Schwartz, were assisted and encouraged by grants from the same body; until, during the present century, more decisive and independent operations were entered upon by societies connected entirely with the English Church. The missions thus formed will be treated of in their place.

The whole of India, subject to the British sway, is divided into the three episcopates of Calcutta, Madras (including Ceylon), and Bombay.

Diocese of Calcutta.—Within this diocese the chief missions are those of *Barripore* and *Kishnaghur*.

Barripore.—This mission was opened in 1833; and, two years later, strengthened by the permanent residence of the Rev. C. E. Driberg, by whom it is now administered. In 1838, the number of the baptized amounted to 131; of catechumens, to 235. In July, 1843, the baptized had increased to 627; catechumens, to 606[1]. A similar increase has of late been witnessed at the stations of *Howrah*, *Tallygunge*, and *Tamlook*, which are situated in the same district. In addition to these, a fresh mission was commenced, three years back, at *Cawnpore*, about 1000 miles in the interior. These five stations, tended by the same number of clergymen, are supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Kishnaghur.—This mission, situated about sixty miles N. E. of Calcutta, has naturally excited a great degree of interest. The circle, or district, is divided into five villages, which are tended by five missionaries. Since 1839, the period when it was first visited by the Bishop of Calcutta, natives, to the number of above 3000, have been baptized. Besides this flourishing station, seven others are occupied by missionaries maintained by the Church Missionary Society; viz. *Burdwan*, *Benares*, *Jaunpore*, *Chunar*, *Gorruckpore*, *Agra*, and *Meerut*.

Diocese of Madras.—It was in reference to this diocese that Bishop Heber remarked, that "the strength of the Christian cause in India is in these missions." Of these, the following may be noticed:—

Tanjore and Trichinopoly.—These missions owe their origin to Schwartz (the former in 1772, the latter in 1766), and have since been occupied by missionaries of the Church of England. Late reports represent the number of baptized converts in the former mission, which includes six circles of surrounding villages, as amounting to 3261.

Tinnevelly.—But certainly the most fruitful missionary field is to be found in the district of *Tinnevelly*, which occupies the south-eastern portion of the Indian Peninsula. A congregation was first gathered at *Palamcottah*, by a native catechist, named Sattianaden, who was sent thither for that purpose by Schwartz, in 1785. Subsequently, and for a series of years, Tinnevelly was visited as a branch of the Tanjore Mission, and in 1816 the number of converts was calculated at 3000. It seems that, although native ministers were set to take such care as they could of the flock thus collected, yet no European missionary resided in the district before 1820, when Mr. Rhenius, a Lutheran minister, was appointed by the Church Missionary Society to superintend the mission. Subsequently, three additional missionaries were stationed within the same district by the Society for the Propa-

[1] Since the above was written, accurate returns have been received, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from this district, by which it appears that in January, 1844, the baptized in Barripore amounted to 732. Above 100 had been added to the Church in six months.

gation of the Gospel, and seven by the Church Missionary Society. The extension of the Gospel has been most rapid and successful. This single district numbers, at the least, 24,000 converts, including the baptized and others under instruction, in connexion with the two societies above-named. Besides the Tinnevelly district, there are twenty-one other chief stations, occupied by English missionaries, supported by the same societies, in the neighbourhood of Madras and the Coleroon River.

Diocese of Bombay.—The efforts in this portion of the Indian continent have been but few; but three stations are occupied by missionaries, viz. Bombay, Nassuck (commenced in 1833), and Ahmedabad in Guzerat. Eight missionaries, however, labour in these places.

CEYLON.

This island, from various circumstances, presents one of the most hopeful fields on which missionary labour might be exerted. From the year 1650 to 1795, it remained in the hands of the Dutch; since which time it has formed a part of the British dominions. The number of Protestant Christians in the island were calculated, in 1801, at 342,000; and, again, were roughly estimated by Bishop Heber, in 1826, at 500,000. No efforts were made by missionaries, in connexion with the Church of England, towards the conversion of the natives before 1817, when four clergymen were stationed, under the direction of the Church Missionary Society, at *Colombo*, *Galle*, *Trincomalee*, and *Jaffnapatam*. The present number of stations in the island amount to seven, of which four are maintained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. They are as follows: *Calpentyn*, *Newera Ellya*, *Matura*, *Cotta*, *Kandy*, *Baddagame*, *Nellore;* and are tended by twelve missionaries. At the four latter stations, the number of natives under immediate instruction is stated to be 4300.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN INDIA, CEYLON, INDO-CHINA, CHINA, &c.

INDIA.

The Roman Catholic Missions in India are coeval with the Portuguese conquests; and have been conducted with varying success from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present time. We pass over their earlier history, and confine our account to the aspect which they now offer. Up to the year 1836, the missions of India were administered in the following way. There were two archbishoprics, viz. *Goa*, and *Cranganore;* two bishoprics, viz. *Cochin*, and *St. Thomè;* and four vicariates, viz. *Bombay*, *Verapoly*, *Pondicherry*, and *Thibet*. In consequence, however, of quarrels and dissensions which arose, chiefly with the crown of Portugal, this country was redistributed by the

present Pope, in 1838, into six vicariates, and one archbishopric. The archbishopric retained, is that of *Goa;* the vicariates are, *Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Malabar, Pondicherry,* and *Thibet.*

Vicariate Ap. of Bengal.—The bishop resides at Calcutta, and the missions within the district are tended by Jesuits. The number of missionaries of this order amounts to six, besides whom, there are four Portuguese, and three native, priests. The number of converts is reckoned at 20,000.

Vicariate Ap. of Madras.—The seat of the bishop (appointed from Ireland) is at Madras. He is aided by a coadjutor, and administers the missions in the neighbourhood through eleven priests. The number of converts is variously estimated at 20,000 and 100,000 [1].

Vicariate Ap. of Bombay.—This mission is administered by Italian Carmelites, to which order the Vicar-Apostolic and his coadjutor belong. The number of missionaries amounts to thirty-six Carmelites, with a few native priests. The Christian population is said to be considerable, perhaps 20,000.

Vicariate Ap. of Malabar, erected in 1659.—The seat of the bishop, with his coadjutor, is at Verapoly. The former is of the order of discalced Carmelites; and, together with three missionaries of the same order, and a vast number of native priests, superintends a population of 182,000 Christians. These are divided into the two rites,—the Latin, and the Syro-Chaldean. Of the Latin rite there are 83,000 members, with fifty-two native priests. Of the Syro-Chaldean rite, 99,000, with 333 priests. The history of these Syro-Chaldeans, in connexion with the synod of Diamper, will, no doubt, be in the minds of our readers.

Vicariate Ap. of Pondicherry, erected originally in 1777.—This mission is said to contain a Christian population of 230,000. Of these, 150,000, in the districts of Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly, are ministered to by thirteen priests of the order of Jesuits. The remainder, 80,000, are committed to twenty-two European, and three native priests; and the territory is under the exclusive administration of the Society of Foreign Missions.

Vicariate Ap. of Thibet.—This mission was formerly in the hands of the Jesuits. On their expulsion, it was undertaken by Italian Capuchins; and a Vicar-Apostolic of this order was appointed in 1803. The seat of the bishop is variously at Agra and at Delhi. He is assisted by a coadjutor, and twelve Capuchin missionaries, with one native priest. These have the charge of 6000 souls. Three Capuchins embarked about four years ago to preach the Gospel in the neighbouring kingdom of Lahore.

[1] The French edition of the "Annales de la propagation de la Foi," vol. xii. p. 328, states the number at 100,000. The English translation of the same work, November, 1839, No. iii. p. 145, says, "the number of Catholics in the vicariate, may amount to 20,000."

CEYLON.

This island was erected into a separate vicariate in 1836. The number of Christians in communion with Rome is reckoned at 200,000,—the whole population being 1,346,824. A Portuguese bishop, and a numerous clergy, said to amount to 100, all belonging to the oratory of Philip of Neri, superintend them, and possess 256 churches.

INDO-CHINA.

This territory consists of the kingdoms of Birmah, Siam, and Annam, which last includes Tonkin and Cochin-China.

A mission was commenced in Annam by the Jesuits in 1626. These were twice expelled; the last time in 1662. The number of converts in 1646 was estimated at above 100,000; and, thirteen years later, a Vicar-Apostolic was appointed to superintend this Church. Since that period, its history is one of almost incessant persecution, which was carried on with exceeding virulence by the late monarch of Cochin-China, Minh-Menh, and under which, some missionaries, and many natives, endured martyrdom with great constancy.

These countries are now distributed into five vicariates, viz.—1. *Eastern Tonkin;* 2. *Western Tonkin;* 3. *Cochin-China;* 4. *Siam;* 5. *Ava and Pegu,* in the Birman Empire.

Vicariate Ap. of Eastern Tonkin, erected in 1679, is administered by Spanish Dominicans. A bishop, with a coadjutor, six priests of the same order, with fifty native priests, superintend a Christian population, amounting to 160,000 souls.

Vicariate Ap. of Western Tonkin, erected in 1679.—This mission, together with that of Cochin-China, is under the direction of the Society of Foreign Missions. The bishop resides at Ke-vinh, and, together with eight French priests, and eighty native, ministers to about 100,000 members.

Vicariate Ap. of Cochin-China, is represented as containing 80,000 converts, who are presided over by a bishop, with a coadjutor, assisted by ten priests of the Society of Foreign Missions, and thirty native priests.

Vicariate Ap. of Siam, erected in 1673.—This mission comprises the greatest part of the Peninsula of Malacca, and has the bishop's residence at Singapore. It is served by twelve French priests and four native priests, and numbers 7000 Christians.

Vicariate Ap. of Ava and Pegu.—The Birman kingdom was for a long time connected with the old diocese of Meliapore, but received, in 1768, a Vicar-Apostolic from the Propaganda, by which body it is now administered. Three priests, of the order of Barnabites, are engaged in this mission, and minister to 3000 Christians. Three fresh priests were lately sent to preach to the nation of Karians, on the west coast of the Birman empire.

CHINA.

For two centuries and a half the missions of Rome have been planted throughout this imposing empire. Of their eventful history, a few leading facts can alone be here noticed. M. Rogier, a Jesuit, entered the empire in 1579, was joined by Ricci, and followed by Adam Schaal, and Verbiest, in the succeeding century. During the reign of Kang-He (1660—1722), Christianity made rapid progress, and was countenanced by the emperor; and the missions were assisted by Louis XIV. From the death of Kang-He, jealousies and persecutions arose; in 1723, the missionaries were expelled from Peking; another persecution arose in 1736, and the condition of the missions ever since has been one of conflict and suffering, alternate success and persecution. Edicts, proscribing Christianity, were passed in the years 1805, 1811, and 1815; and from time to time many missionaries and native Christians have been put to death.

At present the condition of the empire is as follows:—It is distributed into three bishoprics and six vicariates. The bishoprics are: *Macao*, *Nanking*, and *Peking;* the first administered by Portuguese Dominicans; the two latter, by the order of Lazarists, who have chiefly devoted themselves to this field of labour. The six vicariates consist of, *Tche-Kiang*, *Chan-Si*, *Hou-Quang*, *Fo-Kien*, *Su-Tchuen*, *Leao-Tong*. The first of these is tended by Lazarists; the second and third, by Italian Franciscans; the fourth, by Spanish Dominicans; the two latter, by French missionaries, in connexion with the Society of Foreign Missions.

It appears that all of these vicariates are not occupied by titular bishops, but that some are vacant, and that the missionaries have scarcely any settled residence, owing to the *surveillance* exercised over them.

The number of Lazarist missionaries in the empire was stated, in 1840, to be 54; of whom 18 were French, 6 Portuguese, and 30 natives.

The province of *Su-Tchuen* presents by far the most fruitful missionary field. It is served by a bishop, assisted by a coadjutor, 9 European and 30 native priests; and numbers 52,000 Christians.

The whole Christian population was calculated, in 1840, at 320,000[1].

Besides these vicariates, there are two others: one of *Corea*, in which country it is reported that three priests have recently been executed; and that of *Mongolia*, or *Western Tartary*, which has been very lately taken out of the vicariate of *Chan-Si*, and erected into a separate see. The seat of administration is at *Si-Wan*.

[1] In 1827, however, the number was given at 200,000.—Annales, vol. xii. p. 245.

MISSIONS OF THE GREEK CHURCH IN THE ALEOUTINE ISLANDS, AND RUSSIAN AMERICA.

Of the missionary operations of the Russian Church, but little has been made known. Yet among the natives of Northern Siberia (Yeniseisk), and among the Samoyedes, in the province of Archangel, and more especially among the natives of the Aleoutine islands and Russian America, great and successful labours have been undertaken for the propagation of Christianity, In the last-named district, the Christian faith has more or less made its way since 1743; and one of the first missionaries to Kadiak in 1793 suffered martyrdom.

The Russian Orthodox Church is now securely planted in these inhospitable regions. Within a few years, M. Veniaminoff has been appointed Bishop of Kamschatka and the Aleoutine islands; but as it is our purpose, before long, to give a sketch of this interesting mission, we shall do no more now than state the actual condition of the Church in that quarter.

There are four Churches, with their priests:—

One at *Sitcha*, established in 1806, to which the town of Ross, in California, is annexed, numbering 1230 Christians.

One at *Kadiak*, established in 1785, having 6338 Christians belonging to it.

One at *Ounalaschka*, established in 1760, with a congregation of 1751 members.

One at *Atcha*, established in 1743, with 994 Christians.

Of these 10,313 Christians, 706 are Russians, 1295 Creoles, and 1312 natives of the islands or American coast.

MISSIONS OF VARIOUS PROTESTANT SOCIETIES, IN INDIA, CEYLON, AND INDO-CHINA.

NORTHERN INDIA.

In this extensive district, the London Missionary Society, and the Baptist Missionary Society, are most largely, if not solely, engaged. The chief stations are at *Calcutta*, and along the banks of the *Ganges* and its tributary streams, as far as *Delhi*.

The London Missionary Society has stations fixed at *Calcutta*, *Chinsurah*, *Berhampore*, *Benares*, *Mirzapore*, and at *Surat*, in the presidency of *Bombay*. At these stations, nineteen English ministers are engaged, aided by eleven native teachers, and four native assistants. The number of converts is not given.

The stations occupied by the Baptists are numerous. *Calcutta* forms a centre, to which fifteen sub-stations are attached; and these are superintended by thirteen ministers, eight female assistants, and seventeen native preachers.

This society has directed its labours to India from the commencement of the present century, and confines its operations chiefly to the northern portion of India. Sixteen stations, with eight sub-stations, are fixed in the interior; the most important of which are at *Monghir*, *Agra*, *Jessore*, *Barisal*, and *Dacca*. The whole number of labourers employed in these amounts to eighteen ministers, thirteen female assistants, and twenty-five native preachers.

SOUTHERN, OR PENINSULAR INDIA.

The London Missionary Society, and that of the Wesleyans, are chiefly engaged in this portion of the Indian continent.

The former has established stations at ten places, of which the chief appear to be, *Madras*, *Vizagapatam*, *Bellary*, and *Bangalore*, on the Coromandel coast, at which twenty-five English preachers are engaged. In eight of these stations the number of those reckoned as Church-members is 352.

But the principal efforts of this society are directed to the province of *Travancore*, in which four stations are fixed, viz., *Nagercoil*, *Neyoor*, *Quilon*, and *Trevandrum*. Of these, Neyoor is by far the most important; it is tended by three English missionaries, and 154 native readers and assistants; and the number of natives under instruction is calculated at 10,703.

The Wesleyan missions in *Madras* and the neighbouring provinces number *nine* stations, which are superintended by thirteen missionaries. The chief appear to be, *Madras*, *Negapatam*, and *Bangalore;* and the accredited Church-members, in the whole district, among the natives, were stated in 1843 to be 186.

So that the number of stations and sub-stations occupied by these societies, in North India, amounts to forty-six, which are directed by fifty ministers; in South India, twenty-three stations, directed by forty-two ministers and English assistants.

CEYLON.

The Wesleyan and Baptist denominations alone possess stations in this island.

The Baptist Society has two stations; the one at *Colombo*, the capital, and the other at *Kandy*. The former has eight sub-stations attached to it, served by three English, and seven native, preachers. The latter has five sub-stations connected with it, under one missionary and printer, and one native preacher.

The Wesleyan Missionary Association occupies the island with thirteen stations; four of which are in the north, or Tamil, portion of the island; and nine in the south, or Cinghalese, portion. The mission was commenced by the Society in 1813, and the chief results of these labours in the island are stated as follows. Missionaries and assistant missionaries 19; full and accredited Church-members 967.

It is right to observe, that, besides the account here given of the missions conducted by the Protestant sects, there are schools maintained at most of the stations, which number a large assemblage of scholars. Moreover, in the majority of instances, it is not stated how many converts are reckoned at the several stations.

Besides these operations in Ceylon, the Baptist Society has a station in the islands of Java and Sumatra, but the labours of its two emissaries seem chiefly confined to the distribution of books and tracts.

INDO-CHINA AND CHINA.

The London Missionary Society has for many years supported an establishment at *Malacca*, *Singapore*, and *Penang*, in the desire to promote the work of converting the natives, and indirectly to affect the Chinese Empire.

At *Malacca*, the chief institution is an Anglo-Chinese college, founded about 1816, at which several Chinese students have received instruction, some of whom have embraced the Christian faith.

At *Singapore*, three ministers are stationed, who visit the bazaars, and are engaged in printing and circulating tracts.

At *Penang*, there is a Chinese and a Malay school. Two missionaries are placed here, who conduct Malay services, and are engaged in composing and circulating tracts.

At *Macao* and *Canton*, where Dr. Morrison was for so many years engaged, there appears to be no longer any resident missionary; but at the former place, a hospital is attended by two medical students, who join religious instruction to their more peculiar avocation.

At *Hong-Kong*, it appears that the London Missionary Society have resolved on establishing an Anglo-Chinese college, and for this purpose will transfer thither the institution at Malacca. They purpose likewise to station ten or twelve missionaries on this frontier of the Chinese Empire.

In this sketch we have endeavoured to give a general representation of the amount of labour directed towards the propagation of Christianity in Asia. Our limits forbid our extending the survey further, but in the following Number the remaining district of heathenism will be similarly exhibited to our readers.

THE

ENGLISH REVIEW,

OR

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

JULY, 1844.

ART. I.—*The Natural History of Man; comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different tribes of the Human Family. By* J. C. PRICHARD, *M.D.* London: Balliere, 1843.

IF it had been the pleasure of Almighty God to people the earth by creating separate pairs of human beings, distinguished from each other by certain peculiarities, and planting them, respectively, in various regions of the globe, there would, perhaps, have been nothing, on the face of such a proceeding, at variance with our conceptions of His benignity and wisdom. At any rate, whether the wisdom or the benignity of such an appointment were discernible by us or not, it would, manifestly, have been our duty to bow, with entire submission of our understanding, to a record of the actual *origines* of the human race, as communicated to us by Himself.

It so happens, however, that we have a record which presents us with a very different history. And this record tells us, that one spot was selected, for the purpose in question, by Creative Power; and that to one aboriginal pair was consigned the office and destiny of replenishing the earth. The same record, moreover, informs us, that, when the *earth was corrupt before God*, through the wickedness of their posterity, the whole race was destroyed, save the family of one man; and that, of the three sons of that one man *was the whole earth overspread.* And, lastly, we have this account confirmed to us by the testimony of an inspired servant of God, who has declared, that *He hath made, of one blood, all nations of men, for to dwell on the face of the earth.*

Now, according to this account, Noah may be considered, for the purposes of ethnological inquiry, as the sole forefather of the existing race of man. Of antediluvian men, all, except Noah,

are entirely out of the question. Of the remarkable physical varieties of complexion, stature, or temperament, among the races before the Flood, (if any such varieties existed,) we are profoundly ignorant. We do read, it is true, that there were *giants* in those days; but the meaning of this term seems very doubtful. It is most generally understood to indicate a gigantic scale of iniquity, licentiousness, and violence, rather than of corporeal bulk and might. At all events, Noah himself, and his three sons, were the only males spared from the general destruction; and the mother of these three sons, together with their three respective wives, the only females; eight persons in all. And, so far as race or family are concerned, the sons are clearly identified with their father. It is, indeed, just possible that all these four females may have been of so many different tribes or races. But this surmise is wholly gratuitous, and very far from probable. And, even were it admitted, it could not affect any argument respecting the origin of the present inhabitants of the earth, without assuming the falsehood of that part of the sacred narrative which traces them all, Noah and his *whole* family included, to one and the same common parentage.

Since the days of the patriarch upwards of 4000 years have elapsed, and we now find the earth inhabited by at least eight hundred millions of souls. And, so it is, that these vast multitudes exhibit, *within certain limits*, almost every imaginable variety of form, of constitution, and of stature. At one extremity of the scale, we have before us, more or less frequently, the graceful carriage, the stately frame, the symmetry of limb, the high features, the ample forehead, the upright facial line; all the exterior qualities, in short, which the sculptors of antiquity loved to contemplate, and to combine into one perfect image of dignity and comeliness. Towards the other extremity, we find the opposite deformities; and, more especially, the flattened features, the coarse and thickened lips, the meanly developed and receding forehead, the unsightly prominence of jaw, with the consequent obliquity of facial line; every thing, in a word, which is apt to convey to the mind of the more favoured race the notion of inferiority and degradation. And, then, who can adequately describe the apparently capricious diversities of mere superficial appearance, the endless gradations of colour, from the fair or florid complexion of the Scandinavian, to the deep ebony of several of the African nations; and, again, the rich "hyacinthine locks" and tresses, so often seen in Europe, contrasted with the lank black hair, or the close crisp *wool*, or the vast and mop-like volume of *frizzle*, which envelope the *crania* of several other tribes! But, above all, how astounding and perplexing are the

different moral and intellectual types and attributes, which seem to have been impressed on the inhabitants of different regions, and which appear, at first sight, to indicate a different parentage for each of them respectively! It cannot be denied, that, in looking upon some specimens of the human race, we are strongly impelled to exclaim, "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason; how infinite in faculties; in form and moving, how express and admirable,—in action, how like an angel,—in apprehension, how like a God!" While the contemplation of certain other specimens might almost remind us of that hag-born slave, that compound of man and brute, the monster Caliban.

It is by no means wonderful that these strange contrasts should have powerfully arrested the attention of physiologists. Neither, perhaps, ought we to be greatly surprised, on finding that the phenomena in question had provoked much audacity of speculation. In these days, the spirit of philosophical inquiry is by no means an eminently reverential spirit; and not always, perhaps, very scrupulously or sensitively humane: and its exemption from such weaknesses has been singularly manifested in its treatment of the present subject. The Scriptures have expressly told us that all the nations of the earth are of one blood and lineage, and the offspring of common parents. But then, we are told, the diversities of the existing race are monstrous; too monstrous to be reconciled with the hypothesis of one common origin. The Scriptural account, therefore, must either be given up, as utterly incredible; or else it must be understood with certain limitations, such as may save the sacred history, and the facts which stare us in the face, from an open and fatal collision with each other. And accordingly, as Dr. Prichard informs us, there are writers in the present day who gravely assure us, that the Scriptural narrative does not mean what it says; that it does *not* comprehend all the nations which now inhabit the globe. There are, there *must* be, certain exceptional cases; nay, certain tribes and families, who, "in the catalogue, may go for *men*," but are not so in reality, and, therefore, never could have fallen within the contemplation of the Jewish historian. The Negroes, for instance, the Hottentots, the Bushmen, the Australians, the Esquimaux; all these (and how many more we know not) do not, properly speaking, belong to the human race. They are bipeds, it is true; and some attributes they, undoubtedly, may have, in common with the γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων. But they are, also, distinguished by certain peculiarities, which disqualify them for the honour of being ranked among the lords of the creation. As for the Hebrew cosmogonist, if he had any Divine commission at all, he had no commission to give us any specific information about *them*.

We are, consequently, in a condition to pursue our investigations relative to the *genesis* and the destiny of these anomalous tribes, with just as much freedom as if they were clearly a variety of the ape, or the baboon, or the orang-outang!

And, now, mark the inference from these premises. It shall be stated in the words of Dr. Prichard, to which the attention of the reader is most particularly requested:—

"They" (the philosophers in question) "maintain that the ultimate lot of the ruder tribes is a state of perpetual servitude; and that, if in some instances they should continue to repel the attempts of the civilised nations to subdue them, they will at length be rooted out and exterminated in every country on the shores of which Europeans shall have set their feet. These μιξόθηρα, half-men, half-brutes, do not belong to what M. Bory de Saint-Vincent terms the 'Race Adamique.' They were made to be the domestic slaves of the lordly caste, under whose protection they are susceptible of some small improvement, comparable to that which is attained by our horses and dogs. Nothing, in the opinion of persons who maintain this doctrine, can exceed the folly manifested by the people and parliament of England, when, under a mistaken impulse of what was termed philanthropy, or an erroneous notion of rights which have no existence, they committed the absurd act of emancipating from the precise condition which was most appropriate to their nature, a tribe of creatures incapable of governing themselves and of combining for objects of mutual interest in a civilised community. If these opinions are not every day expressed in this country, it is because the avowal of them is restrained by a degree of odium that would be excited by it. In some other countries they are not at all disguised. Nor is it easy to prove any of the conclusions unreasonable, if only the principal fact be what it is assumed to be. If the Negro and the Australian are not our fellow-creatures and of one family with ourselves, but beings of an inferior order, and if duties towards them were not contemplated, as we may in that case presume them not to have been, in any of the positive commands on which the morality of the Christian world is founded, our relations to these tribes will appear to be not very different from those which might be imagined to subsist between us and a race of orangs. In the story of a pongo slaughtered by some voyagers in the Indian Archipelago, an account of the cries and gestures of the animal in its mortal agony, so like the expressions of human sufferings, was read not without pity; and many persons censured the wanton commission of an outrage for which there appeared no adequate motive. But the capturing of such creatures with the view of making them useful slaves, even if some of them were occasionally destroyed in the attempt, would be scarcely blamed. We thus come near to an apology for the practice of kidnapping, at which our forefathers connived, though it did not occur to them to defend it on so reasonable a ground. The kind-hearted Abbé Grégoire tells us with indignation, that on the arrival of bloodhounds from Cuba in the island

of Saint Domingo—'On leur livra, par manière d'essai, le premier Nègre qui se trouva sous la main.' He adds, 'La promptitude avec laquelle ils dévorèrent cette curée réjouit des tigres blancs à figure humaine[1].' Those who hold that the Negro is of a distinct species from our own, and of a different and inferior grade in the scale of organised beings, smile at the good abbé's simplicity, and observe that it cannot be much more criminal to destroy such creatures when they annoy us, than to extirpate wolves or bears; nor do they strongly reprobate the conduct of some white people in our Australian colony, who are said to have shot occasionally the poor miserable savages of that country as food for their dogs."—pp. 5—7.

The prevalence of this sort of *philosophy* in the southern states of America is well-known to all. The strength and virulence of its infection has been remarkably attested by a recent traveller in the following words:—

"The southron, who is a *philosopher*, and not a practical man, maintains, that if monarchy were ever so good and useful an institution it would not signify. It is a violation of the natural right to self-government inherent in man; so there is an end of it. It is in vain that you accuse him of the inconsistency of the practice of Negro slavery with such a theory as this. He gets rid of your argument with another theory; namely, that the Negro race is naturally inferior to the whites; and, therefore, that while the latter have an inalienable right to equality and self-government, the former have an inalienable right to nothing at all! There is no arguing with such an opponent[2]."

No, no more than there is any arguing with the enlightened executive of the tar-and-feather dynasty, or the accomplished professors of Lynch law. But this is not the whole. As if to show the frightful degree to which the human heart can be hardened, the human conscience seared, and the human intellect distorted, by the wisdom which is *not* from above, we find that Mr. Calhoun, the head and representative of the slave-holding interest, and who may, possibly, be the next occupant of the President's chair, we find that this illustrious citizen has lately delivered himself to the following effect: "I consider slavery as a glorious institution, the corner-stone of a free and democratic government; and I hope and pray that it may endure for ever[3]."

And now, with the above passages before him, let the reader ask himself, Can there be imagined any hypothesis on the face of it more odious, than this hypothesis of an aboriginal diversity of races; consigning, as it does, so large a portion of what we have been accustomed to call *mankind* to so bitter an excommunication

[1] Abbé Grégoire, "Sur la Littérature des Nègres."
[2] Godley's Letters from America, vol. ii. p. 56.
[3] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 73.

from all human sympathies? Even if Scripture had not impressed the stamp of falsehood upon it, should we not feel almost impelled to wish for an angel from heaven to denounce it, and to expel it from the earth? For ourselves, we must frankly confess that we can scarcely bring our minds to any patient discussion of it. Critics though we be, we find it extremely difficult to frame ourselves to the judicial composure requisite for its examination. It appears to us to be neither more nor less than a studious, heartless, cold-blooded vindication of enormities, which are perpetually crying to heaven with a voice which seems to say, How long, O Lord, holy, and just, and true! It is not merely that it countenances slavery; for servitude has existed, and may, for aught we know, still exist, in so comparatively gracious and mitigated a form, that even humane and thoughtful men may be able to endure the contemplation of it. But it does far worse than this. It gives encouragement to the most brutal and remorseless cruelty. We approach a foreign shore. We find there certain two-legged tribes. But their complexion is not to our taste. The form of their skulls differs from our type and standard. Their bodily structure has something ignoble about it, which offends our finer sense of human symmetry. And, then, their habits are rude, their apprehensions sluggish, their ignorance worse than childish. They appear to have little or no capacity for the arts and refinements of civilized life. The conclusion is obvious. They cannot belong to the race of Adam. On the most favourable estimate, they are semi-bestial. It is quite clear, therefore, that if they can be made useful, or marketable, they may be seized, and shipped away, almost as innocently as a cargo of pigs may be shipped from Cork to Bristol. And if our dog-kennels are in lack of provender, they may, very properly, be hunted down, or shot. Why, even if the Hebrew cosmogonist had been silent, the very stones beneath our feet would, surely, rise up, and mutiny against a *philosophy* so atrocious and execrable as this.

Fortunately, however, for the cause of sound philosophic investigation, Dr. Prichard greatly surpasses us in self-command. He addresses himself to the inquiry with perfect sedateness and sobriety of mind. His views of the question we hold to be unimpeachably correct; but, in his exhibition of them, he is entirely unimpassioned.

"I shall not pretend," he says, "that in my own mind I regard the question now to be discussed as one of which the decision is a matter of indifference either to religion or humanity. But the strict rule of scientific scrutiny exacts, according to modern philosophers, in matters of inductive reasoning an exclusive homage. It requires that we should close our eyes against all presumptive and extrinsic evidence, and ab-

stract our minds from all considerations not derived from the matters of fact which bear immediately on the question. The maxim we have to follow in such controversies is 'fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.' In fact, what is actually true, it is always most desirable to know, whatever consequences may arise from its admission."—p. 7.

Be it even so. A very pernicious theory is abroad; a theory which ministers to the very worst passions of our nature, and which threatens a large portion of the inhabitants of the globe with a dreadful sentence of attainder. And this theory makes a formal and grave appeal to the *phenomena* before our eyes. The *phenomena*, therefore, must, by all means, be minutely and patiently examined. We have, accordingly, endeavoured to subdue ourselves to the temper of our author, in following his steps throughout the whole compass of the inquiry.

Before we proceed, however, we cannot forbear to dwell for a moment on two considerations, which appear to *us* so absolutely conclusive as to render all further inquiry well-nigh superfluous and nugatory. The *first* of these is the fact, that the most dissimilar human varieties are capable of propagation with each other; and this, without the smallest diminution of fertility. We have often heard, indeed, (and the assertion has lately been echoed by Mr. Clay, in a speech to the abolitionists of Ohio[4],) that the white and black races can never amalgamate, for that *nature* herself forbids it. Now it is perfectly notorious that *nature* forbids no such thing. The amalgamation may, doubtless, be prevented, or at least indefinitely retarded, by a strong and inveterate feeling of *antipathy*. But *antipathy* is not *nature*. It can be got over; and it very frequently is got over. There needs no Desdemona to tell us that! Connexions, lawful or illicit, are constantly occurring between the lordly European or American and the despised and sooty Negro. And who ever heard that *nature* had fixed the doom of sterility upon such connexions? Something, perhaps, might be said in favour of this convenient aphorism, if nature had marked her disapprobation of the union, by limiting its produce to a single generation. Nature does sometimes interpose with this sort of partial prohibition. The horse and the ass, for instance, will breed together; but, their offspring is a barren hybrid. But when was it ever known that a barren hybrid was the offspring of an alliance between individuals of the most opposite races of men upon the face of the earth? There can be no doubt whatever, that if all the human tribes were swept away, with the exception of a single male and a single female, the one of them a stately specimen of the Caucasian race,

[4] Godley's Letters from America, vol. ii. p. 211.

the other a Negro, a Hottentot, or an Esquimaux, there can, we say, be no doubt that, of them might the whole earth be overspread; and might again, in due course of time, be inhabited, as now it is, by eight hundred millions of men and women. Now, if this be so, it does seem to us to set the whole question well nigh at rest. Two created beings, capable of perpetuating their species, cannot be of two natures essentially distinct from each other, however striking or perplexing their accidental or superficial diversities may be.

It is a favourite notion with the philosophy we are considering, that between the *Homo* and the *Simia* there are one or more intermediate gradations, not properly entitled to the appellation of *Homo*. Yet, all this while, we know and see that the most perfect *Homo* may become a parent, and not only a parent, but an ancestor, by connexion with any individual of the *reputed* intermediate and semi-brutal families. We also know, on the other hand, that the *reputed* semi-brute never can become a parent by connexion with an individual of the *Simian* tribe. Nature does place her interdict on that; an interdict backed with an antipathy so strong and so indelible, that one shudders at the very thought or mention of any such connexion. Between the lowest man, therefore, and the creature which is thought most closely to resemble him, a great and impassable gulf has been fixed by the ordinance of *nature;* while the interval between the most degraded and most perfect human being shrinks into comparative insignificance. And, if any philosopher can meditate on these phenomena, and yet continue to talk of the incredibility of the Mosaic narrative, or of the expediency of a qualified and limited reception of it, and of the necessity for a more satisfactory and more scientific classification of races, then we can only say, that his understanding must be very differently constructed from our own; so differently, that, for aught we know. the philosopher may be tempted to question *our* title to a position among the race of Adam, and to consign us to some inferior rank of the creation!

Here, then, we have one test of the identity of origin, namely, the capacity of self-perpetuation. But there is another, in our judgment equally decisive,—the faculty of articulate speech,—the gift of *language*,—that is, the power of expressing, not merely single emotions or ideas, but a train and sequence of ideas, by the action of the *tongue*. That certain mere animals are partially endowed with the power of intercommunication there seems no reason to doubt. The insect tribes appear to hold some sort of intercourse with each other, chiefly by means of their *antennæ*. The quadrupeds can whine, or murmur, or howl, or roar; and

the quadrumains can chatter, and sometimes, perhaps, can cry, in a voice which somewhat resembles the passionate utterances of humanity. The winged families, too, have their wild scream, and their familiar call, and their untutored song. And, through the medium of such sounds, they may, probably enough, become more or less intelligible to each other. But it is the erect biped only that can *talk*. And if, among the two-legged races which modern physiology is seeking to degrade beneath humanity, a single tribe had ever been discovered destitute of the faculty of *talking*, the defect might, perhaps, be considered as a fatal flaw in their title to the dignities and privileges of the supreme and sovereign race. It might be almost, or altogether, sufficient to exclude them from the pale of the Adamic family. But no such tribe has ever been discovered yet. An individual, indeed, may have been found here and there who, having accidentally grown up in solitude, had been left without opportunity or need of any exercise of the organs of speech; so that the colloquial faculty had perished for want of use and practice, and the creature remained dumb. But who ever heard of a speechless nation, or tribe, or family of beings, otherwise apparently human? The Hottentot, the Bushman, the New Hollander, have each of them their language; rude, perhaps, in its structure, and narrow in its compass, but always commensurate with the exigencies of their mode of life; always reducible, by careful analysis, to something like grammatical arrangement. And not only so, but, we believe, that there never yet was found a barbarian or savage people unable, either by patient instruction, or by daily and familiar intercourse, to master, more or less completely, the dialects of other races; nay, unless we are misinformed, the barbarian occasionally manifests a singular aptitude for this sort of imitative process. We all have heard of the letters of Ignatius Sancho. We know not whether our philosophers will condescend to accept them as sufficient evidence of the right of the Negro author to the honours of *Adamic* fraternity. To our apprehension, however, they establish the claim beyond all reasonable question. To us they seem to give the lie to the anathema which lays so withering an interdict upon his race. The capacity to speak a language, to learn a language, to write a language, is a prerogative, which draws a broad and insurmountable line between the families of man (however multiform or many-coloured), and all the varieties of speechless and unreasoning creatures. The animal who can converse, through the medium of speech or letters, is clearly something infinitely higher than a *mere* animal or semi-brute. He has a right to be numbered among the masters of the creation. To speak of him as destitute of rights, as an alien from the human family, a being

foredoomed to degradation, the lawful prey of cupidity, the lawful victim of might or craft; to speak of him thus, is not only to revolt against Scripture, but to make war upon common sense.

We repeat, then, that the power of entering with each other into the parental relation shows that all nations are of one blood and one lineage; and that the capacity for speech, oral or written, shows that all of them belong to the dominant order of natures. Varieties there may be among them, but such varieties as are always incident to created things of the same order, whether animate or inanimate. This, however, is stoutly denied by the kidnapping, slave-driving, and slave-trading school of Philosophy. That Philosophy contends that the diversities are much too prodigious to be harmonized by this very generous, but very weak and erroneous theory. She laughs at our squeamish humanities, and over-wrought sensibilities. She drags us into her *museum;* and there she lays before us her vast apparatus of skulls, and pelves, and shin-bones. She exhibits the human cranium in every possible position; in profile, in front, and in vertical projection. She produces her European skull, with its parallel lines drawn from the cheek-bones, and touching the temples on either side; and her barbarian skull, with the corresponding lines meeting and forming an angle over the forehead, and thus producing the pyramidal form. She shows us, in all its diversities of outline, the basis of the cranium when separated from the lower jaw, and seen with the palate upwards. And she then takes us to her lecture-room, and discourses elaborately upon all the extant varieties of physical type and psychological developement. And she concludes by asking triumphantly, Is it credible that all these widely dissimilar specimens should have descended from the same pair, and have been formed for the same destiny?

Fortunately, Dr. Prichard has followed her, both to the museum and the lecture room; and we are happy to say he has emerged from both, still strong in the faith that varieties of breed are not specific differences,—that there are no μιξόθηρα in the creation,—that Negros and Hottentots have no kindred with the brutes,—that even the Bushmen do not form a transition from the genus *Homo* to the genus *Orang*, or *Gibbon*,—that all national varieties are superficial, and confined within certain limits, — that all the families of the earth are endowed with reasonable souls,—that all have within them the essential attributes of humanity, however disguised or disfigured by the varying influence of circumstances; and that, consequently, there can be no sort of necessity for us to discard our Bibles, for the oracles of Moloch, Belial, or Mammon. Of course, it is utterly impossible for us to conduct the reader throughout the whole compass and

ambages of the author's most interesting report. We will do our best, however, to fix his attention on the most prominent and conclusive particulars of the inquiry.

Previously, however, to the examination of the more striking national varieties, it may not be wholly unimportant to contemplate, for a moment, the diversities which constantly present themselves among individuals and families of the same race. We talk of Caucasian races, and Indo-European races, and Syro-Arabian races, as if all, or most of the individuals who belong to them, were framed after one high model, of nearly uniform perfection, in bodily structure and mental character. Among them, doubtless, the noblest types of humanity may be found. But one has only to walk the streets of any European or Asiatic city, in order to see that there is scarcely an imaginable variety of personal appearance that may not be found among the *natives*—from that high perfection, which is of very rare occurrence, down to the plainest and homeliest cast of feature, shape, and expression. Sometimes one meets with specimens of ugliness which seem scarcely human. Contrasts as startling will, occasionally, show themselves, within the circle of the same family. And then, how astonishing is that undefinable air of superiority and dignity which often distinguishes the cultivated and aristocratic man from the tradesman, the mechanic, the artificer, and the peasant! How immeasurable is the interval between the imposing stateliness and refinement of the one, and the coarseness and vulgarity which are so frequently stamped upon the exterior of the others. —All are of the same race: and yet, so varied are the appearances, that they would almost seem to point to an indefinite variety of origin. And how are we to account for these perplexing phenomena? We must even be content to answer, that they are partly the result of accidents and circumstances, in unknown and endless combination,—partly the effect of different habits and modes of life, involving all the diversities of occupation, of diet, of clothing, of accommodation. By what process it is that these untraceable influences, or agencies, work out their mysterious tissue of consequences, no sagacity can point out, no ingenuity can even guess. In some cases, indeed, the explanation is easy and obvious enough. The well-fed man, for instance, will probably be more amply developed than the half-starved man. The look of the ploughman will, in general, be more healthy than that of the sedentary artisan. But, in a vast majority of instances, the causes of diversity are so subtle, and so latent, as to defy investigation. The comparison of temperaments, characters, and mental endowments, will be found equally perplexing. And if, not only different individuals, but also dif-

ferent regions, of the same country, should be placed in contrast with each other, there would be still more to baffle penetration. The men of Bœotia, for example, were proverbial for their dulness; their neighbours, the men of Attica, were equally proverbial for their acumen and vivacity. The result of all, is, that singleness of origin was never known to exclude a very large amount both of individual and provincial diversity. Even if all the inhabitants of the earth were not only of one race, but of one speech and one language, and living under one and the same climate, there would still be found more anomalies of personal character and appearance than human wisdom or knowledge could give any satisfactory account of.

The difficulty thickens, however, and assumes a somewhat different aspect, when we come to consider the differences which distinguish tribe from tribe, and nation from nation, and race from race. The contrast is now no longer between man and man, but between vast collections and communities of men, in comparison with each other. And here we have two leading facts before us. In the first place, man is a cosmopolite. Constituted as the globe is, its masters are under the necessity of accommodating themselves to every variety of climate. They have to encounter the extremities of heat and cold, of barrenness and fertility; or to enjoy the advantages of a moderate temperature, which neither relaxes industry by prodigal abundance, nor depresses it by churlish scantiness of production; and which is, in all respects, the most favourable both to moral and physical perfection. This is one leading fact. The other is, that the dominant race has long been divided into tribes or groups, more or less extensive, but diversified at least as widely as their local peculiarities of soil or sky. The question, then, is, whether these variations are to be ascribed to certain moral and physical influences, arising out of the diversities of external condition, and acting upon natures originally similar; or, whether the existing dissimilarities have prevailed indelibly throughout all preceding generations. If the former hypothesis be the true one, there is an end of all reasonable opposition to the Scriptural account, considered (as, for the moment, we are content to consider it) merely as a piece of history. If the latter supposition be adopted, we must maintain that the collective body of mankind is made up of distinct races, which always have differed from each other in their physical and moral nature, from the beginning of their existence to the present hour.

We have seen that the former of these views is maintained by Dr. Prichard. In common with us, he would be quite content to rest the whole discussion on the circumstance, that "no im-

pediment exists to the perpetuation of mankind, when the most dissimilar varieties are blended together." This mode of treating the question, however, might perhaps be condemned by some, as unsatisfactory and almost evasive; since it would leave wholly unexplained the nature and origin of the varieties themselves. Accordingly, with a view to the illustration of this part of the subject, he has produced, at the outset of his work, an ample collection of analogous facts, both from the vegetable world, and from the natural history of the inferior animals. We shall confine our attention chiefly to the latter; among which, in their domesticated state, the phenomena of variation have been most remarkably displayed.

The aboriginal form and type of any animal whatever, it is scarcely possible for us to know. Even they who contend for the descent of the human race from a single pair must be grievously at a loss respecting the stature, the colour, and the figure, of the first man and the first woman. An European artist would, doubtless, invest them with the noblest classical proportions, and the finest European complexion. The African, as certainly, would picture them both as negroes. In the same manner, we are in no condition to say what was the precise appearance of the aboriginal horse or dog. With regard to animals which have never been domesticated, there might be a somewhat better chance of our approximating to the truth. But even these have their varieties; and we are without the means of positively ascertaining whether those varieties were aboriginal, or whether they were the gradual result of subsequent accidents and influences. Under these circumstances, we must content ourselves with the best evidence we are able to procure. Now, very cogent evidence has been copiously supplied to us from various sources; but more especially by the first conquerors of America; who, from time to time, colonized the new world with tribes of domesticated European animals. Their races multiplied exceedingly, and several of them ran wild in the vast forests of America, till all the traces of domestication were gradually worn out. But, the change which came over them has been found to be, not merely a change from tameness to wildness—not merely from the condition of dependence to that of "chartered libertines," left to subsist by their wits, and to gain their livelihood as they could. It is a manifest and palpable change of physical quality and structure: and, most probably, it is no other than a restoration to the likeness in which their families were first created.

To begin with the hog.—It appears that, towards the end of the fifteenth century, cargoes of pigs were successively introduced into the Spanish settlements. It would seem that they found

themselves perfectly at home, in their new location; for they multiplied so rapidly, that, in the course of half a century they spread from the twenty-fifth degree of north latitude, to the fortieth degree south! And what has been the result? All traces of the domestic porker are gone; and, instead of them, we have the appearance of the genuine wild boar. Their ears have become erect: their heads are greatly enlarged: their foreheads are vaulted at the upper part: all variety of colour has been lost. They are either uniformly black, or uniformly red, according to the regions they inhabit. And lastly, which is the most important particular of all, the difference of form between the skull of the domestic hog, and that of his uncivilized descendants, is almost equal to the difference between the cranium of the Apollo Belvedere, and a cranium from the south of the mountains of the moon!

Some parts of America are over-run with herds of wild horses: and here, again, the alteration consequent upon the change of habits and circumstances, is eminently striking. The various colours of the tame breeds have wholly disappeared. They have been superseded by an almost uniform hue,—a dun, a chestnut, or bay-brown. The hair is rough, long, and crisp; and sometimes so thick and fur-like, as to make them hideous. The mane comes lower down upon the shoulder. The head is larger than that of the domesticated horse, and the forehead of a round and arched form. The limbs are stronger: the back is less arched, and straighter: the hoof is smaller, and more pointed: the ears are longer, and are bent more forward. In short, the form which the wild horse has acquired, or to which he has been restored, is such as would, probably, make a *gnostic* of Newmarket shake his head in despair.

With regard to the dog: it is a question whether or not the numerous and dissimilar breeds with which we are familiar, are, each of them, a distinct species, or only varieties of one primitive stock. It has been alleged, in opposition to the theory of distinct and permanent races, susceptible of little or no modification, that it will be found to impose the necessity of assuming the existence of, at least, fifty separate species of dogs, all distinguished from each other by permanent and unchangeable characters. The phenomena produced by the crossing of breeds are pointedly adverse to this hypothesis, which, on the face of it, is extremely improbable, and which is rendered still more improbable by what we apprehend to be an undoubted fact, that all the known varieties of dogs are capable of propagation among each other. At all events, it is certain, that wherever the dog has been found wild, he approximates to the wolf, in conformation and physical

character; "while the more cultivated breeds, and those which have their faculties most developed, and their habits most changed by domestication, deviate, in the same proportion, from this form; and, in particular, exhibit a much more vaulted and arched forehead, and a greater developement of the brain."

From these, and a multitude of other instances, which our limits forbid us to specify, it would appear that all tribes of animals, when long removed from their primitive locality or condition, are generally broken up into a variety of breeds, more or less numerous; while little diversity is found among the untamed, or untameable, inhabitants of the desert. In effecting these alterations, climate is found to do much; but domestication incomparably more. The effect of the latter is most conspicuously exemplified in the history of the Canine race. The dog has been the companion of man from the earliest times. He has followed him into every climate, and steadily adhered to him under every condition of life. And his breeds are known to be almost as various as the exigencies, or the caprices, of his master. The elephant, on the contrary, though individually tameable, has seldom been propagated in captivity. We have him fresh and fresh from his native wilderness. And accordingly, we find in him but little deviation from the common and primitive type. The elephant of India, indeed, may differ in some particulars from the elephant of Africa. But we have no multiform breeds of elephants, as we have of horses, and dogs, and pigs, and sheep, and oxen. Whether or not it would be possible, completely and permanently to subdue certain of the carnivorous tribes to the will of man, it is not easy to say. The experiment would require the lapse of many generations; for, perfect domestication is always the work of time. The smaller species of the *feline* family, it is true, are capable of a partial civilization, and exhibit some varieties. But, the African lion, and the Bengal tiger, are, probably, exact representatives of their progenitors, as they appeared when they issued from the ark.

The mere existence of varieties, however, is not the only thing which demands our attention. There remains another most remarkable class of appearances to be noticed; namely, that when a variety has once developed itself, it does not soon wear itself out. It does not capriciously disappear in the course of a generation or two. It manifests no violent tendency to throw off the modified nature, and to revert to the former type. On the contrary, it will often become perpetual and inveterate, provided always that due care be taken to prevent the intermixture of breeds. Take, for instance, the mastiff, the Newfoundland-dog, and the greyhound, and keep their families severally pure from

any intercourse with each other, and under similar circumstances and conditions, they will preserve their respective physical characteristics, unaltered and unimpaired, from generation to generation; just as if the races had, each of them, so to express it, a Canine Adam and Eve of its own. But this is not the whole of the case. It is also found that not only certain organic peculiarities, but certain habitudes, certain artificial instincts, may be acquired; and that, when once acquired, these, too, are transmissible from sire to son. A careless observer might easily be tempted to conclude, that these acquired properties were primitive and aboriginal, and distinctive of peculiar and separate races. But a due and unprejudiced attention to the above class of phenomena, would soon satisfy him that his conclusion was erroneous. We must confine ourselves to a few instances of these curious divergencies from the right line of original stocks. The wild dog, then, most certainly, has no great instinctive propensity for the office of guardian and muster-master to a large flock of sheep. He is vastly more disposed to dine upon the mutton himself, than to aid in preserving a supply of it for a race of carnivorous bipeds. And yet, we have among us a breed of dogs, whose aptitude for that employment is as unvarying and hereditary, as if the keeping of sheep had been the final cause of their creation. A terrier whose parents had been in the habit of fighting with pole-cats, will instantly show every mark of anger and pugnacity on perceiving the scent of that animal; and this, although the animal itself be wholly concealed from his sight. A young spaniel, brought up with the terrier, will endure the odour of the pole-cat without the slightest symptom of emotion, but will pursue the first woodcock it has ever seen, with clamour and impatience. A well-bred young pointer, which has never set eyes on a partridge, will stand trembling with agitation, its eyes fixed, its muscles rigid, when introduced, for the first time, into the middle of a covey. Again, the natural paces of the horse are the walk, the trot, and the gallop. But, the horses bred on the table-land of the Cordilleras are carefully taught a peculiar and artificial pace, a sort of running amble: and the horses so trained become the sires of a race, to which the amble is natural, and requires no teaching. The fact is so well known, that such colts are always described by the particular name of *aguilillas*. Now, this class of phenomena seems to be at mortal strife with the philosophy, which insists upon the necessity of multiplying species, in order to account for the almost endless variety of breeds. It is abundantly sufficient to show, that many animals, perhaps all animals, are endowed with the capacity of acquiring, and transmitting, a sort of *second nature;*

and, that this capacity forms just as much a law of their existence, as the more general law, which separates the race of the lion from the race of the ox, and all animal races whatever, from the race of man. But we are unable to pause longer upon this most interesting department of the investigation. It must suffice us to lay before the reader, in Dr. Prichard's own words, the conclusion at which he has arrived, by a process which appears to us undeniably legitimate.

"From the preceding survey of the phenomena of variation in the tribes of animals, and of the circumstances under which these appearances are displayed, we may venture to draw the following general inferences.

"1. That tribes of animals which have been domesticated by man, and carried into regions where the climates are different from those of their native abode, undergo, partly from the agency of climate, and in part from the change of external circumstances connected with the state of domesticity, great variations.

"2. That these variations extend to considerable modifications in external properties, colour, the nature of the integument, and of its covering, whether hair or wool; the structure of limbs, and the proportional size of parts; that they likewise involve certain physiological changes or variations as to the laws of the animal economy; and lastly, certain psychological alterations or changes in the instincts, habits, and powers of perception and intellect.

"3. That these last changes are in some cases brought about by training, and that the progeny acquires an aptitude to certain habits which the parents have been taught; that psychical characters, such as new instincts, are developed in breeds by cultivation.

"4. That these varieties are sometimes permanently fixed in the breed so long as it remains unmixed.

"5. That all such variations are possible only to a limited extent, and always with the preservation of a particular type, which is that of the species. Each species has a definite or definable character, comprising certain undeviating phenomena of external structure, and likewise constant and unchangeable characteristics in the laws of its animal economy and in its psychological nature. It is only within these limits that deviations are produced by external circumstances.

"Races of men are subjected more than almost any race of animals to the varied agencies of climate. Civilization produces even greater changes in their condition than does domestication in the inferior tribes. We may therefore expect to find fully as great diversities in the races of men as in any of the domesticated breeds. The influence of the mind must be more extensive and powerful in its operations upon human beings than upon brutes. And this difference transcends all analogy or comparison. *A priori*, we might expect to discover in the psychological characters of human races changes similar in kind, but infinitely greater in degree."—pp. 74, 75.

Having thus examined the phenomena of variation, as they present themselves among the inferior races of animals, Dr. Prichard proceeds to consider the varieties of organization which distinguish the races of mankind. And here, the first objects which naturally arrest our attention, are the superficial and external peculiarities;—namely, those of the skin, of the hair, and of the form and structure of the body; and more especially, of the *cranium*.

It is well known to all, that these three departments of the animal œconomy have, each of them, furnished a very grave article of impeachment against certain tribes of bipeds inhabiting the earth; and, more particularly, against the Negroes of Southern Africa. In the first place, the African Negro is, undeniably, guilty of a sooty epidermis, which no European eye can look upon with much complacency, and which an American eye regards with positive disgust and abhorrence. Of course, it very seldom occurs, either to European or American, that, all this while, the Negro, for his part, usually considers the lighter complexion as an undoubted symptom of some hereditary disease, which cleaves to all the generations of the *pale-faces*, and from which he, the Negro, enjoys a proud exemption. And even if this fact ever did occur to the *pale-face*, it probably would only be considered as an indication of the natural brutishness of the Negro's taste. There is, however, extant, a less fastidious class of enquirers, disposed to question the sentence of proscription, so often said to be written on the Negro cuticle. And partly, perhaps, with a view to the reversal of that sentence, they have called a new witness into court. They have produced the *microscope*. It was known, indeed, to former physiologists, that "a substance giving occasion to various degrees of blackness, was sometimes produced in the skins of persons born white; and that, on the other hand, the colouring substance in black persons is capable of disappearing." But these phenomena were scarcely capable of satisfactory explanation, upon any view of the structure of the skin which had ever been adopted before. The testimony, however, which has now been extracted from the *microscope*, is such as vastly to improve the case of the unhappy Negro. It disposes of one objection, at least, to his full establishment within the pale of humanity. From that testimony it appears, that the outer integument does not, as was formerly imagined, consist at all of distinct and continuous membranes. It consists of a very curious and complicated *cellular* texture, extending over the whole surface of the body, both external and internal. The *cellulæ* are, themselves, colourless and transparent; but within a certain class of them, there are deposited minute elementary granules of pigment,

which give their colouring to the various surfaces. Upon the nature of this pigment, and the proportions in which it is distributed, depend not only all the healthy and natural varieties of tint, but also those abnormal variations of colour, which occur in certain morbid states of the human system, and which occasionally appear and disappear. But, in all cases, without exception, the organic structure of the whole integumentary apparatus is the same. In all cases, the cuticular texture is itself uncoloured. The only difference between the Negro and others is, that with him, the normal and healthy tint happens to be black. His constitution is, generally, such as to secrete black pigment, instead of brown pigment, or yellow pigment, or pigment of any other imaginable shade, between the deepest ebony, and the most dazzling blonde. How, or when it was, that he first came by that peculiar and hereditary constitution, it may be very difficult to say. But it is equally difficult to say, how the nature of the red man became peculiarly adapted to the production of copper-coloured pigment. And, why the black secretion should, of all others, be held to bring the *human* nature of the Negro under suspicion, it would be too much for a whole convocation of philosophers to expound. If a race were ever to be discovered, whose cuticular *cellulæ* were provided with granules of blue or green, it would, doubtless, look very odd and very ugly, and, withal, very curious. It, probably, might make the fortune of some lucky adventurer of the Egyptian Hall. But surely, the wise men of Surgeons' Hall would hesitate, before they ventured, on this account, to pronounce the blue man, or the green man, to be specifically and *essentially* different from all other men!

So much for the mere varieties of complexion actually before us. But still, it may be alleged that the varieties are immemorial, and indelible. No matter whether this texture of the skin be membranous, or cellular. There the colour is, and there it always has been. So far, at least, as we have any means of knowledge, whether from observation, or from history, the black man has been a black from the beginning. Well, but with equally good reason, it may also be alleged, that the red man has always been red; and, that the tawny man has always been tawny. Be it so; and, then, let this line of enquiry and speculation be consistently followed out into its consequences, and the result must inevitably be, that all the distinct complexions known in the habitable globe must, each of them, indicate a separate aboriginal parentage; a distinct Adam and Eve for each complexion! And so, indeed, of many other physical peculiarities. But then arises the question, how many distinct Adams and Eves must we believe to have been originally planted by the

great creative Demiurgus? Two, or three, or a dozen, or a score? Can any physiologist tell us? Were any two schools of physiology, however they might be agreed in disparaging the Scriptural cosmogony, ever known to agree as to the number of distinct primitive races? We have already seen something of the difficulties opposed to any such arbitrary classifications, in the analogous phenomena presented to us by the Natural History of the inferior Animal Tribes. And the history of the particular tribes of the human family will be found, in all its departments, to confront us with a class of difficulties, at least equally untractable. And, with respect to variation of colour, (the variation we are now more particularly considering,) cases without number will be found, as Dr. Prichard very justly remarks, directly adverse to the notion, so confidently assumed, of an inveterate and indelible variety of complexion. "Changes are perpetually met with, from black to white, from white to black; and, instances of both complexions actually existing in the progeny of the same stock; and these instances so multiplied, and so well authenticated, as to leave no doubt respecting the conclusion to be drawn, at least in this part of the investigation, as to the great question of the identity, or diversity, of the human species."

But there is another formidable count in the indictment against the Negro. He is accused, not only of a sooty skin, but also of a woolly head. But this, like the former, is an arraignment which will be found to involve the counsel for the prosecution in a labyrinth of difficulties. In the *first* place, there is many a European head, the hair of which is nearly, if not quite, as crisp and twisted as that of a Negro from the coast of Guinea. *Secondly*, among the entire mass of the black native races of Africa, we may find certain tribes, who are similar in complexion, and other physical peculiarities, but who yet exhibit every possible gradation, from the fleecy integument, to the curled or undulated locks. *Thirdly*, the testimony of the microscope has here been once more resorted to. We are grieved that our space disables us from detailing the evidence thus obtained. The reader will find it faithfully reported by Dr. Prichard: and the issue of it is, that the wool of the veriest Negro, after all, is *not* wool, but hair! It doubtless has something of a lanuginous appearance to the naked eye. But the microscope has detected the secrets of its texture. It has shown that wool and hair are clearly dissimilar in their structure; and that the filaments from the head of the African belong, undoubtedly, to the latter description of covering. The chief elementary difference consists in the greater or less abundance of colouring matter discoverable in the tubes. The hair of the African is more copiously supplied with pigment than that

of any other nation; and this peculiarity may, perhaps, be in some way or other, connected with the incorrigible frizzle, which has procured for it the appellation of wool. Be this, however, as it may, the covering provided by nature for the head of the African is, in spite of all appearances, quite a different thing from that which she has provided for the body of the sheep. But, *lastly*, even if the cuticular excrescence of the Negro were but a finer sort of fleece, it would afford no evidence whatever of the distinctness of his race; seeing that there are certain tribes of animals, unquestionably of the same species, some of which bear wool, while others are covered with hair. In some instances, the difference appears to be more or less dependent upon climate. In others, it is deeply fixed in the breed, and almost amounts to a permanent variety.

But a far more fearful imputation still remains to be encountered! Hair and complexion are but superficial matters! The charges founded upon these might, perhaps, be abandoned by the prosecutor, without any fatal damage to his case. But what are we to say, when he presses us hard with the diversities of form and structure, depending, as they do, upon the internal framework and structure of the body? Colours may, possibly, be liable to change; but the bony fabric at least must be permanent and unalterable, from generation to generation. How, then, shall the Negro race stand absolved from the charge of manifold aboriginal deformities?—the flattened foot, the projecting heel, the *cucumber* skin, the hideous obliquity of skull; all of them, but more especially the last, most clearly indicating an hereditary inferiority of nature?

Now all this, certainly, does at first sight look rather formidable. The main strength, however, of the adversary's case, lies evidently in the form of the barbaric *cranium*. To the *cranium*, accordingly, we shall confine ourselves; and this brings us at once to Professor Camper, and his *facial angles*.

Let the reader, then, imagine that he has before him an outline, in profile, of the human skull; and let him, first, suppose a straight line to be drawn from the outward orifice of the ear to the base of the nose, and then another straight line, touching the prominent centre of the forehead, and falling thence upon the most advancing point of the upper jaw-bone. These two lines will form an angle with each other; and this angle is the *facial angle* of Professor Camper. And, an awfully thaumaturgic diagram it is, in the hands of the professor! It is an infallible index to all the essential diversities of the animal kingdom. It establishes a regular scale, from the inferior tribes up to the most perfect human form. Beginning with the birds, we find

that, with them, the angle in question is insignificantly small. But as the angle opens, it corresponds to all the intermediate varieties, as they gradually approximate to the human figure. There is, for example, a certain species of the Ape tribe, in which the head has a facial angle of forty-two degrees. And there is another animal of the same family, gifted with an angle of exactly fifty degrees. Next to these, we have the African Negro, and the Kalmuk, each of them with a facial angle of seventy degrees. And, lastly, we have the European cranium, with a stately elevation of full eighty degrees. Beyond this nature is seldom found to go. But when art would improve upon nature, what does she do, but go on boldly to ninety degrees, or more! And, then, we have before us a type of ideal and superhuman grandeur. And thus we are conducted, by a simple and easy gradation, through different orders of beings, among which the Negro occupies an intermediate position between the European and the Orang.

This graduation is, doubtless, exceedingly ingenious, and has on the face of it a very plausible appearance. Nevertheless, even if we were to accept it, as handed to us by the professor, it would hardly be sufficient to make out his theory. It cannot be denied, indeed, that upon this scale the Kalmuk and the Negro both stand between the Orang and the European. But so they would, if the difference between them and the European amounted to an inclination of no more than three degrees, or two, or one. Whether they belong to an inferior species, or not, *some* intermediate place they *must* occupy in the scale, if their heads are distinguished from that of the European by *any* difference of obliquity whatever, be it great or small. But, further, it must be observed, that the *extreme* interval between the European and the Kalmuk, is measured by an angle of only *ten* degrees; while, by the professor's own showing, the interval between the Kalmuk and the Orang is measured by an angle of *twenty* degrees. The *hiatus*, therefore, between the stateliest of the Simian tribes, and the lowest pretender to human attributes, is double of that which separates the latter from the most perfect type of man; an indication sufficient, of itself, to destroy all confidence in this most repulsive theory.

It so happens, however, that the professor's graduation stands most egregiously in need of correction. It appears to have been framed entirely upon the appearances exhibited by specimens of the lower tribes, at an immature age. More accurate inquiry has shown that a very different result is obtained from a comparison of *crania* in the adult period of life. In the earlier period, the cranial portion of the Orang head greatly predominates over the

facial and maxillary part; and then the head approximates to the human form. But the development of the brain, and with it that of the cranial cavity, soon reaches its maximum. After that the jaws become enormously enlarged, till the *cranium*, properly so called, appears at last as a small rounded case, altogether posterior to the face, and not placed above it. And these changes are, unavoidably, attended with a corresponding diminution of the facial angle. In the *adult* Troglodyte the facial angle is only thirty-five degrees, just one half of the facial angle of the Negro,—namely, seventy degrees. In the Orang, or satyr, it is five degrees less. But let us take the greater measurement, and we still shall have an angle, not of *twenty* degrees, according to Professor Camper's scale, but of no less than thirty-five degrees, between the most advantageous facial line of the Simian family and the facial line of the most ambiguous *homo;* while the most ambiguous *homo* is separated from the most perfect by an interval of only ten degrees. But even this is not all. For while the interval of thirty-five degrees is left vacant, and wholly unoccupied by any intermediate variations, the interval of ten degrees exhibits, in the different human races, every intermediate diversity of angle. In the one case, Nature proceeds *per saltum*. She takes a leap clear over the thirty-five degrees. But in the other case, she passes, by very easy gradations, over the remaining ten degrees, from the least dignified type of humanity to that of the most refined and perfect symmetry. Surely, if these things be so, we ought to hear no more about the gentle *sliding scale* between the baboon and the man! Surely, the Negro or the Kalmuk will have no more to fear from Professor Camper and his facial angles, than they have from the sages who have exhausted their sagacity on the complexion of the cuticle, and the texture of the cuticular excrescence.

But the facial angle, after all, is by no means the only test,—perhaps not the most important test,—that may be applied to the comparison of skulls. The base of the skull must be carefully examined, before any satisfactory result can be obtained. Let the skull, then, be turned upward, and the lower jaw removed; and then, comparative anatomy can scarcely be at a loss for her conclusion. Exhibited in this position, the human cranium, whether taken from the shoulders of the European or the Negro, presents an appearance which is absolutely decisive, when compared with the corresponding outline of the cranium either of the orang or the chimpantsi. Without the help of a diagram it is scarcely possible to make the comparison intelligible. Some notion of it may, however, be conveyed by the following description:—The base of the most perfect skull, then, is of a

somewhat oval form. If divided into two parts by a transverse line drawn through the middle of it, and bisecting the longitudinal diameter, the posterior portion (which, properly speaking, is the true *cranial* region) is distinguished by the bold, and almost circular, sweep of its curve: and close behind the transverse diameter is the great occipital *foramen*. In the anterior portion, the oval is narrowed gradually off towards the extremity of the upper jaw: and, wholly within that anterior region, is contained the *ground-plan*, if so we may term it, of the facial and maxillary apparatus—the cheek-bones, the palate, the alveolar process. Some deviation from the perfection of this figure is, undoubtedly, to be found among the various human races. For instance, in the cranium of the Negro, and of some other tribes, the anterior portion may be somewhat unduly lengthened by the prominence of the upper jaw: but in other respects, no material difference is perceptible. But now look at the skull of the ape, even in its most favourable proportions! We scarcely know how to describe it. We seek, however, in vain for the oval outline, or for that capacious and majestic sweep of the *cranial* curve, which indicates the predominance of the mental above the mere animal nature. On the contrary, we find at the posterior extremity, the cranial cavity narrow in space, and circumscribed by a rude and almost angular outline; and, within it, the grand occipital *foramen*, far removed from its central position, and transferred nearly to the back of the head. Next comes, on either side, the arched and prominent structure of the facial bones, situated in the middle region of the whole scheme, and extending over full one-third of its longitudinal diameter. And, lastly, there is the projecting jaw-bone, starting forward abruptly from the figure into enormous length, and saying, as plainly as a jaw-bone can say it, "Behold an animal born to masticate, and not to think!" There can be no mistake here, as to the interval which separates all the families of the *Simiæ*, from all the races which lay claim to the lineage of Adam.

But there still remains another aspect of the human head: it must be viewed in front. And in that position, it will be found to exhibit some remarkable diversities of outline. The most graceful form of face is the oval or elliptical: and this is the form which most generally distinguishes the Europeans, the southern Asiatics, and many of the Africans. The varieties which it exhibits are chiefly those which depend on the varied proportions between the vertical and lateral diameters. There are other tribes, however, whose front face presents an appearance very different from the oval. Among these tribes, the head

seems to taper off, more or less, from the cheek bones, both upwards and downwards, so as to produce something of a rhomboidal, or lozenge-shaped figure, a form which is principally exemplified among the nomadic nations of northern Asia. This configuration would seem to indicate a somewhat limited provision for the developement of brain, as compared with the extension of those parts of the cranial apparatus which are more directly subservient to the mere animal functions; and Dr. Prichard suggests that this structure appears "adapted by its results to the condition of human tribes in the nomadic state, or in that of savage hunters." But however this may be, it indicates no striking approximation, that we are aware of, to the form of any brutish cranium; and it by no means exceeds the limits of individual variety frequently observable within the circle of one nation, or of one family. As at present advised, therefore, we are not disposed to regard it as a matter of much critical importance to the question, whether this or that race of bipeds belongs to a human or a semi-brutal family. If the Negro, or the Kalmuk, or the Esquimaux, are once clear of the perils of Professor Camper's facial angles, and of Professor Blumenbach's platform of the *cranium*, they will have but little to apprehend from the terrors of the rhomboidal, or lozenge-like developement of the skull.

At this stage of the investigation, Dr. Prichard enters on a vast and comprehensive survey of the whole human race,—in all its most remarkable divisions, and with all its diversities of organization and superficial appearance,—from China to Peru, from the Icy Sea to the Indian Archipelago, from Labrador to the Terra del Fuego. And here we are compelled to consign the reader who may feel his curiosity awakened, to the sole guidance of the accomplished and scientific author himself. For no powers of condensation can possibly bring the substance of his inquiry within the limits of an essay. We must, accordingly, content ourselves with producing his own *summing up* of the evidence which he has so laboriously collected:

"In the ethnographical outline which I have now concluded, the facts have been very briefly stated, and it would be difficult to recapitulate them in a shorter compass. I shall merely point out some of the most obvious inferences.

"The different races of men are not distinguished from each other by strongly marked, uniform, and permanent distinctions, as are the several species belonging to any given tribe of animals. All the diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations; and there is, moreover, scarcely an instance in which the actual transition cannot be proved to have taken place.

"Thus, if we consider the varieties of figure which are generally looked upon as the most important, and begin with those of the skeleton and the skull as their foundation, we shall find every particular type undergoing deviations and passing into other forms. We have seen that, in many races who have, generally, and originally, as far as we can go back towards their origin, heads of the pyramidal figure with broad faces, or the Mongolian type, the oval or European shape with European features display themselves in individuals, and often become the characteristics of tribes. We must refer the reader to the account given in the preceding pages of the five great nomadic races, to the description of the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Indo-Chinese nations.

"Again, the shape of the head in the black races varies in like manner. The Sudanian nations have a black complexion and crisp hair, with a form of the head different from that of the Negro; and the type varies in particular tribes, and even in the same tribe. Towards the south, the black and crisp-haired Africans display, in the highland of the Kafirs, a form resembling the European; and in the country of the nomadic Hottentots, make a signal approximation to the physical character prevalent among the nomades of High Asia. Among the aboriginal races of the New World, similar varieties and similar deviations occur. We have seen that the nations of America are not, as it has been represented, reducible to one physical type, that their skulls display many different leading forms, and although the ethnology of the Western Continent is as yet, owing to obvious causes, much less complete than that of Asia and Europe, we have, notwithstanding this circumstance, found instances in which the most strongly marked deviations are displayed within the limits of one and the same great family of American nations.

"Individual varieties have been pointed out as affording a similar evidence. In the plates at the early part of this volume, which contain figures of three skulls in one view, the reader may see an example of striking resemblance in heads taken from the most dissimilar and widely separated races of mankind. Many similar examples might easily be found, and, perhaps, some still more precisely to the purpose. The three figures above mentioned were taken casually from skulls now in my own collection.

"With respect to colour, it is still more easy to trace the greatest variations within the limits of one race. There is, perhaps, not one great family of nations, having its branches spread through different climates, which does not display in this particular the most strongly marked varieties. It is true that among European colonists settled in hot climates, such varieties are not so perceptible within a few generations; but in many well-known instances of earlier colonization they are very clearly manifested. We have traced them in the instances of the Jews and Arabs, in the tribes of Hindoos, or rather of the Indian race spread through India, compared with those of the Himálayan countries. We might add innumerable facts tending to bring out the

same result. Under this head, it would be quite fair to take the whole Indo-European family of nations as one example, since from one identical stock must have sprung the Gothic, the Iranian races, and the Arian stem of India, including the Xanthous Siah-Pôsh of Kafiristan, the yellow-haired and blue-eyed villagers of Jumnotri and Gangotri, and the black Hindoos of Anu-gangam.

"It has often been said, that the native tribes of America present an exception to the general observation deduced from a survey of the nations of the Old World, and that the complexion of the Americans displays no relation to climate. We have proved, on the contrary, that tribes alike belonging to the American stock manifest the influence of external agencies not less distinctly than do the white inhabitants of Europe compared with the black races of Africa. Witness the comparison of the white Americans of the north-west coast with the black Californians.

"If any one should call in question the assertion that the colour of human races has any relation to the climates of different countries, we have only need to appeal to the most general and broadly marked facts which the history of mankind presents.

"Thus it is obvious, that the intertropical region of the earth is the principal seat of the black races of men, and the region remote from the tropics that of the white races, and that the climates approaching to the tropics are generally inhabited by nations which are neither of the darkest nor of the fairest complexion, but of an intermediate one. To this observation it may be added, that high mountains and countries of great elevation are generally inhabited by people of lighter colour than those where the level is low, such as sandy or swampy plains on the sea-coast. Thus, if we begin with Africa, we shall find a great number of distinct races, as far as a total diversity of languages can be thought to distinguish men into separate races, spread over that great continent; and it may be observed that those whose abode is between the tropics, though differing from each other in many peculiarities, agree in the darkness of their complexion. In fact, if we divide Africa into three portions, we may define by the tropics the extent of the black complexion in its inhabitants.

"The nature of the hair is, perhaps, one of the most permanent characteristics of different races. The hair of the Negro has been termed woolly: it is not wool, and only differs from the hair of other races in less important respects. This subject has been discussed in the early part of my work, and I shall not repeat what has there been said. It may be seen that the texture of the hair affords in the animal kingdom no specific characters. In mankind we find it in every gradation of variety; and if we take the African nations, I mean the black tribes, who are apparently of genuine native origin, as one body, we shall discover among them every possible gradation in the texture of the hair, from the short close curls of the Kafir to the crisp but bushy locks of the Berberine, and, again, to the flowing hair of the black Tuaryk, or

Tibbo. In some instances, indeed, it appears that the change from one to the other may be shown in actual transition.

"I have now gone as far as the prescribed limits of this work admits in the investigation of anatomical and external bodily characters, as they vary in different tribes of men, and deviate from a common type. It now remains for me to advert in a summary manner to two other questions which were proposed for discussion in the outset. I allude to physiological varieties, or differences between races in regard to the laws of the animal economy; and, secondly, to psychological varieties, or diversities in the mental powers and habits, or in the intellectual and moral character of nations."—pp. 473—477.

The two departments of inquiry pointed out in the closing paragraph of the above extract need not detain us very long. The former, more especially, may be very briefly and simply placed before the consideration of the reader. If, on surveying the occupants of the earth, certain divisions of them were found to have, each of them, any laws of the animal economy peculiar to itself, there might be some reasonable cause for considering such marked peculiarities of constitution as indications of an original diversity of races. Take, for instance, the duration of life. Our average standard is three-score and ten years. Let us then suppose another tribe to be discovered, among whom the average standard was no more than thirty years; a third, in which the duration reached the highest patriarchal standard; a fourth, in which the length of days approached toward the antediluvian measure. It might be found difficult to reconcile such glaring diversities as these, with the hypothesis of one common parentage for all. Again, if it were ascertained that certain tribes were capable of breeding regularly twice or three times in the course of the year; others only once in the year; others, again, only once in the course of a year and a half, or two years; here, doubtless, would be another very perplexing class of varieties. Or, once more, if any people could be produced, of such terrible fecundity, that their offspring came upon them, not by units, but by litters of half a dozen, or a dozen at a time, we, perhaps, should not be very forward to claim kindred with that much-enduring race! But, in fact, no such conspicuous variations as these are ever known to occur. The period of gestation is, among all nations, of every form and colour, immutably the same. Litters of children, too, are universally unknown. The appearance even of twins is usually regarded as rather an awful visitation: and every where, three at one birth amount to little less than a prodigy! The duration of life, indeed, is subject to certain degrees of diversity. But then these degrees are themselves

well known to fluctuate, from time to time, and within certain limits, even in the same race and country; and none of them are greater than may easily be traced to the manifold agencies of climate and external condition. Some slight differences may likewise be found in the progress of physical developement, and the periodical changes of constitution; but recent investigations have shown that these differences are very much more insignificant than is usually imagined. They are none of them of such a nature as to afford the slightest sanction to the theory which parcels out the earth into separate inheritances for distinct and dissimilar families of men. The natural and vital functions of all races are essentially the same, and manifestly point to an identity of origin.

But what shall we say to the *psychological* diversities which seem to give a sanction to the very ungracious classification against which we are contending? How are we to dispose of the contrasts which present themselves, when we compare with each other the different races of mankind, with reference to their mental endowments and capacities, and the conditions of their existence as dependent upon these qualities? The difficulty is not only acknowledged by Dr. Prichard, but is very powerfully and graphically exhibited by him in the following passage.

"Let us imagine, for a moment, a stranger from another planet to visit our globe, and to contemplate and compare the manners of its inhabitants, and let him first witness some brilliant spectacle in one of the highly civilised countries of Europe,—the coronation of a monarch, the installation of St. Louis on the throne of his ancestors, surrounded by an august assembly of peers, and barons, and mitred abbots, anointed from the cruse of sacred oil brought by an angel to ratify the divine privilege of kings,—let the same person be carried into a hamlet in Negroland, in the hour when the sable race recreate themselves with dancing and barbarous music,—let him then be transported to the saline plains over which bald and tawny Mongoles roam, differing but little in hue from the yellow soil of their steppes, brightened by the saffron flowers of the iris and tulip,—let him be placed near the solitary den of the Bushman, where the lean and hungry savage crouches in silence like a beast of prey, watching with fixed eyes the birds which enter his pitfall, or the insects and reptiles which chance brings within his grasp,—let the traveller be carried into the midst of an Australian forest, where the squalid companions of kangaroos may be seen crawling in procession in imitation of quadrupeds,—can it be supposed that such a person would conclude the various groupes of beings whom he had surveyed to be of one nature, one tribe, or the offspring of the same original stock? It is much more probable that he would arrive at an opposite conclusion."—p. 487.

But, alas! there can be no need for us to travel to Mongolia, or to Negro-land, or to Southern Africa! The contrasts in question are constantly before our eyes. In every city of the civilized world, the extremes are in perpetual contiguity with each other. We have but to step from one street to another, if we wish to compare the most exalted refinement and intelligence, with the lowest degradation and even barbarism. For what barbarism is so frightful as that which is precipitated by the fermentation of highly civilized society! What would be said by the "stranger from another planet," if he were but to walk from Belgrave Square, or Carlton Gardens, to the purlieus of St. Giles's, or Saffron Hill? Nay, what would be his thoughts on passing from the wanton luxury and splendour of the great mill-owner's palace, to the squalid and pestilential hovels of his drudges? These very short excursions would show him, at a single glance, such opposite and contradictory *phases* of human nature, as might well extort from him the exclamation—"can these various groups of beings be of one nature, one tribe, and the offspring of one original stock?" But then, in this case, he would find the answer to that question immediately at hand. He would soon learn, that these "various groups of beings" were, beyond all possible question, of the same nature, and the same human family; that amidst the portionless, ignorant, and degraded creatures before him, individuals might be found, whose families had been brought down, through a long cycle of vicissitude and mischance, from as towering an elevation of affluence and dignity, as that which he had been previously admiring; and that some among them might, in their turn, probably, become the founders of similar high fortunes for their own posterity. And with this spectacle in his recollection, he might explore the remotest and dreariest deserts of the earth, fortified against all suspicion that the most destitute and brutalized savage had come of a lineage inferior to that of the philosophers, and the nobles, and the merchant-princes, of any European capital. As Dr. Prichard observes, "the descendants of the tribes who are described by Tacitus as living in squalid misery, in solitary dens, amid the morasses of the Vistula, have built St. Petersburgh and Moscow; and the posterity of cannibals and phthirophagi now feed on pillaus and wheaten bread." The change is immense, the contrast is well-nigh overpowering to the imagination, and ages were required for its production. But contrasts almost equally astounding may be witnessed within the range of half an hour's walk through any region of a densely peopled district, at the present day. It is, therefore, absolutely ridiculous to point to the loathsome barbarism of the Hottentot or New-Hollander,

as evidence of an inferiority of nature, co-eval with the existence of his race.

The bushmen of South Africa are considered by some ethnologists as the most degraded and miserable of all nations, and the lowest in the scale of humanity. They are described by Bory de St. Vincent as differing most widely from the *Iapetic* species, and as actually forming a transitional variety between the *Homo* and the *Simia*. And if the lowest extremity of filthiness, destitution, and ferocity, could entitle any biped race to such a position in the scale of existence, doubtless the claim of the bushman might stand among the foremost! But before we consent to place him there, we must recollect that the bushman is no other than a degenerate Hottentot. This has been ascertained. There is at present no diversity of opinion on the subject. As little can it be doubted, that he has been hunted and persecuted into his present brutality. He has been treated as a wild beast, till he has almost become so. The process of transition has been actually witnessed. The Korah race of Hottentots are notoriously the most advanced in all the improvements of pastoral life. Nevertheless, certain hordes of this very race have been reduced from the life of peaceful herdsmen, to the condition of hunters and predatory savages. They have been plundered by their neighbours, and driven out into the wilderness to subsist upon wild fruits; and, accordingly, they have become bushmen. They are assimilated, in every essential particular, to that most wretched and disgusting tribe.

But the Hottentot himself, it may be said, is, at best, no very favourable specimen of the human species. Indeed, his claim to the honours of humanity has been considered as extremely doubtful. But it must be remembered, that the Hottentot is not what he was. The whole Hottentot race has seen better days. Originally they were a numerous tribe of wandering herdsmen, living under a patriarchal government of chiefs or elders. They were mild in their disposition, though active in the chase, and courageous in war. They were distinguished for their fidelity and trust-worthiness. Their chastity was as remarkable as that of our German forefathers. They were capable of mastering a variety of languages. They were occasionally employed by Europeans in matters requiring judgment and capacity. And, though their religious notions were rude, they were by no means destitute of belief in a Sovereign Ruler of the world. But in time, European oppression began to do its usual work. The rapacity and cruelty of the colonist gradually broke the spirit of the poor barbarian, and reduced him to bondage, or drove him into exile. And, as we have seen, in "the lowest deep" of his

present degradation lies the still "lower deep" of the Bushman's savagery. Philosophy has consummated the injuries of both, by an attempt to exclude them from the family of man! Among other evidences of mental inferiority, the superstitions of many a savage tribe are, sometimes, very confidently insisted on. But we are unable to perceive that those superstitions are much more degrading, or more sanguinary and ferocious, than those which are known to have prevailed among certain highly-civilized nations, whose position, as members of the *human* family, has never been disputed. And, most assuredly, no European or Christian people, whose judges were firm believers in witchcraft to the end of the seventeenth century, can have any right to speculate scornfully on the intellectual or moral incapacity of untaught savages.

But our limits warn us to desist. We can but solicit the reader's attention to the general conclusion with which the author winds up this most valuable, and, as it appears to us, most unanswerable treatise.

"It would not greatly strengthen the conclusion which I am entitled to draw from the evidence already afforded, if the limits of this work allowed me to survey the history of every particular branch of the human family. The woolly-haired races of Africa, compared with the native tribes of the New World, and with the anciently civilised inhabitants of the Old Continent, furnish a sufficiently ample field for induction on this subject, since among them are comprised those human races who differ most widely from each other in structure of body and in all their physical attributes, and who have been represented as displaying the most decided contrasts in their moral and intellectual endowments. It would, indeed, be very easy to extend this research, with similar results, to all the other tribes of whose character we have yet any sufficient knowledge. Thus the nations of the great Southern Ocean might be shown to have had among themselves, long before their discovery by Europeans, traits of a very similar kind. They had social institutions resembling those of the rest of mankind; they had universally the belief in a future life, in the protection and government of the world by Providence, in the influence of good and evil genii on human affairs, in the duty of worshipping the gods, in the efficiency of sacrifices, and obsequies, or rites performed in behalf of the dead, in the influence of priests, or human mediators. Similar observations may be made with respect to all the barbarous nations of Northern Asia. The history of the conversion of these nations to Christianity, and of the adoption among them of the ideas and practices of civilised nations, would furnish chapters equally striking and remarkable as those to which our attention has already been directed, in the history of the human mind. The Australians as yet remain of all nations the least known, since scarcely any one has yet been able to converse with them, or to understand the expression of their thoughts. But fresh

evidence is every day collected, tending to raise the low estimate which had been formed, and long maintained, of their extreme mental degradation. Degraded they doubtless are: the tribes with whom the colonists have principally had intercourse are, in their external condition, perhaps, the most miserable of the human family, being destitute of the arts which could alone enable them to live with any degree of comfort in the region which they inhabit, or even to support, unless scattered in small wandering bands over a wide space, their physical existence. But there is reason to believe that we have as yet seen only the most destitute of the whole nation; and that there are tribes farther to the northward, perhaps in the inland countries of the great Austral land, who are by no means so miserable or so savage as the people near the southern shores. But even with respect to these, the opinion of the extreme stupidity of the race has been shown to be unfounded, and the latest and most authentic statements enable us to recognise among them the same principles of a moral and intellectual nature, which, in more cultivated tribes, constitute the highest endowments of humanity.

"We contemplate among all the diversified tribes, who are endowed with reason and speech, the same internal feelings, appetencies, aversions; the same inward convictions, the same sentiments of subjection to invisible powers, and, more or less fully developed, of accountableness or responsibility to unseen avengers of wrong and agents of retributive justice, from whose tribunal men cannot even by death escape. We find every where the same susceptibility, though not always in the same degree of forwardness or ripeness of improvement, of admitting the cultivation of these universal endowments, of opening the eyes of the mind to the more clear and luminous views which Christianity unfolds, of becoming moulded to the institutions of religion and of civilised life: in a word, the same inward and mental nature is to be recognised in all the races of men. When we compare this fact with the observations which have been heretofore fully established as to the specific instincts and separate psychical endowments of all the distinct tribes of sentient beings in the universe, we are entitled to draw confidently the conclusion, that all human races are of one species and one family."—pp. 544—546.

One word more, and we have done. We have remarked at the outset of this paper, that if it had been God's pleasure to assign a distinct parentage to each of the various races of mankind, it would have been ours to acquiesce in this as the best and wisest of all possible arrangements. Since, however, He has been pleased to proceed otherwise, we may venture, without irreverence, to say, that we think that one indication, at least, of the superior wisdom and benevolence of his mode of proceeding may easily be discerned. For let us imagine the Scriptural Genesis to have told a different tale. Let us suppose that it had pointed to certain localities on the face of the globe, and had informed us, that in these He had respectively planted the progenitors of

the great divisions of the human race. Can any one fail to see the use which would, probably, have been made by an unscrupulous philosophy of the divinely-authorized record? Can we doubt of the manner in which it would have been wrested to her purposes? We have seen with how little ceremony she treats the account we have actually before us. But what if the account itself had spoken of aboriginal diversities of stock? She then would have claimed the inspired historian as her ally. Her language would have been on this wise: "You see that your own Scriptures negative the theory of an identity of origin. They expressly inform us, that certain races were distinct and separate from the beginning. What, then, can be more reasonable than the supposition of certain original gradations of physical and mental endowment also? How is the dignity of Scripture violated by the hypothesis, that the inferiority, which we actually witness now, was the ordained and primitive inheritance of the tribes who, at this day, bear the marks of it?" And thus might the word of God have been pressed into the service of a system which excludes vast multitudes of his reasonable creatures from any part or lot in the privileges of our common humanity. We might have had the traffickers in human flesh appealing to the Bible, and the philosophers of the southern states of the American union accusing the northern abolitionists of rebellion against the appointments and purposes of the Almighty! But now we are spared the necessity of a perplexing and vexatious conflict upon this ground. Our cosmogony informs us that all the nations of the earth are of one blood and one parentage. The adversary, therefore, is deprived of all semblance of support from the language of Revelation. On the contrary, he is compelled to an open encounter with its authority. On that ground he has been met by Dr. Prichard, and, in our judgment, most victoriously. It has been thought by some that in his former researches into the natural history of man, he did not speak out with sufficient confidence and boldness. Be this as it may, he has spoken out clearly enough now; and therein he has shown himself at once the friend of humanity and the champion of religion.

ART. II.—*Sermons, bearing on Subjects of the Day. By* JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, *B.D., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* Rivingtons, London.

THE announcement of a new volume of sermons by Mr. Newman, and, more especially, of sermons "bearing on *subjects of the day*," could not fail to excite a strong and anxious interest in all parts of the Church. Opponents were in expectation of obtaining additional evidence in support of their accusations; disciples were looking for some clue to guide them amidst increasing difficulties; and many friends were awaiting in anxiety a more specific declaration of views on points which the circumstances of the times invest with unusual importance. We cannot without very mingled feelings contemplate the extent of Mr. Newman's influence, and of the importance which attaches to every expression of his views; and in that mixture of feelings we can well believe, that this gifted writer himself participates. On the one hand, no one who can bring himself fairly to consider the substance of much of Mr. Newman's teaching (of course, we only speak of those who see in the Church a divine institution, and who accept her creeds) will be disposed to deny that the standard of Christian holiness has been elevated through his instrumentality; that self-denial, submission to the Divine will, devotion, consecration of all powers and energies to the promotion of the glory of God, have been urged by him with a mixture of power, of beauty, and of persuasiveness peculiarly his own. And surely this is no ordinary glory; no service to be lightly passed over and forgotten. In this point of view, then, one cannot but feel satisfaction in contemplating the general interest which attaches to every expression of Mr. Newman's opinions. It is a deserved tribute to the individual; and it is a tribute to the important truths which he has inculcated.

But, on the other hand, there are so many anxious and painful thoughts connected with this subject, that our rejoicing must be very nearly akin to sorrow. In this influence we are reminded of the grievous fact of dissension and discord amongst the children of our mother Church. It is not merely the inculcation of Christian holiness which has been the cause of this influence; it has arisen amidst dissensions on principles which ought never to have been disputed; it is the result of faults in various directions, which indicate the lamentable prevalence of a "carnal mind," a most grievous and prevalent deficiency in Christian humility, and discretion, and charity. We are of opinion, that in this matter

there is much cause for self-humiliation and repentance on all sides; and we pray that sincere and good men may be led to look more and more *within*, and to endeavour to correct those defects and infirmities which have in many instances marred and impeded the work which they have had in hand. Had the controversies of the times been conducted with more fairness and candour, and in a spirit of more Christian kindness, we should perhaps have been nearer to a satisfactory conclusion than we seem to be. It may be that agreement in religion is withheld from us, because our tempers are too unsubdued, and our self-confidence is too great.

But, in addition to this source of uneasiness, it is impossible not to fear, on a survey of the past, that Mr. Newman's influence has been in no inconsiderable degree augmented by those very peculiarities which have excited so much of uneasiness even amongst those who approve of the general complexion of his theology in other respects, and which the most dutiful sons of the Church, and the most zealous advocates of her high and Catholic principles, have never adopted or approved. And yet, even in this point of view, there may perhaps be as much cause for thankfulness as for apprehension and uneasiness. For there is every reason to think that the very novelty or singularity of some of Mr. Newman's views (as compared with those which are more generally received in the Church) has been one cause of their adoption by minds of no ordinary power and energy, which might, in the absence of such teaching, have embraced novelties of *a far more questionable and even dangerous character*. We are satisfied that many minds have been saved from heresy; many from latitudinarianism; from rationalism; from absolute infidelity, by the very novelty and boldness which have characterized some speculations which have given serious offence to the Church.

It is true that great uneasiness has been excited by the peculiar tone which certain minds of no inconsiderable power have recently adopted, and which has, doubtless, exhibited great unsettlement of principle on important points, and an evident tendency to revive the superstitions of former times. We are far from denying the reasonableness of such apprehensions, or from imputing any blame to those who have entertained them; but assuredly the case might have been far worse than it is. We would only refer to the state of the Church *ten years ago*, and ask what would have been the result if the spirit of ecclesiastical reform then prevalent had been conducted on some definite principle, under the management of some leader of consummate ability, and with the aid of all those active minds which have been otherwise engaged? If this spirit had been permitted to expand

itself for a few years more without check or opposition, without the existence of any rival principle, absorbing into itself the energies and the interests of the rising generation, it would be difficult to say how much even of the external framework of the Church would have been left standing at the present moment.

It would seem that the character of Mr. Newman's mind had been peculiarly adapted to give employment to energies which might otherwise have been most destructive to the Church. Minds of such an order as his cannot but leave deep and powerful traces of their operation in any region of thought to which they may be peculiarly directed. They cannot but invest old and almost forgotten truths with new forms and colouring. The commonest objects under their operation become transmuted into another being, and a new spirit is breathed into them. Novel truths, or questions, or theories, are developed with a rapidity which electrifies the more sober and common-sense part of mankind. Former modes of thought, and argument, and expression are uprooted without ceremony, and become antiquated and obsolete. Novel applications of existing knowledge, the utmost intrepidity in carrying out principles to their remotest consequences, ingenious attempts to trace theories through all their complicated relations, and to solve their perplexities and intricacies by the most delicate and subtle analysis,—all this is to be expected when minds of the highest power gird themselves to the pursuit of knowledge. And can we wonder that the same results issue from the same causes, when the subject-matter of investigation is religion itself? It is in vain to expect, that when minds of this class apply themselves to the consideration of the religious system of the Church in *any age*, comprising as it does at all times not only revealed and obligatory truths, but human and ecclesiastical *deductions*, *inferences*, *institutions*, and *practices;* and possibly, too, partaking, in some degree, of that imperfection and that decline, which is the portion of human nature itself—it is impossible, we say, that the existing system in any age should not be in some degree disturbed by the operation of such powerful intellectual influences. Religious opinion in such circumstances cannot in all points remain stationary. Whether it be for good or for evil, progress will be made. We are absolutely compelled, however reluctantly, to apply ourselves to the re-examination of much that had lain in a sort of dormant acquiescence in our minds. We find the maxims and the prejudices in which we had been brought up gradually melting away, and we know not to what extent this process may be carried. Our former theories are riven asunder. The very interests of Christianity in its most vital points become compromised. Investigation may, perhaps,

descend at once to the very foundations on which our faith is based; the profoundest depths of human thought may be sounded; and every point in the whole circle of doctrine and practice may be agitated by new theories and questions. And in all this there is undoubtedly much to perplex and even to irritate those who have remained quietly and contentedly in the views which had been current in their youth. They are naturally displeased to find any disturbance in a system which has in many respects worked so well, and under which they have been conscious of many and great personal benefits; and they are justly apprehensive of the evils which religion may have to encounter amidst unknown and trackless paths of speculation; and however theoretically favourable to the principles of liberty of thought and of the right of private judgment, they stand aghast at novel applications of those principles, and they are disposed to condemn very severely those who have come to conclusions different from their own.

When such circumstances occur in any age, it is impossible but that very serious misunderstandings and dissensions should arise in the Church. Men of piety and of integrity may and will take opposite sides of almost every question, swayed as they will always be by various influences unknown to themselves, and liable as they are to mistake both the nature of the question itself and the opinions of other men. Angry controversy perhaps succeeds, and the Church is almost rent in sunder for a time; and the "babes in Christ," the "infirm brethren," are scandalized by the spectacle of wrangling amongst their teachers; and good men begin almost to despair of the cause of truth, and to look in gloom and despondency on the Church's prospects, as if her sanctity and her faith were on the point of vanishing away. And yet it may be, that the event is destined to be very different indeed from that which is apprehended. It may be that men are contemplating a very small portion of the contest which surrounds them, and forming their conclusions on a narrow and imperfect induction. They may perhaps imagine that unmingled evil and peril are in the storms which disturb that bark in which their Saviour abides; but they think not that the wisdom of God may be preparing for its manifestation even by and through the strivings of frail and imperfect beings; and that the guidance of Providence may be not obscurely traced amidst the very extremest perplexities which encompass them around.

To apply this more particularly to the circumstances of the Anglo-Catholic Church at the present day, it may, we think, be distinctly seen, that there is a great process of renovation going on, which is not arrested by the dissensions amidst which

it is conducted. We have already observed, that the very novelty and singularity of certain views which have been developed of late years; we might even say, the mixture of what is exceptionable in these views, have, not improbably, been the means of saving the Church from some great peril in another direction.

On the other hand, it would seem, that the care and protection of Divine Providence may be not less distinctly traced in the strong checks which have been interposed to prevent the ascendancy of the peculiar opinions of individuals, or their general adoption by the Church. The violent opposition which they have excited has indeed been in many respects very painful both to their authors, and to all who pray for the peace of Christendom, and who love the Church of England; and yet it cannot, we think, be reasonably denied, that in so far as this opposition has tended to secure the Formularies of the English Church from alteration; to prevent any relinquishment of the principles and truths which have been bequeathed to us by the Reformation,—any general approximation to the superstitions and errors still prevalent in the Roman Church,—a great and essential work has been done; and though there has been much, very much, to deplore in the temper, and the language, and the proceedings of those who have been engaged in it, still we may well recognize in it the providential care of the Divine Head of the Church; and in this hope we cannot but rejoice,—with trembling, it is true,—but yet in hope, that the Divine protection is still around our Church, and that some holier, and purer, and more peaceful state is in store for her.

We are inclined to think that such a frame of mind would naturally arise in religious minds, on a calmer survey of our condition than men are commonly inclined to take: and we do earnestly hope, and trust, that there is a growing disposition in many quarters to look on the controversies of the times without the spirit of party; to give men the praise which is due to their services, and yet not to shrink from reproving their errors on fitting occasions; and to confide in the blessing of God on integrity of purpose combined with Christian charity. We trust that, however seemingly disturbed our Church may be, there is still a large proportion of the community which is fixed and settled in very sound and catholic principles, and which is prepared to act stedfastly on those principles in reliance on Divine aid, and in no uncharitable spirit towards their brethren. And we look with hope to the increase of such views, until by the sure test of time the whole Church shall be convinced of the integrity and the innocence of those who hold them.

It must be confessed, indeed, that the adoption of what we

shall designate by a well-known and very intelligible term, "Church principles," however sound and moderate may be the tone in which they are advocated, often brings with it no inconsiderable amount of inconvenience and even of suffering to individuals. If one thing be more clear than another, it is this, that no clergyman, who in the present day is (humanly speaking) so *unfortunate* as to have acquired the least distinction as an advocate of Church principles, can escape imputations which must cause him very great pain, in many ways. He finds opponents amongst his own people,—reports and insinuations to his disadvantage are assiduously circulated,—his most praiseworthy actions are misinterpreted,—his designs for the spiritual welfare of his people are viewed with distrust,—perhaps his ecclesiastical superior receives unfavourable impressions in regard to him.

But painful and depressing as the existing discouragements to Church principles may appear in the first instance, it will, we think, be found on closer examination, that there is great cause for thankfulness, and for hope, in those very circumstances which we have been considering. If there could be one thing more than another calculated to be fatal to the cause of the Church, it would be such an alloy of earthly objects and views in the *advocates of Truth* as would tend to impair the energy, the simplicity, the uncorruptedness, the independence of their testimony. It should be their aim to *act* on those principles of self-denial and self-sacrifice which they preach to the world. It should be their endeavour to live in a region of thoughts and objects elevated above the perishing interests of this life. It should be their desire that the judgment of man, and the praise or blame of human beings, however exalted or powerful in this world, should not exercise any overweening influence over their opinions or their conduct. And surely, if we would but calmly examine the present position of many of the best and soundest members of the Church of England, it could not escape our observation, that they are placed in circumstances which are in many respects the most favourable to the cause of Truth, and of sanctity, that well can be imagined. Are not the ties of this world loosening their hold on the advocates of Church principles? Are not the objects of this life diminished in their influence on the affections, by their partial removal? Is there not a greater independence on the favour of man when our hopes are *compelled*, in default of lower things, to concentrate themselves on the Divine favour? Assuredly, it can never be injurious to us, in a spiritual point of view (and this, after all, is the only important consideration), to *suffer* for well-doing. If we cannot bear with patience, and even with rejoicing, the *very small* measure of affliction which has been

meted to us, our hearts must be very far indeed from that frame in which the martyrs and the confessors of old endured sufferings for the name of Christ,—our sympathies with those who have voluntarily relinquished the world for the service of God, or who have practised self-denial in all things, must be rather apparent than real. He who rightly considers the prevalent temptations to *worldliness* which beset even the best men in this age of low and earthly aims, must feel grateful to that Providence, which in any degree, or in any way, exempts him from their pressure. And if the comparatively gentle and easy-to-be-borne afflictions which now beset so many amongst us, are designed for the accomplishment of some great work to the glory of God, which could not otherwise be effected, how unworthy is it to feel despondency or irritation, or any thing else inconsistent with a cheerful hope, and a dutiful resignation to the Divine will.

From these considerations we turn to the important volume which is now before us; important in respect at once to the subjects of which it treats, the time in which it appears, and the hand from which it proceeds. No one who peruses this single volume can, we think, be at any loss to account for the influence which its author has acquired. It has certainly not been surpassed, perhaps it has not been equalled in ability, by any previous production of Mr. Newman's fertile mind. Whatever may be the doctrinal views of the Christian reader, we cannot but think that he will rise from the perusal of this volume, a better, a wiser, though it may be, a sadder man.

The prevailing sadness in which these sermons have been composed must strike every reader. It is needless to attempt any account of this: the fact itself is very forcibly impressed on our minds. It seems to us that the tone is continually deepening throughout the volume. It makes its appearance in many ways; in melancholy views of our prospects; in the absence of hopeful anticipations; in efforts to preserve a cheerful spirit under afflictions; in something occasionally like a slight degree of impatience; in a sort of reluctance to permit the existence of any spirit of rejoicing. Penitence and mourning are the main topics which are insisted on; the sins of which we are guilty—the sins of the age and of the Church are ever presented to our view; and we are bid to look for no peace, and to desire no prosperity, until these iniquities have been cleansed; and the prevalent indisposition to hear the voice which reproves and denounces existing faults, and even to resist it, is regarded as a sign of deep corruption, which is as it were eating into the vitals of the Church, and threatening her destruction. We see in all this, we confess, not the mere results of thought and deliberation under circumstances of ease

and tranquillity, but the workings of a spirit almost sensitively alive to all the painful circumstances of the times; a spirit sorely tried in many ways, by friends as well as by enemies; and yet sustained by a strong resolution, amidst sufferings of no ordinary intensity. We think that these Sermons, and the events of the last two or three years, may be considered in the light of commentary and text; though the commentary only indicate the general feelings which have been excited in the author's mind, with rare and indistinct allusions to the particular circumstances which have drawn them forth.

It would be a very lengthened process were we to attempt any thing like a regular analysis of this volume: much there is, deserving of notice, which we must reluctantly pass over. But we shall endeavour to accomplish what is of most importance; to ascertain the opinions of Mr. Newman on the leading questions of the present day: and we shall accordingly proceed to make extracts illustrative of his views on such points, selecting, in the first instance, those in which we can concur, and afterwards, those in which we are obliged to express considerable difference of opinion.

I. While we cannot but acknowledge, that sins committed after the reception of Divine grace in general, and especially of the regenerating grace of holy baptism, are more grievous than those which have been committed in a state of nature, on the general principle so often laid down in holy Scripture, that "to whom much is given, of him shall much be required;" that, in short, responsibilities are proportioned to gifts: yet, on the other hand, this sound and Catholic principle ought not to be pushed to such lengths, or clogged with such consequences as might leave the repentant sinner without hope of full restoration to his former privileges. It would not be possible to approve of any doctrine which might interfere with what is described in the 17th article, that "sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to *godly persons*, and such as feel in themselves *the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things*," and who are permitted to indulge an humble and joyful hope that they have been called, and justified by the free grace of God, which has enabled them to arise from sin, and to walk in newness of life. It would, we say, be impossible to concur in any view calculated to shake the confidence with which the repentant soul may rely on the advocacy of Him who is "the propitiation for our sins;" on the perfect forgiveness which is awarded by Him, who meets the returning penitent in his toilsome journey, and clothes him with righteousness. We have, therefore, read with

pleasure the second sermon in Mr. Newman's volume, entitled, "SAINTLINESS NOT FORFEITED BY THE PENITENT," from which we extract the following passage :—

"Is it possible to conceive a greater contrast than is placed before us in the picture of Saul the persecutor of the Church, and of St. Paul, Apostle, Confessor, and Martyr? Who so great an enemy of Christ? Who so true a servant? Nor is St. Paul's instance solitary; stranger cases still have occurred in the times after him. Not unregenerate sinners only, like him, but those who have sinned after their regeneration; not sinners in ignorance only, like him, but those who knew what was right and did it not; not merely the blinded by a false zeal and an unhumbled heart, like him, but sensual, carnal, abandoned persons; profligates, who sacrificed to Satan body as well as soul; these too, by the wonder-working grace of God, have from time to time become all that they were not; as high in the kingdom of heaven as they were before low plunged in darkness and in the shadow of death." —p. 18.

Such instances, it is remarked, have given speciousness to the false doctrine advanced by some, that "to have a full measure of Christ's cup, a man must first have drunk deeply of the cup of devils;" but what they really prove, is thus stated:—

"They prove then this; that no degree of sin, however extreme, (unless, indeed, it reaches the unpardonable sin, the sin against the Holy Ghost, which of course falls not within our subject; but no degree of sin, which can be repented of,) precludes the acquisition of any degree of holiness, however high. No sinner so great, but he may, through God's grace, become a saint ever so great. Great saints may become such, either after being, or without being, great sinners. We cannot argue from what a saint is at his close, what he was at his beginning. Look through the lives of the saints, and you will find that some became such, after never turning from God[1], and others, after turning from Him; and it would be presumptuous to assert that in their catalogue there are not saints as great who have turned from Him and repented, as any of those who have been just persons from their youth up, needing no repentance."—p. 19.

We are obliged to abstain from quoting the remainder of this passage, which, however, is marked throughout by the same tone of encouragement to genuine penitence.

II. There is much in Sermon IV., entitled, "DANGERS TO THE PENITENT," which is calculated to be useful at all times, in restraining persons of more feeling than judgment, from taking rash steps in the first fervour of repentance, which they might

[1] There is some inaccuracy in this expression; for those who have *never turned* from God are saints already; and have not to *become* such.

regret in moments of more sober consideration. The sermon is not intended, as we are informed, to "apply to persons of sound judgment or calm temperament, who though they do truly repent, yet repent with the reason rather than with the feelings," it applies to such cases as the following passage describes:—

"I observe then, that repentant sinners are often impatient to put themselves upon some new line of action, or to adopt some particular rule of life. . . . . And their heart yearns towards humiliation, and burns with a godly indignation against themselves, as if nothing were too bad for them; and they look about for something to do, some state of life to engage in, some task or servile office to undertake."—p. 48.

Mr. Newman's advice under such circumstances is to avoid excess in penitential works.

"And next I would say, to such persons as I have described, be on your guard, not only against becoming committed to some certain state of life or object of exertion, but guard against excess in such penitential observances as have an immediate claim upon you, and are private in their exercise. The danger is, that what is really an excess, seems to such persons to be only moderation. When men are in horror and anguish at their past sins, they are anxious to put some burden on themselves, which may relieve their feelings, and remind them of what they have been, what they are. Now nothing is more unadvisable, in most cases, than to begin with severity. . . . . If penitents are bent on lading themselves heavily, let them know that the greatest of burdens, as well as the most appropriate, is what is lasting, what is continual. A slight penance, if long, is far more trying than a severer one, if short."—pp. 49—51.

The case of those who are tempted to make rash promises or vows, when they are in acute distress for their sins, is thus treated:—

"Persons who wish to repent of their past sins, are tempted to make vows of poverty, or continence, or humble estate, or the like. Now I do not say that they are wrong in wishing for themselves this or that kind of life, which the Apostles exercised. . . . . But as things are, it is best to confine ourselves to the wish and the endeavour, and to spare ourselves the solemn promise. I say this, because I think there is something which persons may do, which will practically come to the same thing. . . . . I mean, they may make it a point ever to *pray* to God for that gift or that state which they covet," &c.—pp. 53, 54.

It must be remembered, that the sermon is expressly intended for a peculiar class of penitents, and at a time when certain states of life, or certain actions which are very liable to abuse, have been suggested and advocated without much discretion; and we must say, that, under the circumstances, Mr. Newman

has in this discourse endeavoured to take his disciples out of difficulties, and exceptionable undertakings, and to direct them into a safe and a Christian course. At the same time, however, we cannot but greatly lament, that a class of penitents should have been formed under his instruction, who have learnt to look on works of repentance rather as self-inflicted *penalties* for past sins, than as worthy *fruits* of a renovated heart. Such views, we fear, tend to exhaust the energies of the repentant heart in attempting to atone for offences which the intercession of Christ alone can efface; instead of concentrating those energies in one undivided effort to live unto God, confiding in His mercy for the remission of what is past.

III. Mr. Newman's observations on the growth of feelings of the mere beauty of religion, and the prevalent taste for splendour in Divine worship, and in the sanctuary [2], although conceived in somewhat a too melancholy spirit, yet seem to us deserving of serious consideration. Undoubtedly, *if* in any case, attention to such minor matters interfere with higher considerations—*if* there be any disposition to rest in the external, and visible and material, and to neglect that which alone gives to religion its vitality—it does become most essentially necessary to humble men, by teaching them that this is not religion, and that their first steps must be contrition and penitence. We are not inclined to think that there is so much of this actually, as Mr. Newman appears to apprehend. The following extracts are made from Sermon IX. entitled, "INDULGENCE IN RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGES:"—

"There is an increasing cultivation of all that is external, from a feeling that external religion is the great development and triumph of

[2] In connexion with this subject, it is impossible altogether to leave out of view the increasing disposition to connect symbolical and mystic interpretations, with all that is external and material in the Church. Whoever has perused the works of ancient ritualists, such as pseudo-Dionysius, Isidore of Seville, Amalarius, Walafridus Strabo, Gemma Animæ, Durandus, &c., and is at the same time acquainted with the real and actual origin, and intention, and uses of ecclesiastical rites, and vestures, and buildings, will feel that a vast amount of ingenuity has been expended on mystical interpretations, which are solely the creatures of fancy. Doubtless it may be possible to imagine, in every external action or object, a symbol of something in the spiritual world; there is, indeed, no limit to the exercise of fancy in devising such analogies—but unless such theories be regarded in their true light, as exercises of a religious imagination, there seems to be no small danger of investing what is merely external, and of human institution, with a very undue importance, and of forming the most erroneous and exaggerated conceptions on such subjects. Everything, down to the most trivial details, becomes equally important and mysterious in this system. We should be sorry to see those who are conscious of wants, which a merely *external* religion cannot supply, look to any symbolical theory, like that of Durandus, as meeting their necessities. Such theories apparently tend to augment the influence of what is external, and to withdraw the mind from the deep realities of inward religion.

the inward principle. For instance, much curiosity is directed towards the science of ecclesiastical architecture, and much appreciation shown of architectural proprieties. Attention, too, is paid to the internal arrangement and embellishment of sacred buildings. Devotional books also, of an imaginative cast, religious music, painting, poetry, and the like, are in request. Churches are more frequently attended on week-days, and continual service is felt to be a privilege, not a task. And two services are felt to be short of that measure of devotion, which the religious mind desires to pay to its God and Saviour.

"Now, no one can suspect me of meaning to imply, that such signs of the times are not in themselves hopeful ones. They are so; but, O my brethren, be jealous of these things, excellent as they are in themselves, lest they be not accompanied with godly fear. I grieve to say, that the spirit of penitence does not keep pace with the spirit of joy. With all this outward promise of piety, we are jealous of that which alone is its inward soul and life; we are very jealous indeed of personal strictness and austerity. We are alarmed at any call to national or personal humiliation and amendment.

"I fear a number of persons, a growing number, in various parts of the country, are likely to abandon themselves to what may be called the luxuries of religion, nay, I will even call them, the luxuries of devotion; and the consequences of this it is very distressing to contemplate. They are tending to 'feast without fear.' For this reason I should look with jealousy on any considerable revival of weekly communions. We are not fit for them; I am sure, men in general, such as we are, even religious persons, are not fit for them."—p. 130—134.

This may be true; but we are sure that there are *very many* persons who would derive incalculable benefit from the revival of weekly communions; and for the spiritual welfare of *the clergy themselves*, as well as of the more religious of the laity, we do most earnestly desire the restoration of this primitive and holy practice. Frequent communion, regular catechising, and censure of notorious and impenitent sinners, are perhaps our greatest and most pressing wants in a spiritual point of view; for the supply of which every faithful member of the Church ought to labour and to pray.

IV. Mr. Newman gives some excellent advice in reference to all designs for evangelizing the heathen, or healing the divisions of the Universal Church; which he thinks can only be effectually promoted by those, who have learned in the first instance to correct *themselves*. It may be, that some portion of the context would rather tend to *discourage* all present efforts for the extension of Christ's kingdom, except in our own hearts; but undoubtedly the following suggestions must, in many points,

commend themselves to the judgment of every right-minded believer :—

"Till we look at home, no good shall we be able to perform for the Church at large ; we shall but do mischief, when we intend to do good, and to us will apply that proverb—'Physician, heal thyself.' Let us learn first to come diligently to the waters, and ask for that gift of God, which will be 'a well of water, ever springing up unto everlasting life.' And let us not doubt that, if we do thus proceed, we shall advance the cause of Christ in the world, whether we see it or not, whether the world wills it or not. Let us but raise the level of religion in our hearts, and it will rise in the world. . . . . Let us try to serve God more strictly than heretofore ; let us pray to Him to send down that influence which converted the world in the beginning, and He surely will answer our prayers far beyond what we think or hope. He will raise up for us saints and guides in this dreary time, when sanctity and wisdom seem well-nigh to have failed ; He will bring together the different parts of the Church, and restore peace and unity as at the first."—p. 150—152.

In most of the sentiments here expressed we concur. Earnestly as every Christian must wish and pray for the union of the Universal Church, he must also feel that under existing circumstances, and considering the great amount of mutual jealousy and misunderstanding, as well as prejudices and abuses of all kinds which now exist in various degrees amongst the branches of the universal Church, we must place our reliance on the providence of God, rather than on any human means for restoring union ; and must be content to cultivate real religion, and promote unity in our own particular branch of the Church, as the most effective method of being useful to the remainder of Christendom.

V. At a time when doubts have been avowed in some quarters, whether the English Church be a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, it is satisfactory to receive some proofs of Mr. Newman's acknowledgment of her claims. Amidst all his denunciations of prevalent opinions and practices, his forebodings of evil rather than good, his idea that the English Church is rather deteriorating than improving, and his evident belief that injustice and wrong have been committed by that Church, still he does not seem to deny her essentially Catholic character ; and he applies himself in every way to prevent secessions from her communion. For all this, calculated as it is to relieve some serious apprehensions which Mr. Newman's late resignation of his church preferment might have caused, we certainly feel thankful ; though there is much to allay our satisfaction.

The following passage furnishes evidence in support of what has been said :—

"In spite of her prosperity for the moment even in this country, the Church of Christ is in peril, as is obvious. Can we number the tens and hundreds of thousands who shrink from our Church as if Antichristian, or who hate her for being Christian, and wish her downfall? Is there no battle between the Church and the world in this country? . . . . As to ourselves, I fear, it is no declamatory statement to say, that there never was an age . . . . when the Church contained so many untrue members; that is, so many persons who profess themselves her members, when they know little or nothing about the real meaning of membership, and remain within her pale for some reasons short of religious and right ones. For instance, to put one question on the subject—How many supporters of Christ's holy Catholic Church do you think would be left among us, if her cause were found to be, not the cause of order, as it happens to be now, but the cause of disorder, as it was when Christ came and his Apostles preached?"—pp. 305, 307.

We could not have desired a more explicit and decided acknowledgment of the essential catholicity of the Church of England. But Mr. Newman is not content merely to bear this unequivocal testimony. He exerts the full weight of his influence in favour of remaining in the communion of the Church. A series of four Sermons (xxi.—xxiv.) is devoted to this specific purpose; and though we may not concur in every statement, or perceive the force of every argument comprised in them; nay, though we may lament that he is driven to their use by his own charges against the English Church; it is impossible not to feel that they are advanced in perfect honesty and sincerity.

The four Sermons just alluded to, are (as Mr. Newman informs us in a note) not addressed "either to those who, happily, are without doubts on the subject" of "the safety of continuance in our communion," or "to those who have no *right* to be in doubt about it"—i. e. whose difficulties have arisen from grave moral deficiencies, such as the absence of any efforts after strictness of life, self-knowledge, avoidance of temptation, self-denial, &c. But, besides this, we ought, in justice to Mr. Newman, to observe, that it may be not unreasonably supposed that the persons whom he was addressing were not accessible by ordinary modes of argument. It may be assumed that such persons had not been without impressions in favour of the papal supremacy—that they had perhaps regarded the see of Rome as the centre of Catholic unity—that they had been led to look on the Reformation as an unmingled evil—that they had been accustomed to compare the external unity of the Roman obedience with the existing divisions

of the English Church—that their inclination was to overlook all the faults and exaggerate all the merits of the former Church, and to reverse this process in dealing with the latter. Doubtless, when principles were so far unsettled, it was a task of no ordinary difficulty and delicacy to endeavour to arrest the movement which was threatened. Most men would perhaps either have resigned the attempt in despair, or would have attempted to re-construct principles, which could only have revived by a very slow and gradual process, and which consequently would have been wholly useless in the actual *emergency*—for such we must consider it—the Sermons being evidently designed to meet a particular crisis. Mr. Newman adopted a different course altogether, and probably the only one which was available under the circumstances; and though we think the argument open to grave exception, it is impossible not to applaud the intention, and to feel satisfaction at the effort which was made. We think that these observations may explain in some degree what might otherwise appear reprehensible in these discourses. Doubtless, if they had been addressed to persons who were accessible to arguments in favour of the English Church, deduced from historical or external evidences, it would have been most unjustifiable to have appealed so exclusively to the personal experience and feelings of individuals, as Mr. Newman has done in these Sermons; and if such an appeal were made in favour of any system, which was admitted at the same time to be entirely destitute of external proofs, its unsoundness would become immediately evident, because such a mode of argument would be directly latitudinarian in its tendencies, and would go to establish the duty of remaining in whatever religious communion we may happen to be members of. But it does not seem to us, on consideration, that Mr. Newman can be fairly charged with holding such opinions, or be justly supposed to have adopted the line of argument he has chosen on any other ground, than that he believed those for whom the Sermons were intended to be only thus accessible. There is no statement on his part that the English Church is wholly devoid of evidences independent of the personal experience and feelings of individuals. Believing, as we do, that there is quite enough of external evidence in favour of the English Church, we do not see any impropriety in appealing to private feelings in *a case of necessity*, and with a view to prevent her children from committing the grievous sin of separating from her communion. Indeed, we are disposed to think that these Sermons supply very many arguments which might be advantageously employed by the clergy to promote attachment to the Church, if used *in addition* to the ordinary methods. It may be, that some minds might

be accessible by such a mode of reasoning, which could not otherwise be influenced.

Mr. Newman commences by directing attention from the merely external notes of the Church to its inward and spiritual evidences. We have already suggested the reason for this procedure—the external notes of the Church had become dangerous ground for those whom he was addressing; and indeed in the passages we are about to cite, Mr. Newman himself seems to favour the notion, that in our branch of the Church such external evidences can scarcely be found. "Of course, the kingdom of Christ," he says, "as being in this world, has an outward shape like this world, . . an aspect of growth and development like other kingdoms; but, after all, this is not the true process of its rise and establishment[3]." It came, as he teaches, by an *inward* presence; the Spirit of God touched many *hearts;* and hence the marvellous influence of the Gospel. It supplied the *wants* of the human heart, and gave to the faithful an earnest of their future inheritance. And this is still the case: men receive the Gospel, because they feel that it supplies their spiritual necessities. But many seek for this supply without finding it, and become restless in consequence. From these considerations Mr. Newman approaches the case of those whom he was addressing.

"How great a blessing is it, my brethren, at all times, but especially in an age like this, that the tokens of Christ are not only *without us,* but more properly *within us!* I say in this age especially, because it is an age in which the outward signs of Christ's presence have *well-nigh* deserted us. Christ, in mercy to all who seek Him, has been accustomed in all ages, in anticipation of His true inward witness, to hold forth certain plain and general tokens of His presence, to show the world where He is to be found. These are for beginners; or for those who are not yet beginners, that they *may* begin, and may thus be led on by such experience of His grace, to discern those holier and better notes of which He speaks in the text. Since then in this, our age, He has in judgment obscured the visible and public notes of His kingdom among us, what a mercy is it to us, that He has not deprived us of such as are personal and private! Alas! how few, even of serious men, could remain peaceful and stedfast, or be secure about themselves, that they would not run any whither, if they judged merely by what is seen!"—p. 359.

"Let, then, the disorder in religious matters, which now prevails among us, only lead each of us to ask himself this plain question, whether he may not have more tokens, real and intimate, that Christ is with himself and his brethren in our ordinances, than he has evidence

[3] Pages 350, 351.

in the present absence or mutilation of the truth, whatever it is, that Christ is not with him. Christ may be at a distance from others, yet may be with him. The word runs, 'According to thy faith be it done unto thee.' If, then, 'there is any consolation in Christ, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies;' if you have gained any good thing, not merely in, but through your Church; if you have come to service, and been favoured with the peace or the illumination you needed; or if you can recollect times when you visited holy places, and certainly gained there a manifestation such as the world could not give; or if sermons have come to you with power, and have been blessed to your spiritual good; or if your soul has been, as it were, transfigured within you when you came to the most holy Sacrament; or if Lent and Passion-tide brought to you what you had not before; or if at Ordinations you have been partakers of an indescribable influence and almost savour of grace, though you realized it not at the time; or if strange providences and almost supernatural coincidences have hung about the Church's Ordinances; if mercies or judgments have descended through them upon yourselves, or upon those about you; or if you have experience of death-beds, and know how full of hope the children of our Church can die;—O! pause ere you doubt that we have a Divine Presence among us still, and have not to seek it. Let us enjoy what we still have . . . 'The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground; yea, I have a goodly heritage;' why should not we enjoy the hidden kingdom of Christ, though others may not have faith to see it? And we will cling to the Church in which we are, not for its own sake, but because we humbly trust that Christ is in it; and while He is in it we will abide in it. He shall leave before we do."—pp. 363—365.

Mr. Newman is of opinion that the external evidences in favour of the English Church are becoming weaker, and yet that such a failure or deficiency is no evidence that the presence of Christ is withdrawn. The following passage will explain his views on this point: we think that the picture is overcharged and exaggerated in several respects:—

"Alas! I cannot deny that the outward notes of the Church are partly gone from us, and partly going; and a most fearful judgment it is. . . . . The Church of God is under eclipse among us. Where is our unity for which Christ prayed? where our charity, which He enjoined? where the faith once delivered, when each has his own doctrine? where our visibility, which was to be a light to the world? where that awful worship, which struck fear into every soul? . . . . And as the Jews, shortly before their own rejection, had two dark tokens,—the one, a bitter contempt of the whole world, and the other, multiplied divisions and furious quarrels at home; so we English, as if some abomination of desolation were coming on us also, scorn almost all Christianity but our own; and yet have, not one, but a hundred

gospels. . . . . And who can be startled, not I, if a person here or there, painfully sensitive of this fearful eclipse of the Sun of Truth, and hoping, if it be possible, to find something better elsewhere . . . . leaves us for some other communion? Alas! and we, instead of being led to reflect on our own share in his act, instead of dwelling on our own sin, are eloquent about his; instead of confessing our own most unchristian divisions, can but cry out against his dividing from us; instead of repenting of our own profaneness which has shocked him, protest against his superstition; instead of calling to mind the lying and slandering, the false witness, the rejoicing in evil, the ungenerousness and unfairness which abound among us, our low standard of duty and scanty measures of holiness . . . . we, forsooth, think 'we do well to be angry,' and can but enlarge on his impatience, or obstinacy, or wilfulness, or infatuation. Or, if we are alarmed, as well as indignant, we dream of foes and traitors among us, when the foe and the traitor is within us."—pp. 379—381.

It seems to us, we confess, that this passage mars, in no small degree, the effect of the reasoning in these Sermons. It almost suggests, that there *are* tokens that God is about to forsake us; and the whole view is, we think, greatly exaggerated. Far be it from us to deny the existence of very unchristian feelings in many quarters: but what we object to in the foregoing passage is, that the *whole Church* is supposed to be involved in the sins thus vehemently denounced. No exception is made: it does not seem to occur for a moment, that there are many members of the Church who may be free from the guilt of such things: it seems to be supposed, that all those who are startled and scandalized at secessions from our communion—all those who suspect the existence of treason amongst us (beholding the inculcation of tenets which undoubtedly approximate to Romanism), are wholly without justification, in having such alarms and suspicions—and are, in fact, influenced by unchristian feelings. Against such a view we really must enter a protest: we are satisfied that many, very many of those who have been in some degree alarmed by the events of the last few years, are really under the influence of true religion; and it seems to us, that Mr. Newman has in the foregoing passage done much injustice to the Church of England.

Mr. Newman, in alluding to the lapse of certain persons to Romanism, since the publication of Tract XC., has thought it advisable to make some observations on the *causes* which have led to such secessions. He remarks, that "the authorities who were parties to the condemnation of No. XC. of the 'Tracts for the Times,' by that interposition, released the author, in his own feelings, of the main weight of a great responsibility; the responsibility, which up to that time attached to him, of inculcating

religious views which, however primitive, however necessary for our Church, however sanctioned by her writers, tended, without a strong safeguard, towards the theology of Rome."—p. 385. He observes, that *till then*, "the remedy and corrections of all irregularities in the direction of Rome, might fairly be demanded" of the advocates of Patristic theology, i. e. of himself and his friends—that he does not deny, "that there are portions of what he has written, which have become the disposing cause of certain tendencies to Rome, now existing," but that "it has been the recent speeches and acts of authorities, who had so long been tolerant of Protestant error, which have given to enquiry and to theory its force and its edge." In other words, the opposition which has been offered to Mr. Newman's views, and to those of his immediate friends, by the authorities of the Church, has been the principal cause of secessions to Romanism—the authorities of the Church, or rather the "Church" herself, as Mr. Newman says, "though various of her organs" having taken, "the Protestant side, in a number of the questions of the day."

The whole of this passage, like that which was last cited, seems to us calculated to act in a direction contrary to that of the sermon to which it is appended in the shape of a note. The Church of England, and her prelates, are here involved in a charge of taking the side of *Protestantism* (i. e. of *heresy*, according to the well-known use of the word by Mr. Newman, as opposed to *Catholicism*)—of tolerating "Protestant error." We think that statements of this kind go far to neutralize the good effects, which might otherwise have been expected to arise from these discourses. Mr. Newman himself seems to have been aware of this, as he has not included them in the Sermons themselves. And we think, that the same reason which induced him to refrain from preaching them, ought to have prevented him from appending them in the form of a note. It would seem, also, that when Mr. Newman felt himself bound to admit that the principles which he had inculcated, *had* in some degree been a cause of certain evil tendencies, it would have been desirable, that this confession, candid and honourable as it undoubtedly is, should not have been accompanied by an inculpation of others, and more especially of ecclesiastical authorities, and of *the Church herself*. It seems as if there were in this, some want of humility —some reluctance to take blame, unless it were shared with others. And with reference to the main question, it would appear evident, that the Church, through her authorities, was *justified* in feeling some jealousy of principles which, "without a strong safeguard," tended towards "the theology of Rome"—that it has always been a matter of great doubt, amongst men of

Catholic principles, whether such "*strong* safeguards" have been supplied by Mr. Newman—that the publication of Tract XC. certainly could not be considered in any such point of view, and on the face of it appeared rather a *concession* to a Romanizing party, the existence of which was then distinctly *admitted*. We are of opinion that, considering all this, Mr. Newman ought to have abstained from such very severe condemnation of the Church, and of her prelates; and we think that the whole passage bears more signs of a resolute and self-justifying temper, than of any spirit of forgiveness, and humility, and charity.

One other remark we must offer on the foregoing passage. Mr. Newman states, that the interposition of those who condemned Tract XC., "released him, in his own feelings, of a great responsibility," and that "till then," the correction of tendencies towards Rome might "fairly be demanded" of him; but that "the state of the case was changed, when persons in station interfered with the work." There are two senses in which we may understand "tendencies towards Rome and its theology;" it may either imply tendencies towards Rome by *separation from the English Church;* or it may imply the *adoption of Romish tenets within the communion of the English Church.* Mr. Newman has, in these Sermons, exerted his utmost power in opposition to the former: we regret to find that there is no evidence of any resistance to the latter: we see in this volume evidences of the same spirit of *concession*, which is to be found in some parts of Tract XC. To these we shall hereafter direct attention; for the present we turn to more pleasing subjects.

We select the following passages as valuable admissions of the power of religion in the English Church:—

"And further, much might be said, were not a suggestion sufficient, of the manifestation of Christ which often attends on death-beds, for the benefit of survivors. Consider whether, under certain circumstances, an evidence is not hereby given to the reality of our religious principles, and the Divine origin of our Church, as great as any note or token of any kind which can be given. What is any note of the Church, but an indication that Christ is invisibly within it? . . . If so much is proved, it is enough; and there are single tokens which, by themselves, suffice to prove it; and such, surely, to those who witness them, are many of the scenes which take place on death-beds. May we not reverently hope, that Almighty God does sometimes vouchsafe to show bystanders then, that our Church, in spite of its manifold disorders, is a safe Church to die in?"—pp. 401, 402.

Such touching proofs are, indeed, afforded to many amongst us; and considerations of this nature shed additional splendour

around the death-bed of a Christian. We know not what spirit may, from the remembrance of such a trying scene, derive support and consolation amidst temptations far remote in time and place. It is gratifying to receive such an attestation to the power and reality of religion in the Church of England from one so well calculated to form a just estimate of it as Mr. Newman; and more especially, when we remember the gloomy views which he has given of the state of religion amongst us at the present day. Such passages as this furnish the corrective of what is elsewhere said under feelings of depression or despondency. We gladly cite the following testimony to the same effect:—

"And lastly, I might say much on what is a *more ordinary* evidence, yet perhaps as cogent,—the evidences of sanctity in the living, which we are from time to time vouchsafed. Surely that is a Church visited by the influences of Divine grace, which contains in her pale men so saintly in their lives, so heavenly in their hearts and minds, so self-denying, so obedient, as are vouchsafed to her even in this degenerate time. Is it not safe to trust our souls in their company? is it not dangerous to part company with them in our journey across the trackless wilderness?"—p. 402.

We must here subjoin another valuable concession of Mr. Newman's, from which it will appear that our state is, after all, not one of unmingled evil.

"This is the great distinction between our Church and all those bodies (of dissenters) round about her. A *great multitude of our people*, to say the least, feel and know that the Church in herself, and considered as a Church, is a great blessing. They are convinced that Christ is in her: that she is here that favoured spiritual body which is present in many places, one and the same all over the earth, perfect and entire here, and there, and every where, as if she were no where else, and called in Scripture, 'the Bride, the Lamb's wife.' They do not merely dislike other forms of worship, but they love and revere hers. They are witnesses to themselves, yes, and to each other, that Christ is in them of a truth."—p. 411.

These are cheering views, and may well prevent our looking in any despondency on the present condition of the Church of England. Sanctity in life, and sanctity in death, and the appreciation of spiritual privileges, are still to be found amongst us; and we trust that "a great multitude of our people" can attest it. True it is that we are full of imperfections: true it is that divisions of the most painful description are perplexing and disturbing us; but even here there is consolation in the reflection, that our case in this respect is not peculiar. Others have suf-

fered far more severely than we have: nay, this Church has been far more grievously tried in former ages. It is, in truth, an affliction to which the Church is liable at all times; as Mr. Newman has himself remarked.

"That time will never come in this world, when the strife of tongues and the alienation of hearts shall cease."—p. 414. And again: "In one sense, all days resemble that last day, whereas Christ is ever coming, the love of many ever failing, and iniquity ever abounding."—p. 417. And elsewhere: "The world seems ever gaining on the Church, yet the Church is really ever gaining on the world. Its enemies are ever triumphing over it as vanquished, and its members ever despairing; yet it abides."—p. 81.

So that the mere existence and prevalence of strife, and uncharitableness, and corruption, and persecution in the present day, is no new feature in the world—nothing that should disturb our faith, or cause perplexity,—nothing that should impair our attachment to the Church, or lead us to imagine her in any degree forsaken of God. "What want we then," to use Mr. Newman's own words, "but faith in the Church? with faith we can do every thing; without faith we can do nothing. If we have a secret misgiving about her, all is lost; we lose our nerve, our powers, our position, our hope. Let it not be so with us; let us be of good heart; let us accept her *as God's gift and our portion.* . . . She is like the mantle of Elijah, a relic from Him who is gone up on high."—p. 430. It is for this reason that we deprecate, especially at the present time, exaggerated statements of our evils, unaccompanied by admissions—thankful admissions—of the good which exists, and is, we trust, increasing. This is certainly not a time for self-confidence, or boasting, or unmingled joy; such feelings and conduct indeed are at all times unsuited to the condition of the militant Church: but, on the other hand, it is, in every point of view, most wrong to forget the many unspeakable blessings which we actually enjoy, or to reject the intimations which are vouchsafed to us, of a protecting care which is gradually purging the branches of the vine, "that it may bring forth more fruit." Despondency in regard to the Church ought really to be regarded as a sort of treason against her: it tends to accomplish its own predictions of evil: it acts as a drag on every effort for the promotion of her glory, and for the glory of her Divine Head.

VI. We have already entered on the subject which we had intended to reserve for consideration in this place, and which constitutes the first point on which we are obliged to express a difference of opinion from Mr. Newman,—we allude to his very severe censures of the Church of England. It has been already

seen, that the Church herself, in his view, has, since the condemnation of Tract XC., taken the heretical side of the question on various occasions; and that he is of opinion that the speeches and acts of her prelates have been heterodox. Similar views are stated in a very forcible manner in the following passages:—

"Looking at our own portion of the heavenly heritage, we see heresies of the most deadly character around us and within us; we see error stalking abroad in the light of day and over the length of the land unrebuked, nay, invading high places; while the maintainers of Christian truth are afraid to speak, lest it should offend those to whom it is a duty to defer."—p. 432.

And still more forcibly in the concluding sermon of the volume, delivered on occasion of the author's resignation of his parochial duties in the Church of England, which he thus apostrophizes:

"O Mother of Saints! O school of the wise! O nurse of the heroic! of whom went forth, in whom have dwelt, memorable names of old, to spread the truth abroad, or to cherish and illustrate it at home! O thou from whom surrounding nations lit their lamps! O Virgin of Israel! wherefore dost thou now sit on the ground and keep silence, *like one of those foolish women who were without oil on the coming of the Bridegroom?* Where is now the ruler in Sion, and the doctor in the Temple, and the ascetic on Carmel, and the herald in the wilderness, and the preacher in the market-place? *where are thy 'effectual fervent prayers,' offered in secret, and thy alms and good works coming up as a memorial before God?* How is it, *O once holy place*, that 'the land mourneth?' . . . O my mother, whence is this unto thee, *that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? how is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms?* Who hath put this note upon thee, to have 'a miscarrying womb, and dry breasts,' to be strange to thine own flesh, and *thine eye cruel towards thy little ones?* Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee, and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loath as an offence; at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession, and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest. Thou makest them 'stand all the day idle,' as the very condition of thy bearing with them; or thou biddest them begone, where they will be more welcome; or thou sellest them for very nought to the stranger that passes by."—pp. 460—462.

Is this the language of a faithful, and dutiful, and humble son of the Church? We must confess that it seems to us rather

that of an opponent than of a friend; and it goes far to establish the existence of feelings, which the Church could not have been expected to regard with satisfaction or confidence. Is it come to this, that because some few zealous and pious men have not been wholly successful in their objects—because they have been viewed with doubt and suspicion, which (*it is admitted*) were not wholly without foundation; the Church of England as a whole is to be regarded as unfruitful, devoid of good works, unholy, unsympathizing, destitute of all natural and Christian affections? We look in vain, in this melancholy passage, for any signs of self-humiliation; any acknowledgment of mistakes or indiscretions; any attempt either to excuse the Church in any degree from the guilt imputed to her, or to discriminate the Church from her unsound members. No, this invective is not in the spirit of a faithful son of the English Church: it is not in the spirit of Him who prayed for his murderers: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

VII. Nor, alas! is this the only subject in which alienation of affection from the English Church manifests itself. It is true, that Mr. Newman urges very strongly the duty of remaining in communion with our branch of the Catholic Church; that he admits on several occasions its essential catholicity. But it is to be feared, that his doctrine is very far indeed from promoting a spirit of real attachment to the Church, or of satisfaction in remaining united to her. A very striking sermon near the end of the volume, entitled, "ELIJAH THE PROPHET OF THE LATTER DAYS," contains much which, though apparently referring to the condition of the Church of God under the former dispensation, cannot be mistaken in its allusions to our own case.

The example of Elijah is held up for our comfort in this way:

"There is this remarkable fact concerning Elijah and his brethren, that he was not in communion *with the Church of Moses* in his lifetime, did not worship at the temple, was cut off from them with whom was 'the adoption, and the glory,' &c.... A most remarkable fact certainly, which while it gives us great comfort, as regards those religious bodies at this day who are deprived of the ordinary channels of grace, is not without its element of encouragement even for us, who, though not without the apostolical line and the possession of the sacraments, are separated from the great body of the Church. Now let us dwell on this fact. It is indeed a most remarkable and gracious providence, that these great prophets, Elijah and the rest, should have been vouchsafed to *revolted* Israel; nay, and that they themselves, as their history shows, should have made no effort to set right what had gone so wrong; nay, should not even themselves have paid that honour to the Mosaic worship, which had been enjoined upon all the descendants of Israel....

Elijah and Elisha, and their brethren, *acquiesce in the disorders which surround them;* and rather strive to make the best of things as they are, than to bring back a rule of religion which had passed away....

"But God's thoughts are not as our thoughts, neither our ways His ways. He raises up Prophets and gifts them with miraculous power, to do a half work; not to heal the division of the kingdoms, but to destroy idolatry; not to restore outward unity, but to repress inward unbelief; not to retrace the steps of the wanderers, but to keep them from wandering still further."—pp. 419—422.

It is remarked particularly, that Elijah suffered the people of the ten tribes "to remain where they were; he tried to reform them *in* that state."

"Now why this was so ordered, we do not know; whether it be, that when once a people goes wrong, it cannot retrace its steps; or whether there was so much evil at that time in *Judah* also, that to have attempted a reunion would have been putting a piece of new cloth into an old garment, and had it been effected, would have been a hollow, unreal triumph; or whether such good works have a sort of natural march, and the nearer work must first be done, and then that which is further removed, and men must undo their sins in the order in which they committed them; whatever was the reason, so it was, that Elijah and Elisha kept the people shut up under that system, if it might so be called, in which they found them, and sought rather to teach them their duty, than to restore to them their privileges."—p. 423.

Then follow various instances from Scripture inculcating the duty of patience, and of not too hastily attempting to recover lost privileges.

"So was it with holy David, who cheerfully waited out the full term of years, during which he was to be a wanderer in the mountains. So was it with well-beloved Daniel, who in a heathen court led a saint's life, and was visited by angels, when he could but look towards the temple. Well then might the schools of the Prophets also be 'an example of suffering affliction, and patience;' well might they be content not to go over Jordan, but to die in the wilderness; well might they feed their people with the mere elements of truth, with 'milk, not with strong meat,' while they but obscurely signified Gospel doctrine; for there was envying and strife and division among them, and they were carnal, and were not able to bear the food of men and angels."—p. 424.

It is especially remarked, that when the Prophet had to flee for his life, and "in his heart thought that his mission had failed,"

"He sought not the kingdom of David, he honoured not the precept of unity, he had no heart for that outward glory of holier times; he

passed by Jerusalem, he passed on, along a forlorn and barren way, into that old desert in which the children of Israel did wander, till he came to Horeb, the mount of God. He fled to Antiquity, and would not stop short of it, and so he heard the words of comfort, which reconciled him to his work and to its issue. When he came to Horeb, his gracious Master, the wonder-working God, taught him... that He was to be found, not in public, but in private, by notes and tokens, personal and secret."—pp. 425, 426.

Now it seems to us impossible to avoid perceiving throughout the whole of this a continued allusion to the circumstances of the present day; and, truly, the inferences which we may draw from it are any thing but satisfactory as regards Mr. Newman's view of our ecclesiastical position. It seems pretty evident that the English Church is regarded as schismatically separated from Catholic unity—as cut off from the true Church and worship of God. The Temple of God is *elsewhere;* and though there are various reasons which should lead us to remain where we are, and not unite with another Church, yet still it is but too plainly hinted, that our system, as a whole, is one of fearful evil and sin. There seems an evident allusion to the line of argument adopted by Mr. Newman in some of these Sermons, in the references to the instruction vouchsafed to Elijah on Mount Horeb.

VIII. But there is a statement which throws a painful kind of light on this passage—we allude to that in which the *See of Rome* is not obscurely admitted to be the centre of unity. It is as follows:—

"This [*i.e.* the divisions of the Universal Church leading to divisions in particular Churches] is a point much to be kept in view in this day, as it will moderate our expectations, and sober us: we cannot hope for peace at home while we are at war abroad. We cannot hope for the recovery of dissenting bodies, while we are ourselves alienated from the great body of Christendom. We cannot hope for unity of faith, if we at our own private will make a faith for ourselves in this our small corner of the earth. *We cannot hope for the success among the heathen of St. Augustine or St. Boniface, unless, like them, we go forth with the apostolical benediction.*"—pp. 149, 150.

We have examined and turned this concluding passage in every way; but we fear that it can bear only one interpretation—*the Papal Supremacy, and that by Divine right.* The "Apostolical benediction" *common* to Boniface and Augustine, was the *Papal.* If we cannot hope for success among the heathen without the *Papal* benediction, the Papacy must be Divinely instituted. If this, indeed, be the view which is entertained, one cannot much wonder to find the English Church repre-

sented as cut off from the Temple and worship of God. The allusions to "revolt" become very intelligible; and the example of Elijah, who, knowing as he did that the centre of unity was at Jerusalem, yet refrained from leading the people of Israel thither, is at once seen to bear directly on the case of those who, recognizing the Church of Rome as the true Church, and the Papacy as the centre of unity, yet remain in the communion of a Church which is severed from Rome. It is easy to understand the reference to David, "wandering in the mountains;" and to Daniel living in a "heathen court;" and to those who died "in the wilderness:" if the Papal Supremacy be admitted, it follows that such language is strictly applicable to our position. And if there be reason to feel thankful that secession from our communion is not recommended but discouraged in these Sermons, there is certainly no inconsiderable drawback on the satisfaction thence derived, when we meet with such intimations as are conveyed in one of the preceding passages—that a revolted nation should "undo their sins in the order in which they committed them"—a sentiment which, taken in connexion with the whole bearing of the sermon, goes far, we apprehend, to countenance the views of those who are desirous to "recede farther and farther from the Reformation," and to "unprotestantize" the Church of England. We are at a loss to reconcile such views with the admission, that the English Church is Catholic.

IX. It is with deep concern that we have perused the third sermon in this volume, entitled, "Our Lord's first Supper and his last." After all that has been lately said and written on the subject of the worship of the Virgin—and in particular, considering the evidence furnished by Dr. Pusey in the Appendix to his "Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury"—we were, certainly, not prepared for such language as that which we are about to cite, and which seems calculated to afford countenance to all the most exaggerated forms of this worship as practised in the Church of Rome. It is, as we all know, a frequent notion in books of Romish devotion, that the favour of the Virgin to her votaries is of peculiar importance beyond that of other saints, because her power is greater—she is the *Mother* of God our Saviour—and, as such, exercises *influence* and *power* over Him; so that she rather *commands* as a Parent than entreats as a creature. Now let us hear Mr. Newman:

"As at his first feast, [at Cana] He had refused to listen to His mother's prayer, because of the time, so to His Apostles He foretold, at His second feast, what the power of their prayers should be, by way of cheering them at his departure, 'Ye now therefore have sorrow; but

I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you. In that day ye shall ask Me nothing. Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in My name, He will give it you.' . . . 'I have called you friends, for all things that I have heard of My Father, I have made known unto you.' In the gifts promised to the Apostles after the Resurrection, we may learn *the present influence and power of the Mother of God.*"—pp. 42, 43.

Taking all circumstances into account, such expressions would almost seem to be designed to afford countenance to the worship of the Virgin in its most exaggerated forms. We do indeed most bitterly deplore this: assuredly such language furnishes at least as fitting a subject for explanation or retractation as certain strong expressions against the Church of Rome.

X. From the following passage it would seem that "sacramental confession and the celibacy of the clergy" are considered to be of Divine institution; and there are indications elsewhere in the volume which seem to confirm such a view:—

"It is God who designs, but his servants seem designing. . . . . Moses, for instance, is sometimes called skilful in his measures or his laws, as if wise acts might not come from the Source of wisdom, and provisions were proved to be human, when they could be shown to be advisable;" and, after further illustrations, "What, for instance, though we grant that sacramental confession and the celibacy of the clergy do tend to consolidate the body politic in the relation of rulers or subjects, or, in other words, to aggrandize the priesthood? for how can the Church be one body without such relation, and why should not He, who has decreed that there should be unity, take measures to secure it? Marks of design are not elsewhere assumed as disproofs of His interference."—pp. 345, 346.

We have not space to quote other passages bearing on this subject. It is difficult not to connect these sentiments with the similar views lately advocated so openly in the "British Critic."

XI. Mr. Newman is of opinion that the self-denying and unworldly life exemplified in our Saviour and the Apostles, and recommended in Holy Scripture, is at the present day only to be found in monasteries.

"If the truth must be spoken, what are the humble monk, and the holy nun, and other regulars as they are called, but Christians after the very pattern given in Scripture? What have they done but this,—continue in the world the Christianity of the Bible? Did our Saviour come on earth suddenly, as He will one day visit, in whom would He see the features of the Christians He and His Apostles left behind them, but in them? Who but these give up home and friends, wealth and ease, good name and liberty of will, for the kingdom of Heaven? Where shall we find the image of St. Paul, or St. Peter, or St. John,

or of Mary the Mother of Mark, or of Philip's daughters, but in those who, whether they remain in seclusion, or are sent over the earth, have calm faces, and sweet plaintive voices, and spare frames, and gentle manners, and hearts weaned from the world, and wills subdued?"—p. 328.

We think that at present there is very little disposition to look on Monasticism in anything of a hostile spirit: the tide of opinion indeed seems rather to set the other way. But, whatever may have been the merits or demerits of this system (and we would remind the reader that there is a *dark*, as well as a bright side of the picture), it certainly does seem strange to say, that Apostolical Christianity is to be found *only* in Monasticism. Does not our own *experience*—the very argument to which Mr. Newman has appealed so successfully in some of these Sermons—convince us, that self-denial, and a spirit of separation from the world's objects and desires, is to be found elsewhere? Have we not *known* men of saintly lives, who seemed to live only for the service of God, and whose abundant good works, and holy words, and humbleness, and meekness, and charity, and devotion, must ever dwell in our hearts? And have we no instances of men relinquishing what is cherished by this world, that they may devote themselves to the service of their Saviour? Have we no examples of missionaries breaking the ties of kindred, and going forth into a strange land?—none, of men sacrificing worldly prospects in the cause of Truth?—none, of voluntary afflictions undergone for that cause? Surely there must be too great a bias in favour of Monasticism, when Apostolical Christianity is supposed to be restricted within its limits. We cannot now enter into the question at large, or attempt any statement of opinion on the merits of Monasticism: it is sufficient to have directed attention to Mr. Newman's extreme views on the subject.

It remains, in conclusion, to offer some general remarks on the position, in relation to existing parties in the Church, which this volume seems to indicate. That there has been, unhappily, within the last two or three years, a tendency in some quarters to certain doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome, is a fact which is too well known to need any proof. That such a tendency has been viewed with the deepest regret by the great body of those who have maintained Church principles, is equally certain. Convinced as they are, that the principles which they uphold do not favour the pretensions of Romanism, but present a firm barrier against them; and persuaded as they have been, that the Tracts for the Times (we say nothing of a few of the *latter* tracts) were not written by men who were either disloyal to the English Church, or favourable to Romanism; they have been

justly unwilling to identify the Tracts and their authors, whose services had been in many respects so great, with views opposed to their continual declarations, and to the tenor of many of their writings. It was surely, for instance, difficult to imagine that the author of "Lectures on Romanism and Popular Protestantism," could approve of the later doctrines of the "British Critic." A distinction is certainly perceptible between the doctrines of that periodical, and those of the Tracts, and of their authors, if not always in principles, yet certainly in the *conclusions* at which they respectively arrived. This distinction has been recently pointed out; and it has been stated, as a well-known fact, that the authors of the Tracts are dissatisfied at the lengths to which others have proceeded [4]. We sincerely trust and believe, that this statement is, generally speaking, well-founded; and though, in regard to Mr. Newman's *recent* views, there could not but exist a degree of uncertainty; we were not without hopes, that the publication of this volume of Sermons might possibly tend to restore the confidence which had been lost, and to remove the doubts which had been excited by several recent circumstances; more especially, by the author's retractation of strong expressions against Romanism, and his resignation of the vicarage of St. Mary's. But we have sought in vain throughout this volume for any declaration, or any expression of sentiment, which might suffice to establish some difference of objects and views between its author and the "British Critic:" we have, on the contrary, found signs of agreement in too many respects [5]. We say this with grief: we are too sensible of the great services, and the many excellencies of Mr. Newman, not to feel much, at being obliged to arrive at such a conclusion: but it is in the discharge of a solemn duty to the Church, and to her great Head, that we avow our conviction, that Mr. Newman's views *have changed*—that they have received a development which has caused them to diverge from the sound and genuine principles of the Anglo-Catholic Church; and that those who combine with Catholic principles a warm attachment to the English Church, and a conscientious repugnance to the errors and superstitions prevalent in the Roman communion, can no longer expect the co-operation of this distinguished and eminent writer. Deeply painful as this must be to all faithful adherents of Church principles, we trust that they will not permit them-

[4] See a "Narrative of Events connected with the publication of the Tracts for the Times," &c. by the Rev W. Palmer, of Worcester College, Oxford.

[5] The Life of Stephen Harding, founder of the Cistertian order, recently published, with a Preface by Mr. Newman, furnishes another evidence of his accordance with the views of the "British Critic." It is written in a spirit of *devoted loyalty* to the Papal see, and to the whole system of Romanism. *Every* doctrine and practice is received with implicit veneration and fervent devotion!

selves to be discouraged. We trust that they will proceed calmly, and stedfastly, and humbly, in the course which they have commenced—that no words of unkindness or of irritation may ever escape them, when those on whom they had relied for stedfastness in faith disappoint their expectations. We trust, also, that they will not assist in keeping up an unwholesome excitement by inconsiderate, or intemperate, or needlessly offensive words or actions; and that they will be content to place their cause, and the cause of their Church, in the hands of God; relying on the operation of *time* to disclose the sincerity and simplicity of their purposes; and to restore that mutual confidence and brotherly love which has been so much shaken. Let it be the endeavour of all true Churchmen to adorn the doctrines which they maintain, by exemplifying their heavenly tendency in their own lives; by restraining their tempers, submitting in patience to distrust, and evil imputations, and enmity; "not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing;" by reverent and affectionate submission to their spiritual pastors, looking not to the praise of men, but simply and solely to obedience to the Divine will. And let it be their endeavour to make all reasonable allowances for the infirmities of their brethren; and not to cherish resentment for their severe, it may be, unchristian censures. By such a course, we trust that much good is within the reach of the faithful children of the English Church. They have high responsibilities: there may be incalculable interests depending on their conduct. It is not merely the restoration of our own venerated national Church to the purity, and the energies of her primitive existence, which is at stake. The progress and accomplishment of this glorious work, may be the means of awakening the whole Christian world, throughout its length and breadth, from the slumber of indifference or of superstition. The eyes of Christendom are fixed on the English Church. Let it be seen, that those amongst her children who are most earnestly devoted to her spiritual welfare, are themselves living examples of sanctity. Let them thus prove, that their love of Catholic truth—their reverence for Catholic antiquity—their adherence to established forms and institutions, are but the types, and the expressions, and the external manifestations of an inward principle of Love and Faith. Let them prove that the deepest and most affectionate reverence is unmingled with superstition—that conformity to Christ is not peculiar to Monasticism—that the Gospel can be maintained and practised in all its integrity, without any dependence on the See of Rome.

ART. III.—*Ellen Middleton: a Tale. By Lady* GEORGIANA FULLERTON. 3 vols. London: Moxon. 1844.

IT is but seldom that our readers, if at least their experience agrees with our own, have the good fortune to find the true preacher in the guise of a novelist, as well as with the vestments of the female sex. As regards every thing which bears upon the higher functions and higher destinies of our nature, the presumptions are sadly against any book which issues from the press in the fatal form of three volumes crown octavo. Too truly may it be said of many novels of the day, that while they have escaped from the rudeness and grossness of earlier times, it has been by an artificial and unhealthful process: they have diffused the poison, not expelled it: they are whited sepulchres, and their uncleanness remains within; because they are still intended to stimulate appetite, not to minister food: they are still framed according to the maxims, not of the Gospel, but of that world and flesh with which the Gospel is at perpetual war: and religion, if it appears in them at all, appears as a foreign element, of which a certain portion must be introduced to satisfy, or rather to appease, the better description of public opinion. It lies there like oil in water, without any thorough admixture, or any affinity to the general spirit and texture of the work. And in another class of romances, where religion is more copiously infused, and more distinctly exhibited as an ingredient of the composition, how generally may the remark be made, that the combination is inharmonious and repulsive; and that good intentions, employed in the endeavour to show off Christianity to the best effect, have only terminated in strengthening the latent, and furtive, and often unexpressed, but too real, too congenial impression of the reader's mind, that after all it is the *gêne* of life; that we were born for what is visible and proximate; that the savour of heavenly things is faint and vapid:—

> "Eurer Priester summende Gesänge
> Und ihr Segen haben kein Gewicht[1]."

What is given to God seems taken from man. We are robbed of some portion of solid enjoyment, and mere air is offered as a substitute. It is felt, upon the whole, that the vivid and penetrating parts of the story are those which are conversant only with human aims, joys, and passions, and that the Christian tone

[1] Göthe's Bride of Corinth.

is a sickly and lowering addition. Indeed, we fear that many fictions of the class termed religious may have produced a revulsive effect; and on this account there seems to be some reason for regarding with favour a work like Cœlebs, in which invention forms an ingredient no larger than that of religion in ordinary novels; that is to say, it is imperceptible, and from the first page to the last almost unmitigated morality prevails. But we confess we should think better of Cœlebs if even that small element of fiction were expelled. Sermons and moral essays are exceedingly good things, or may be so, and there is no reason for publishing them under fictitious titles; but it is not wise to give the reader ground to expect a more highly-seasoned banquet, as he can then scarcely be blamed if he be disappointed at finding nothing except plain and homely fare.

But of the eminently able, and eminently womanly work before us, we may state, that of all the religious novels we have ever seen, it has, with the most pointed religious aim, the least of direct religious teaching: it has the least effort and the greatest force: it is the least didactic and the most instructive. It carries, indeed, a tremendous moral: and were this an age of acute and tender consciences, practised in self-examination, and intensely sedulous in making clean the inner chambers of that heart of man which is ordained to be the Redeemer's abiding-place, we might fear its producing here and there wounds over deep and sharp. But our authoress has to deal with a dull and hardened state of the public mind, and she can but do something towards quickening and rousing it. Let us not conceal it from ourselves, that men cannot live for generations, and almost for centuries, deprived of any other spiritual discipline than such as each person, unaided by the external forces of the Church and the testimony of general practice, may have the desire and the grace to exercise over himself, without being the worse for it. We must needs have lost much both of the tone that such discipline was intended to maintain, and of the power to discern and realize the detriment we have incurred. Indeed the notions have gone abroad among us, and that not only where avowed ungodliness prevails, but likewise in connection with very strict professions of religion, that the inward direction and government of the spirit are not a great, arduous, and perpetual work, but a mere corollary, following as matter of course, or little more, upon the sincere adoption of certain doctrines; and, therefore, that they need not be made the subject of a distinct solicitude and care: that the inward consequences of sin, though never corrected by confession, by efforts of pain conscious and sustained, by restitution, those various parts of the process of repentance which test and ascertain its solidity, may

be neutralized by the mere lapse of time, and, so to speak, taken up and absorbed like the ill-humours of the body: that it shows a want of faith, and savours of Judaism, or some other *ism*, to employ detailed and systematic means for the purpose of working out Christian renovation. Against this false philosophy and false religion the writer of the work before us does battle, not by any logical analysis and exposure of its deceptiveness, but by exhibiting to us the machinery of a human heart in full play amidst the trials which critical combinations of circumstances present, and instituting before our eyes the appeal to its living experience. She has assailed that which constitutes, as we are persuaded, the master delusion of our own time and country, and in the way of parable, and by awful example, has shown us how they that would avoid the deterioration of the moral life within them, must strangle their infant sins by the painful acts and accessories of repentance; and how, if we fall short of this by dallying with them, we nurse them into giants for our own misery and destruction.

But it is time that we should introduce our readers to the story of Ellen Middleton.

Mr. Lacy, a sort of model-canon, is struck, while officiating in his cathedral, with the aspect of a woman, who attends the services with interest, but apparently without joy or hope. He becomes acquainted with her, finds her to be suffering in a burdened and wounded spirit, and under the bodily pressure of a hopeless consumption, which she seems to goad onwards to its maturity. He exhorts her to lay open her sorrows to him in the exercise of his priestly office, and she is led to place, by way of confession, her written history in his hands.

Ellen Middleton, an orphan, was educated in the house of her uncle and aunt, of the same name, and was attached sincerely to the former, to the latter tenderly. Stung by the petulant and repeated provocations of her cousin Julia, their only child, and a selfish, ill-conditioned girl, Ellen strikes her in a fit of anger: the child falls into a stream that flows by Elmsley Priory and is drowned. A single voice utters the words, "she has killed her;" but for some time there is no other sign that there had been a witness to the scene. Meanwhile the fall had been taken by the family for an accident. Accusation or upbraiding often comes as a friendly force in aid of the reluctant, hesitating tongue, and if Ellen had been suspected she had been saved: but the first words addressed to her show that there was no idea of her participation in the catastrophe. She had also her own violent agitation to bewilder her, and the dread of adding to the pangs of her uncle and aunt in the hour of their parental agony. So that at

first she did not tell, then she would not, and then she could not. "The act of self-accusation grew into a moral impossibility." Her uncle says to her, "You are now our only child, Ellen." Presently she is asked by her aunt to pray for her, and

> "Hot searing tears were slowly chasing each other down my cheeks, and the storm within was raging wildly in my breast; but I did not pray—I could not: a sheet of lead seemed to stretch itself between me and heaven; and when the light of day broke slowly into the chamber of mourning I closed my eyes, not to see the sun, in its calm majesty, dawning on the first day of my changed existence."—vol. i. p. 78.

We think that the foundation of the subsequent story is laid in these events with great moral truth and no less artistic skill. The first offence is a blow struck in anger: the accidental consequence of that offence, the death of a human being, formed no part of its guilt, but it aggravated the difficulty of confession, not only on account of the pain and shame to the offender from association through a passionate act with a fatal catastrophe, but likewise by enlisting a less ignoble motive on the side of concealment, namely, the apprehension of opening afresh the wounds of her nearest relatives and dearest friends, and depriving them of the entireness of their chief remaining joy in herself. On the one hand, it is left quite clear that she ought to have confessed; on the other hand, the incidents are so adjusted as to offer those small impediments and causes of diversion which frequently, by their successive action, effectually intercept the formation and execution of good resolutions: so that while there is no obscuration of the dividing lines of right and wrong, no tampering with the principles of duty, yet the deviation is intelligible and in entire keeping with probability; as well as, in a moral view, perhaps venial or secondary, certainly at first sight far from irrecoverable.

But from this beginning by a small sin our authoress has woven the tissue of her tale: the offence of a moment, and a concealment of it far from being wholly cowardlike and selfish, are the warp and the woof of the story, whose combining threads by slow but sure degrees inclose and entangle Ellen Middleton in meshes, from which escape becomes an impossibility. And we think an attentive reader can hardly do otherwise than admire the mode in which the entire detail of the book is made subservient to the unfolding in living representation those cardinal truths, that in this world of ours, when once we have let "I dare not" wait upon "I would," "I cannot" presently waits upon "I dare not;" that our particular actions never terminate upon

themselves; that our moral opportunities return not, except with enhanced art and diminished promise, like the Sybil's books; and the faculty of inward choice, like the circulation of the blood in regions of intense frost, can only be sustained by active exercise, and becomes benumbed and petrified, if its tension yield to the lethargy that ever presses upon it from the unkindly atmosphere without.

It is a sublime result of the Christian revelation, to exhibit the strict and close concatenation which in characters of great depth, force, and scope, links indissolubly together the occurrences of their inward history, and to evolve through a continuous detail into a great consummation, the final fruit of some act, secondary in magnitude when it occurred, and seemingly long gone by; and yet to refer all the parts of this great scheme to their proper efficient cause respectively, in the free will and responsible agency of man. We look back with great admiration to those dramas of the Greeks, in which this unity of idea and fortune is most forcibly exhibited, an unity always directed towards crime and suffering, and testifying to divine truth, in so far as it teaches the doctrine of retribution, but sadly obscuring it, in so much as both are alike derived from an uncontrollable and iron necessity as their main origin. Again, the manner in which the chain of woe is carried on from generation to generation, from Agamemnon to Orestes, from Jocasta to Œdipus, and from Œdipus with Jocasta to Eteocles and Polynices, while it enhances the idea of retribution as an awful reality, still more perplexes the moral grounds of that idea: for if the offence of the parent were, so far as he was concerned, one of accident or of pardonable error, and was really referable to a hidden and superior decree alone, then the more faithful the transmission of the consequences, the more appalling indeed the picture of human misery, but the more ambiguous, or rather the more hopeless, is the path of escape, and the more perplexing the question, "If there be a God in the world, why are these things so?"

> ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ'· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν
> σκιά τις ἂν τρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχοῖ
> βολαῖς ὑγρώσσων σπόγγος ὥλεσεν γραφήν[2].

But to the practical dilemma which thus beset the fortunes of our race, and which fastened by a magic interest the creative minds of paganism, Christianity brought a great solution. It showed us, that there was indeed a reality in this doctrine of moral causation, that every act we do is full of the power of re-

[2] Æsch. Ag. 1298.

production, that we are tracked and hunted by our own deeds; and that after we have lost them from view and from memory, they re-appear, and claim as of right the mastery over our fate. All the unity and continuity, which, according to the Greek ideas of destiny, belonged to the processes of the life of man, is even more clearly shown by Christian philosophy to pertain to it: but it is not because an arbitrary, unsympathizing power, extrinsic to us, decrees a series of calamities to descend upon our heads, and determines to draw worship from the awe which the darkly-coloured picture, and the sad procession of its figures, shall instil; it is because a will residing within us, and made free to choose the better part, forges its own chains link by link, in again and again choosing the worse; it is because every action done has a tendency to determine the form and character of that which is next to be done; and they who act without taking this tendency into account, are delivering themselves and their own future into the hands of a blind power, small at first, but rapid in its growth, in its maturity portentous and irresistible.

Unhappily these great truths, of which the philosophical exposition is to be found in Bishop Butler's doctrine of habits, have miserably fallen into neglect, during the periods of cold and superficial theology with which the Church has been afflicted. Some there have been in whose teaching Christian virtue has been a mere code of maxims and restraints, scarcely more calculated to be operative upon character in its latent springs, than the regulations of a turnpike-road upon those who travel along it, instead of being "the power of an endless life," the manifestation of the heavenly gift, translucent from within, through the veil of flesh. The laws of inward formation could not but languish and decay, for it has seemed at times as if the very idea of such a process had been lost. Then came that impatient reaction of minds which felt themselves defrauded of the great living powers enshrined in the Gospel covenant, and they determined to recover those powers, and they sought as it were to ensure the possession and enjoyment of them by compressing their whole agency into a short and single crisis: a life of loathsome sin, the sharp pangs of a moment, hour, or day, and then a fixed, almost a dogged assurance of sanctity and of felicity, imagined to be founded on the principle of faith; this was the history of the Christian soul in that peculiar phase of the world's religious life. But this device, so short, so cheap, so simple, has long ago become full of cracks and fissures; a strong man, as we readily grant, and an earnest one, made it, and it has served its day and done its work: a stronger man is destroying it, and larger, broader, deeper truths rapidly resume their sway, and promise the revived

consciousness and use, on behalf of the people of Christ, of all the means of discipline which He graciously bequeathed to them.

When Ellen Middleton has thus buried within her breast the secret of the catastrophe in which she had scarcely been a guilty agent, it follows very naturally that with a susceptible and imaginative temperament she should brood inwardly over the act until its proportions become distended and magnified, and her own vision morbid: that the very same causes which render concealment more and more painful, should also render confession more and more difficult: that she should be driven rather than led to the alternative of seeking for that excitement, of which unhappily the genuine enthusiasm of youth, and its powerful flow of feeling, are so frequently made the mere ministers and slaves.

Henry Lovell, the brother of Mrs. Middleton, and Edward Middleton, the nephew of her husband, are both frequent visitors at Elmsley, and are both possessed, from the first stages of this narrative, with a very deep passion for Ellen. They were contemporaries at college; and with characters fundamentally discordant, they had contracted an intimate friendship. Edward has great depth of feeling, but it is combined with an overwrought sternness, which gives him the power of sealing it, and rendering it wholly inaccessible: a sternness of which we must say, that it is finally carried to the very verge of the probabilities of nature, although it is combined with a sentiment of justice so strong as to preclude precipitate conclusions, and although faith decidedly predominates over suspicion in the composition of the character; indeed, without this predominance, it could not have the nobleness which it undoubtedly presents. Edward is also a religious man in the sense that he acts habitually under the influence of a conscience towards God, although he is not a subdued, and therefore not, in a Christian sense, an elevated character. Henry Lovell, on the other hand, had the power of talking as if he felt all the charm of that truth and affection, of that love for what is good, and what is beautiful, which form in the main the groundwork of Edward's character; all that to Edward was reality, to Henry Lovell was the pleasurable subject of mental speculation; and the community of expression which in this way would belong to the two, to the one as the spontaneous working of his soul, to the other as an exercitation of the mind for delight, form, as we take it, the point of union between them and the basis of their intimacy.

A dangerous gift, that same power of speech which simulates reality in treating of high matters of virtue, beauty, and affection: a gift, of which the chief peril consists in this, that the possessor of it, while he deceives others, is also self-deceived,

and is far less likely to become conscious of his own internal desolation, than if the actual evil within him were not chequered with images of good, and intercepted longings after it, which retain their aspect, but have been emptied of all inward energy. We have seen Henry called, in print, the villain of the book. But this is an uniform description applied to a multiform character. If you mix all the colours of the composition together, no doubt the result will be a dark, a very dark one. Yet a man who can entertain a very strong, deep, and permanent attachment, who is capable of making, even once, a great effort of self-constraint and self-denial for the sake of another, and who dies of the wound that attachment had inflicted, does not present the unrelieved depravity which constitutes the villain. We regard this person of the tale as one upon whose conception great pains have been bestowed with great success, and the intermixture of his qualities as most subtle and most true; for, alas! no artist's hand can rival actual nature in those wonderful combinations of good and evil motive in the same man, and even in the same act of the same man, which every one's outward, and happy is he if not also his inward, experience presents to him.

Henry Lovell had been the witness of the death of Julia; and he, therefore, reads with accuracy the subsequent state of Ellen's mind. He dreads Edward as a rival, and he determines to make use of his knowledge for the purpose of displacing him, of gaining possession of Ellen's heart, if he can, or, if not, then of her hand, or even, failing both these, of exercising a potent sway over her happiness, and obtaining, in the last resort, that kind of consolation which one, whose passion is founded in selfishness, derives from perceiving, and letting others perceive, that he can agitate and sway the object of his love in almost every other mode, if not in that of the reciprocal sentiment. This is, in fact, the refined form, suitable to such an age as that we live in, of the thirst for vengeance accruing upon rejected overtures, which, in more barbarous times, has converted wounded admirers into cruel persecutors; for it is not in such cases that an abstract hatred takes the place of love, but it is that the selfish elements, often very largely mingled, and even predominating in that passion, may overbalance, when the hope of success is cut off, its gentler and nobler influence; and the suitor, having failed in exercising power over the person beloved through her will, aims at the next best result, namely, wielding it, and establishing, as it were, his interest and property in her against her will. Some persons, we understand, are what our forefathers call "stumbled" at this iniquity of Lovell's, but we apprehend they forget that love, however popular be the name, as the centre of all novels and

comedies, and most tragedies, is not necessarily a generous emotion at all: that the possession of the heart of a fellow-creature *may* be desired with a selfishness as gross and as unmixed as gold, or jewels, or any other earthly creature; and that although the cases of such ripe depravity are rare, yet perhaps rarer still are those in which vanity and self-love, and the mere desire of acquisition, do not form some portion of that sentiment; in which some part of the pain of rejection does not arise from the wound inflicted upon self-esteem. Lovell's was a case in which the baser ingredients were much larger than usual; but we fear that even this extreme degree is entirely within the bounds of nature.

He ministers to Ellen's morbid state of mind by the lavish application of his varied powers of amusement and excitement. From rapid exercise on horseback, up to the highest resources of books and conversation, every means was sedulously applied to stimulate the imagination and to drown thought. But "there was not a grain of tenderness in the feverish predilection she entertained for him," although his society was interesting to her in a high degree, and his absence caused a painful void. In the mean time Edward, dissatisfied with the exaggeration and fitfulness of her life, and with the appearance of an interest in Henry, goes abroad.

Henry, finding that no real progress has been made, puts another engine into play. He procures for Ellen an invitation from another aunt, Mrs. Brandon, whom he prepossesses with the notion that they are attached, and places Ellen in that position relatively to the party at the house, which of itself, if it does not make a marriage, mars one. All, however, is in vain; he "fascinated her mind, but did not touch her heart[3]:" yet she was herself in part deceived, and for some time did not dispel his belief that his affection was returned. In the mean time her inward pains are not assuaged: and at church, attracted by the venerable aspect of the officiating clergyman, she conceives the idea of confessing to him. By a little plan she separates herself from her party after service. She awaits him in the churchyard, and rises as he passes.

"'I am glad you like our old churchyard,' said Mr. Leslie: and then he began talking of the views, of the neighbouring scenery, of the ruined palace, now transformed into a farm, of all the subjects he thought would interest me, little thinking that at that moment the secret of a life of anguish, the confession of an over-burthened conscience, was trembling on my lips. The more he talked, too, (although

[3] Vol. i. p. 225.

there was nothing unsuitable to his sacred office in any thing he said,) the more I felt to lose sight of the priest of God, of the messenger of heaven, in the amiable, conversible, gentleman-like man before me."—vol. i. p. 211.

Yet she summoned courage, on his preparing to go, to ask for an appointment before the afternoon service: but before he returned she lost the courage she had mustered with so much effort, and, on his again approaching her with a bland inquiry as to her purpose, she felt she had no strength to execute a design so thwarted by insensible repulsion, and the only resource the moment offered was to draw her purse from her pocket, and to beg him to distribute the contents among his poor parishioners.

We must pause for a moment to moralize on the case of Mr. Leslie. Religion has been of late years driven back in great part from that acknowledged position of prominence and authorised power which it once used to occupy in ordinary life; although not yet absolutely "relegated into obscure municipalities and rustic villages," yet it cowers and skulks in society, and manifests not itself until, by some careful application of the touchstone, it has ascertained in what quarter sympathy exists. Or else, in minds more fearless, or less delicate, it projects upon the surface, not in its natural effluence, but according to some harsh and crude form, with effort and with assumption. In this state of things it is hard, even for the priest, to be so absorbed in the sense of that vocation which attends him whithersoever he goes, as not ordinarily to remit somewhat of the character and bearing that belong to it: and we believe that if the interiors of hearts were opened, there would appear to be many, who meet together in discourse, and who, simply from fear and mutual mistrust, keep their conversation far below the tone at which it would be most congenial to them all. And yet it is not by violence of effort that this state of things can be amended: it must be by the diffusion of the atmosphere of devotion in which men can meet and breathe freely: it must be by the recognition of those symbols of religion which have become so faint and few among us, and among which will be prominent the broad and clear development of the clerical character, both as it respects the obligation of the clergy to live nearer to God than others, and likewise as regards the making full proof of their ministry, and fitting their whole demeanour to the specific and, so to speak, official form which belongs to it.

Ellen is now recalled by her uncle, Mr. Middleton, who has heard of his brother-in-law's intentions with respect to her, and is determined to intercept them. But before her departure

Henry Lovell arranges a visit to the sea-shore; and we must give the passage which describes the first approach.

"We turned a corner in the road, and, for the first time, the sea lay stretched before my eyes. It was rough: the waves were crested with foam; and already I heard them break with that sullen roar, with that voice of the ocean, in which, as in the thunder of heaven, we instinctively recognize the voice of God. . . . The sea was not, as I have seen it since, blue and calm, glittering with a thousand sparks of light: not like some quiet lake, which ripples on the shore, and murmurs gently as it bathes the shining pebbles in its limpid wave; no, it was as I would have chosen to see it for the first time, stormy, wild, restless, colourless from the everlasting fluctuation of colour, brown, purple, white, yellow, green, in turns: billows over billows chased each other to the shore, each wave gathering itself in silence, swelling, heaving, and then bursting with that roar of triumph, with that torrent of foam, that cloud of spray, that mixture of fury and of joy, which nothing in nature but chafed waters[4] combine. O God, I have suffered much: terror, remorse, agony, have wrung my heart, have shattered my nerves: I have been guilty; I have been wretched: I dare not thank Thee for the tumultuous joys of passion, for the feverish cup of pleasure, hastily snatched, and as suddenly dashed to earth: but I will thank Thee for the swelling of the heart, for the lifting up of the soul, for the tears I have shed, for the ecstacy I have known, on the sea-shore, in the forest, on the mountain. The heart knoweth its own bitterness; but there is also a joy with which the stranger intermeddles not."—vol. i. p. 235.

The reader will observe that this is not cited as an example of the working of a devout mind, but, on the contrary, of one which is imaginative and susceptible, and, though able to recognize communion with God in His natural works, not yet inwardly subdued. Ellen, however, had at this time other subjects of excitement awaiting her. Lovell took the opportunity to propose to her a secret and immediate marriage; and on her refusal, which revealed to her the state of her own heart, and made her conscious that he had no part in her affections, he burst into violent menaces, and declared to her that their fates were mysteriously intertwined; that they must be happy together, or miserable apart; and that others would be involved in the calamities of his rejection. This scene is impassioned and eloquent in a high degree.

Immediately after this desperate outburst, Lovell marries a young creature of exquisite beauty and simplicity, by name Alice Tracy, the grand-daughter of his nurse, educated in circumstances

[4] See Coleridge's beautiful lines on the Avalanches.

somewhat better than that name would indicate, (as a member of the family had died wealthy,) in perfect freedom from the knowledge and contact of evil, and in singular purity and devotion of character. She married him in simple obedience to the command of her grandmother, who had reared her. To the old woman it had ever been a darling object of ambition that this union should take place; and her power to force Lovell into it rested upon a document with his signature, promising the marriage, which she possessed, and which recited that she had advanced a large sum of money to replace a theft committed by him in a moment of desperation for the purpose of liquidating a gambling debt.

We do not deny that there is some complexity in the accessory incidents of this story, nor do we hold the plot to be constructed with the highest technical skill, so far as regards its details; but we are chiefly concerned with the far higher qualities of delineation of character in its finest and most fugitive shades, as well as in its broadest and deepest colours, (that is, according as modern life and habits admit these terms to be applied,) for which the work is remarkable.

Soon after this marriage, the return of Edward Middleton is announced. His passion for Ellen is unabated, and she cherishes one of equal ardour, but yet one mixed with dread of his severity. At first, she determines to make her confession to him; but when his eyes fall upon words in her writing that had reference to the subject, again she flinches; and when he affords her the opportunity, by asking what they mean,—"I laughed hysterically, and said they meant nothing: that was the first time I lied to Edward [5]." Again weakness hardens into a resolution of evil, and she determines never to tell him that which she conceives would make him loathe her; but she also determines, as an act of self-denial, that she will on no account marry him; and this she makes known to him upon his declaration. Although she vehemently disavows all love to Henry, he leaves her in mistrust as to the cause, and as to her general sincerity.

The scene is then shifted to London; and we are introduced to Alice as the wife of Henry, pursuing her simple and saintly life in holy worship, in works of mercy, and in such opportunities of communion with natural objects as are at her command. She begins Lord Byron, and quits his works because they open to her a world of evil; she betakes herself to Scott, and reads him with guileless pleasure, but desists because she finds that the excitement even of that study tends to disquiet her mind and disqualify her for her path of life.

[5] Vol. ii. p. 11.

Her husband, though not wilfully or gratuitously unkind to her, still burns with the fatal ardour of his love for Ellen; and as we now enter upon a new ground, we must render our testimony to the perfect delicacy with which the history of that unfortunate and sinful attachment is described. He avows to her the fact; he apprises her, too, that he, with one other person, knows her secret; and thus brings his last great engine of power over her into operation. She remains wholly untainted by participation in his passion; but partly from intellectual and imaginative sympathies, more from her apprehensions and dependence, she has not courage peremptorily to repel him from her society, and with the most selfish cruelty he parades their apparent intimacy in the intercourse which London society affords, racking the mind of Edward with doubts and jealous fears, and involving his victim more and more deeply in the net. Real generosity of nature, however, struggles manfully in the mind of Edward against presumptions that would have appeared demonstrations to an illiberal mind, and his character shines brightly in this part of the book.

Lovell uses a casual opportunity to extort from Ellen Middleton an oath, on which we have more to say presently, that she will never reveal to Edward the history of her cousin's death; and on this concession acquaints her that Mrs. Tracy also witnessed the event,—that having hated her as Alice's rival in his affections, the old woman also abhorred her as the murderess of her cousin for the sake of the estate; that under the united impulses of conscience and hatred, she had resolved to expose Ellen, and had only pledged herself to withhold the disclosure upon Henry's assurance that Ellen would never marry Edward, and, consequently, would never enter into possession of the property which Mr. Middleton intended to make conditional on that event. Not that this of itself would have sufficed to keep Mrs. Tracy quiet: her silence was really a tribute to Henry, who, through his wife, possessed the key to all the old woman's feelings; and Henry, instead of using this power with disinterestedness for Ellen's sake, represents to her the promise as being clogged with a condition on which he placed a value, because it kept, or tended to keep, her by one stage less removed from his reach, than if she were to become the wife of his rival. She groans under the tyranny of help so afforded, and her spirit ever and anon rises into indignation; but the spell of her old sin remains upon her,—she is obliged to quell her own pride, and even to soothe his when she has wounded it. Meantime his relation to Alice is that of an abstract acknowledgment of, and respect for, her virtues, with something like a remote and feeble love, no more than is extorted by near contact with purity from the most reluctant will:

his frenzied passion for Ellen has for its first law the gratification of his own selfish pride; for its second (although only to operate when he is powerless for the former end), the promotion of her welfare.

A momentary danger from the attack of a mad dog, from which Ellen is rescued by Edward, and a *replique* on her part, in our view supererogatory, by the application of her lips to draw the venom from the wound which he had received in the effort, naturally enough produce a relative position of a decisive character. The result shall be related in the heroine's own words, extracted from a letter which she writes to Lovell to obtain his aid with Mrs. Tracy.

"An involuntary spontaneous acknowledgment of affection, which escaped me in a moment of imminent peril to him, incurred in rescuing me from a similar peril, was followed by an assumption on his part that our marriage was to be the natural result of such a confession. My uncle considered it in the same light; and I found myself involved in an engagement which in cool blood I could never have contracted. An attack of illness, resulting from the events of the morning, has since kept Edward in a state which would have made any extraordinary emotion dangerous in the extreme. Against my will, and at the same time impressing this warning upon me, my aunt took me to him; and in terror for his health, with outward calmness and inward shame and misgivings, I gave the promise, which must lead to my ruin, unless you can save me."—vol. ii. p. 184.

During the interval before his reply, the tempest rises in her soul again; and even while she utters the words of prayer, she conceives for a moment the idea of braving her fate, of meeting accusation with reckless denial, and trusting to her own resources and Lovell's aid to repel it. For she knows that as she serves him through fear, so he must serve her through passion.

"But as the thought passed through my mind, I shuddered at the rapid strides I was making in falsehood, and felt a horror of myself which I can hardly describe. There was I, kneeling in mock homage before God, that God who had saved both Edward and myself from a fate worse than death, while bad passions were raging in my soul, and thoughts of evil working in my mind.

"The posture of prayer, the words which I had mechanically uttered, brought on one of those sudden and unaccountable revulsions of feeling which sometimes succeed the fiercest assaults of the tempter, as if our guardian angel had wrestled with the spirit of evil, and driven him away for the time. I remembered her to whom much was forgiven, because she had loved much; and as I thought of that Saviour, that man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, at whose feet she knelt—ay, even while seven foul fiends were struggling in her heart; I longed

to kneel before Him, too, in deep prostration of spirit, and lay all my sorrows, all my sins, all my difficulties at His sacred feet, bathing them as she did with tears, and wiping them with the hairs of her head. Oh! if in that moment of emotion, in that hour of penitence, I could have gone to one of those who, ministering at God's altar and endowed with His commission, have authority from Him to pronounce words of pardon in His name: if the fatal barrier which habit and prejudice so often raise between the priest of God and the erring and overburthened souls committed to his charge, had not in my case existed: if from his lips I could have heard the injunction to forsake all and follow Jesus, and he had added, Do this and be forgiven,—it might have changed my fate. But, as it was, my penitence spent itself in unavailing tears, and my yearnings towards a better course ended in the same bewildering and oft-repeated question, which I could not, dared not, answer to myself, or for myself,—'Where lies the path of duty through the intricate maze in which guilt, misfortune, and weakness have so hopelessly entangled me?' Once more I rose from my knees, without any fixed purpose, without any steady resolution,—the creature of circumstances, and the sport of events."—vol. ii. p. 190.

Henry Lovell, in answer to her appeal, informs her, that he has purchased, or rather extorted, from Mrs. Tracy a promise to remain silent after and notwithstanding her marriage to Edward; but not without a frightful conflict between his subtle and her stubborn will, in which he had only gained the victory by threatening her, that he, on his part, would reveal to Alice the whole history of her grandmother's contrivance for her marriage; would proclaim that his love for Ellen Middleton was unalterable, and that in revenge for the overthrow of her happiness he would quit England at once, alone, and for ever. But in this letter, which is a masterpiece of art and double-intention, though he has made a great effort, though for Ellen's sake he does that which no other can, and does it in order to enable her to consummate her union with his rival, his proceeding is still leavened with the desperate tenacity of his self-love; a pledge of future kindness to Alice is a part of his bargain with Mrs. Tracy, and he implores Ellen to assist him in fulfilling it, to lend him by her society and friendship the strength which alone can enable him to fulfil his word,—to continue, that is to say, those confidential relations which are the condition of the prolongation of his power.

The marriage approaches; and poor Ellen writhes under the torture of her severe but true-hearted uncle's address.

"'On you, Ellen, and on Edward, I have settled all my property. Since the day that I lost my only child, this has been my fixed purpose. I was anxious to live long enough to see it accomplished, and I am thankful that wish has been granted. I have one request to

make to you both. Call your eldest girl Julia; make her wear this chain,—it was round my child's neck when she died; and if I live let me see her often. Now go, and God bless you both!'

"I don't know what I said or did: these words fell like burning lead on my soul, and I almost sunk on the ground. Edward took me out of the room; and the only hour of relief which that day afforded was when, with his arm around me, and my head on his shoulder, he suffered me to weep in silence.

"Then he raised my head gently, but forcibly; then with his sweet smile and his low, deep voice, he whispered to me that his happiness was unutterable, his love boundless, his soul mine for ever. His words, words of passion from him whom I worshipped, at whose side I felt myself unworthy to live, at whose feet I would have been content to die: those words, those looks, those tones, thrilled through my whole frame and wrought on my brain, turning remorse for the past and fear for the future into a delirious dream of joy, even as laudanum can change pain itself into ecstasy."—vol. ii. p. 278.

Then follows a passage, which in our judgment has so much dramatic grandeur as to be worthy of Scott, in the "Bride of Lammermoor," or of Æschylus, in the "Agamemnon."

"I dreamed that night that I was in church, and that every thing was prepared for my marriage. We stood before the altar, and the priest opened the book for the marriage-service; but as he began, it was the burial-service that he read. They stopped him, and he turned the pages: but ever as he began again to read, the same words came to his lips, and the book in his hands grew larger and larger, and the words, 'For the burial of the dead,' stood out in bloody letters, and seemed to rise from the page. I looked up into the priest's face; and that was changing too. I had seen those features before: but I knew them not till the thin lips moved and said, 'Julia's murderer, Julia's murderer.' And then the book and the altar were gone, and a coffin stood in its place: and the same voice said, 'open it!'—and the lid rose, and there was a corpse in its shroud. It lifted itself up slowly, and I could not see the face: but I cried out in terror, 'Who is it?' and the grave clothes fell—it was Alice! I closed my eyes and shrieked: and the voice said, 'look again—look again.' I looked; and it was Edward. Over and over again, during that night, I awoke in speechless terror; and when I went to sleep again, the same dream, with slight variations, haunted me anew."—vol. ii. p. 280.

Here indeed, as elsewhere, we do not perceive that congruity in the matter-of-fact part of the delineation which might have been desired, and which a more hackneyed novel-wright would not have failed to secure: for Edward and Alice, whose deaths form the subject of this prognostication, are precisely those personages of the tale who are spared by the catastrophe: but we

cannot too highly praise the idea and the imaginative execution of the passage.

The appointed day arrives, and the marriage rite is celebrated, not without the apparition of Mrs. Tracy; but she quails before the glance of Lovell, from whom also a groan proceeds as the bride is given away. A short fit of illness produces exhaustion, to the overwrought spirit of Ellen the main condition of repose: and there follows a single week of ecstasy, which is described in contrast with the agony to follow, at the opening of the third volume, in a passage of remarkable beauty, with which want of space alone forbids us to adorn these pages. That dreamy period is cut short by Edward's election as a member for his county, upon a casual vacancy, at which she is displayed as his lovely bride, and rendered miserable by menaces of exposure, to her but too intelligible. In broken phrases she had spoken to him of remorse and self-reproach: but all this he treats as mere sickly sentiment, and sternly forbidding her to tamper with reality and sincerity, by trifling upon matters of such weight, he effectually seals her lips to him, and cuts off that hope of relieving her burdened breast, which the ever-growing tenderness and confidence that form the natural law of married life should have afforded.

But in proportion as Ellen was now by her marriage more entirely removed from the scope of all pure and true love on the part of Henry, does he become resolute and violent in his measures for maintaining his place in her society, and for making it known and felt that he stands in relations of confidence towards her. By his comprehension of a woman's nature, and, in particular, of that remarkable woman with whom he had to deal, he alternately touches her sympathies and alarms her terrors, and makes each act of his interposition subservient to the great purposes of riveting his grasp upon her mind, of deepening upon the minds of others the impression that he sways her, and of making his wild attachment a reality at least to the rest of the world, though she remains impenetrable, and, when she dares, indignant at his avowals. But her indignation is ever followed by the lassitude of that leisure to which the close engagements of her husband in politics give occasion, and that lassitude demands the stimulus which his conversation affords. He even uses to her the threat which he had applied to the old woman Tracy: he declares he will desert his innocent and saintly wife, now on the eve of her confinement, whom Ellen had never ceased to love, (for amidst her wanderings she at no time lost the faculty of appreciating excellence,) unless she undertakes, at least, to "respect" his feelings: and in another of her fatal hours she writes, "do not go, I implore you. I forgive, and will bear with you."

And Alice becomes so far alive to this strange intimacy, that her mind bursts its former boundaries; she is impelled to read and learn more of the life and the society in which she finds her own lot is cast: she remains incorrupt, but her spirit is no longer the unclouded region, which evil thoughts have never so much as traversed: the character of her self-consciousness is modified, "in the expression of her countenance, what once was peace had become composure; and in her character, what had been only simplicity had grown into reserve[6]."

All the substance of love between Edward and Ellen remains; but he sternly notices the shortcomings and inconsistencies by which his wife falls below the ideal he had framed, and his nature does not well brook submission to that law which brings the dreams of life down to its realities; while, on her part, the sentiment of fear, though it never generates the smallest degree of even momentary aversion, yet checks the free current of her fondness. But by degrees his suspicions are aroused: not by Lovell's device, but through the intermediation of Mr. Escourt, the genuine villain of the tale, that is to say, a thorough-paced man of the world, armed at all points offensively and defensively in hardened self-love. A drive with Lovell, accidental on her part, which accident also prevented her from naming to her husband at the proper moment, brings these apprehensions nearly to a crisis: but he is summoned away to visit their uncle, Mr. Middleton, who had gone to travel abroad, in a very dangerous illness; and he leaves her, after an agitated conversation, with an embrace, in which strong mistrust was stifled, and only just stifled, by stronger love. He writes to her a letter of bitter reproach, interpreting what arose from her dependence upon Henry and her fear of his power, into the clear signs of guilty passion: he absolutely forbids her to explain her conduct; enjoins the total abandonment of intercourse with Henry, and commends her to penitence and hope. The notes which she had written to Lovell, with objects totally different, have been stolen from him and forwarded to Edward, and are now inclosed in his letter. The evidence against her, as she says, was to an ordinary mind overpowering; but she is represented with admirable truth as suffering less inconsolably when her love, which had remained "pure, sacred, and entire[7]," was thus wrongfully impeached, than when the necessities of her condition seemed to compel her to live a life of falsehood. Hope flashes upon her in the idea of confession; but she recoils at the thought of her oath to Lovell, never to confess to her husband. Bewildered with

[6] Vol. iii. p. 63.

[7] Ibid. p. 125.

remorse in so many forms, she does not dare to add another spectre to the crowd that haunt her conscience. But she buries herself in entire solitude, in order that, according to his command, she may avoid seeing Lovell; and she endeavours to obtain by letter a release from her engagement. No answer comes. Meanwhile Alice, not yet recovered from her confinement, asks Ellen to visit her; and with earnestness, but not bitterness, upbraids her as the enchantress that absorbs the soul of her husband.

"I hid my face in her hands, overcome by the force of Alice's words, and unable to meet the searching power of her glance. There was a long, deep silence between us, and then I rose to go; and said to her as I did so, with my eyes fixed on the ground, 'You pray for your enemies; pray for me. You pray for those who suffer in body and in mind; pray for me. You may never learn how right and how wrong you have been to-day; but you cannot be wrong in praying to God for me, for He has vexed me with all his storms, all his waves have gone over me, and I am well nigh overwhelmed. My only hope is in the mercy of one who has never yet shown mercy either to you or me.' I left her; and never again have I seen that angel face, that pale and blighted form, or heard the accents of her low and solemn voice: but if there is a saint who pleads for me on earth, or an angel who intercedes for me in heaven, it is she whose life I have blighted, and whose heart I have broken."—vol. iii. p. 143.

Presently she is apprised of her uncle's death, and of her husband's immediately approaching return. While she holds the letters in her hand, Henry, having at length obtained admission to her house, enters the room. She rouses her lion spirit, declares that they must part, and defies his vengeance; and then, as he begins to bend beneath her force, she falls on her knees to complete the work of overcoming him. The demon of his pride reacts, and he grows hardened in the exultation of seeing his idol at his feet. She pleads more and more earnestly for release from her rash vow. Edward opens the door, and horror-struck, without a word quits his house, and a short note apprises her that they have parted for ever—that he will never see her again, or hear her name pronounced. She recoils with loathing from a proposal of Henry Lovell, who has fulfilled his threat of deserting his wife, and writes to Ellen in frenzied ecstasy, pointing to the accomplishment of his always lawless, and now accursed passion: but racked already by the protracted inward agony of her conscience, smitten on all sides by the message of Death, by the upbraiding of Alice, by the tyranny of Henry, and finally stunned by the final and gigantic stroke of her husband's iron sentence, in the wild hopelessness of sorrow, she flies from her home, and as a

nameless traveller makes her way to the city, where at first we found her; where she seeks a shelter, of which the perfect obscurity constitutes to her not indeed a charm, but a recommendation, and where she resolves to exhaust the remainder of a life whose sword had been too sharp for the scabbard, and whose flame she found was now wasting fast away. Thus the proud spirit finally abandons the conflict it had so long sustained; but the blow that crushes heart and hope is severe and awful, in proportion to the tension and to the duration of the previous resistance, and it only remains to her to hide from shame the sorrow that, until she has found the secret of heavenly peace, she cannot cure. Thus it is that youth, beauty, and genius, acute susceptibility, ardent imagination, profound and concentrated powers of affection, can do nothing for the progress, nothing for the bliss of a human being, without the central support of a heavenly purpose, but waste the odour of their blossoms on the passing winds, and then shed on the common earth beneath them their blasted and untimely fruit. And well and truly does she know, that the spirit that is dislodged from the palaces of this world has not therefore found a home in God: she has indeed abated the pitiless beating of the storm, she lays the spirits of evil that torment her, she vaguely soothes the paroxysm of pain by the "awful silence" of the cathedral, and the "low chaunting of the choir:" but still, as she recounts, "The curse of Cain follows me, and his words of complaint are ever upon my lips: 'my punishment is greater than I can bear[8].'"

The day, however, came of confession and of peace. Lovell vindicated the reality of his frightful passion: he was seized with a fever, which attacked the brain and put a period to his life; but not until by a great effort he had collected his powers to put upon record, as the testimony of a dying man, Ellen's innocence of the imputed crime, and her constant repulsion of his passion: nor until in that calm,—the calm of exhaustion alone, which intervened between delirium and death, he had intimated to his wife that his heart was touched with the thought of the Redeemer, and had so marked with a faint and weak ray of hope the pathway of his descent into the grave.

With the greatest difficulty, Mr. Lacy, as the bearer of Ellen's confession and of Lovell's testimony, makes his way into Edward's presence, and forces him to hear the assertion of her innocence. And now Edward himself is torn by the violence of contending feelings, yet his rigid soul does not wholly relent until he hears the next day that Lovell is dead. He then repairs to the place of his

[8] Vol. iii. p. 178.

wife's abode, and brings her home. His affections are restored to her, but his earthly hopes can bloom no more. Her spirit has been too deeply racked and torn to recover its tone in this life, or by any change less than that which ushers in the new life of eternity. The restored flow of fondness seems for a time to revive her, but the reaction is only of a moment: having, however, resolved to purge her breast, she pursues that purpose with a noble energy; she makes the confession before those she loves, which she had already imparted to Mr. Lacy, and then sinks into a tranquil death. But we can do no justice to the exquisite beauty of these closing scenes: to their profound and moving tenderness as a delineation of human affection, and to the fidelity with which they represent the soothing and hallowing power of the ordinances of Christ upon the smitten and humbled spirit.

We have devoted many words to giving what is, after all, a most contracted and imperfect sketch of this remarkable book. For it is, after all, a book, that to be appreciated, must be known in its details, in its eloquence and pathos, in the delicacy and fineness of its delineations of passion, in its always powerful, and as we think generally true, handling of human action and motive, grounded not upon analysis, but upon that intuition, which, as applied to character, seems to be so specially, and almost exclusively, the possession of the mind of woman; in the healthfulness of moral principle that sustains it, in the singleness of idea and purpose that pervades it from first to last. It is unnecessary, perhaps, to add the meaner praise of fidelity in the picture of social life and its varied, we might rather say variegated, movements, and yet this too was obviously requisite in order to produce the general effect. But it is a rare pleasure to find the mastery of all human gifts of authorship so happily combined, with a clear and full apprehension of that undying faith in its Catholic integrity, by which the human race must ultimately stand or fall.

There are indeed, perhaps, places where exception may be taken to the precise form of expression which has been adopted; as for example, in the very beautiful passage where Ellen refers to the case of her who loved much because she had been forgiven much, and imagines her own surrender of all things to follow the Redeemer, and its being said to her 'do this and be forgiven;' we think that on reconsideration the authoress would see that the expression is a hazardous one, and seems to invert the order in which the grace of pardon and the grace of holy service are conferred upon men; and of the prototype of Christian penitents whom she cites, it is recorded not that she loved much and therefore was forgiven much, but that she was forgiven much

and therefore loved much. But it is not our part to teach one, whom in this work we gladly recognize as a teacher, and who, as we believe, has taught to one more and to another less, but something to all her readers.

We are, however, tempted to notice what appears to us a twofold incongruity in the matter of the unhappy oath, upon which turns finally the arrival of the catastrophe. It is hardly consistent with the power of Ellen's mind, that she should not have seen how entirely it lay in her own discretion to release herself from an obligation evidently sinful, and in which no other person but herself had a right to claim an interest. Had the question concerned the revelation of a crime of Lovell's, it would of course have stood differently. Nor do we think sufficient ground is shown for her original submission to that oath, to bring it into keeping with the general story. For Henry Lovell, in point of fact, offers her nothing in return for so extraordinary a demand: and these powerful spirits are too equally matched in conflict, to allow of any thing in the nature of abject concession from the one to the other, without violating the idea of their characters and relative position. But we will resume our general view.

A narrative can scarcely be otherwise than moving, in which we see the blossom of rare promise nipped before it reaches maturity; every such tale may in some sense be thought to have its moral, as it must convey a lesson of the vanity of human things. But how small, how elementary a doctrine, what a mere fragment of the truth ordained for man's recovery, is that which seems to be the climax and consummation of some of the prevailing systems of morality. To land, after a life's bitter experience, in this vacancy and desolation, is not the destiny appointed for us; to fold our arms in that which is called resignation, and which often means no more than not preventing what we are not able to prevent: to begin to learn that our devices are vain, when the very last of their whole series is shattered to atoms, and to make the discovery that we cannot lay hold on happiness, at the time when it has already utterly and far escaped from our grasp; all this is but a sorry tale, and one would say not well worth the telling. It is piteous, indeed, to see the flowers of hope, be they what they may, ruthlessly cut away, and compassion may be stirred by the narrative; but what avails the raising of barren emotions which lead to no genuine effort, to no healthy result, and which, on the contrary, rather inflate the mind with a conceit of imaginary virtues, and at the same time debilitate it for the work of acquiring them?

There is, however, a class of works of a higher order, in which,

though they may not lead us, or may only lead us by some forced and sudden turn, (and one therefore not well serving for example,) to Him who is our home,—some heart of high capacity for weal or woe, having conceived a profound sentiment of love, and having so fed that passion as to absorb into it all its strength and substance, then when it has been shipwrecked droops and dies along with it. Such is the love of Lucy Ashton for the Master of Ravenswood; such, too, although we apprehend drawn with less fidelity to general nature, is the love of Corinne for Oswald. What tears up the plant, tears up the soil along with it: the chords that have vibrated intensely to a master-note, remain, when that sound ceases, silent for ever. These are not mere flat recitals of the doctrine of the vanity of the world. They teach us a great lesson of our nature: its capacity for projecting itself from itself, for finding the end of life in another, and not in that middle point of self, where sin has placed it, and where more sin would irrevocably fix it. Whatever is devoted, whatever teaches that our nature finds its best and highest law of being beyond the narrow bounds of our own individuality, does at least advance us by one stage from earth towards heaven, and leaves us only further to learn who it is that claims to be, and is, the truest, and the noblest, and the most ennobling object of our affections.

But undoubtedly it is the just end of all serious fiction to lead us to the same only point whither other forms of true teaching should conduct us. Let us not suppose, because the dislocated faculties of man deviate from their appointed sphere of operation, that there is therefore a real discrepancy between them, or that they are not all fellow-workers, though in different modes and classes, yet ever in the same wide field of truth, and for the purpose of contributing to the same great work of human restoration. This, and nothing less than this, is the aim of the production now before us. It makes us watch with sorrow the free will of a creature nobly formed, weaving for itself, by a process which at length has almost the certainty of mechanism, the toils in which she is afterwards, in despite of her best efforts, to be held captive as a mark for the huntsman; and it is in the work of her own unhappy hands that, at length, her feet are set so fast that she cannot get forth. It makes us learn, and learn with pungency, how unconfessed and unrepented sin, borne about within the bosom, stifles its seeds of life, thickens its inward atmosphere, changes into darkness that which was its light. To whom of us all is this not a lesson? Where is the happy being, into all the chambers of whose soul the light of day continually and freely flows, who has no "blank misgivings" of deceit towards others, of fraud

upon himself? who does not feel that he has spread a film over the eye planted in him for self-knowledge? who instinctively refuses lodgment to a sin, and expels it by confession, even as he would drive a scorpion from his breast? To some, again we say, the voice of this work will be a piercing one; but to all, we believe, it must be audible.

And this reminds us of a frivolous objection: it has been somewhere surmised, as of most other things in this day of reckless fancies, that if the representations of this book be just, we ought to return to the Church of Rome. No! but if they be just, then indeed we ought to return to the Church of England. We ought to remember her solemn admonitions of repentance; her constant witness in favour of holy discipline for the souls of her children; the heavy responsibility of self-examination and self-judgment which she throws upon them, the means of authoritative support, of consolation ever divine, though ministered through the weakness and foolishness of a fleshly organ, to which she habitually points the way as their meet refuge, if they shall not of themselves suffice to the discharge of that awful duty. Yes, we have, as a nation and as individuals, a long and weary path to traverse before we attain to the level of that practice which the injunctions of our own yet living and speaking mother require. When we have reached it, we may find that we have passed by the point to which belongs the system of auricular confession: that it is at the very best but a particular form of a far broader Christian duty, and that it has fatally altered its character when it either becomes a perfunctory and technical substitution for that work of self-government which no man can perform for another, while so few, alas! will perform it for themselves; or when it makes the priest the proper and sole depositary of sins, which duty required to be more especially confided to persons immediately affected by them. For example, in the case of Ellen Middleton, it was clearly her part to have made known her agency in the death of Julia to the parents of the child; and we are persuaded that the great battle now to be fought with the pride, and selfwill, and false shame that reign within us, is not upon the question to what person confession shall be made? but upon this other and anterior question, whether confession has a legitimate and regular place at all in the Christian duty of repentance; or whether general words addressed to a God whose presence perhaps we have never realized, and in whose eye we too rarely and too weakly feel the painfulness of shame, form the entire and sufficient exercise of the Christian soul in this portion of its training for eternity?

Again; some, we understand, complain of the improbability of

the concealment, which is the fountain-head of Ellen's misfortunes. Now we do not stop to inquire, whether such a circumstance has or has not occurred in actual life, because that would be joining an irrelevant issue. The term probability, as applied to works of the imagination, is a very defective one: for its signification, when so used, is something very different from its proper sense, which we take to be, pretty nearly, the result of the mathematical doctrine of chances. But we ask those who are startled by this objection, to watch minutely the course of the narration; and then to state at what point it is that, according to their notion of probability, the authoress ought to have made Ellen Middleton inform against herself. We make this demand, because where weighty results, that have arisen from small beginnings, are regarded in the gross, they look improbable; but when we examine the detail we find each part is in keeping with fundamental laws, and therefore the whole is so likewise. Just as many great works of architecture may look airy and insecure to the distant spectator, while those who have investigated the parts of the structure, and successively considered their relations, will know them to be otherwise. And we have not yet heard a case in any manner made good, to show that there is a serious flaw in the moral continuity of Ellen Middleton's conduct, or consequently to impeach the results to which it leads; to impeach them, of course we mean, as regards their due subordination to the law of probability. But if this be so, then the circumstance that we are startled by mentally comparing the minuteness of the original cause with the magnitude of the final effect, may be rather in the nature of a presumption in favour of the skill and power of the work, than of proof against it.

Again; it has been said that the characters of the book are unamiable: that Edward is too stern and hard; that Alice is too still; that Ellen repels more than she attracts. But it is no reproach to the painter, if, instead of daubing his canvass with masses of colour, cold and warm, in violent contrast, he follows nature in the inexplicable blending of her myriad shades. Alas! the ancient legend of those two caskets upon the floor of the palace of Jove,—the one full of evils only, the other of plagues mixed with blessings: how sadly and truly does it correspond with the actual picture of the human heart at large. What deep, and to human eyes unrelieved, shadows of evil in the bad; what strange irregularities, what latent corruption of motive even where acts are laudable, what fearful conflicts of antagonist principles in those wrought from the better clay, and what alternations in the prospect of their final issue! That deceit and pride, as well as anger, can dwell in breasts framed to be capable of the

noblest things; that the most burning love is often fed, not by the fond desire to grow to and assimilate what is loveworthy, but by the lust of power and the exorbitance of vanity, ready to turn to tyrannous oppression; that the very rigour with which virtue is grasped becomes a snare to man, when inflexible judgments are based upon fallible perceptions and imperfect knowledge: to develop truths like these, that have in varying degrees a close practical relation to the daily lives of us all, is the work of a higher vocation, and of a more accomplished artist, than to deal out vices and excellencies wholesale, and working only by means of the brutal or the heroic, to avoid that intermediate region in which we live and learn. Nor will the readers of Ellen Middleton find that in its pages fascination is cast around the indulgence of morbid tempers, or the phantoms of goodness decked out in the praise which belongs to its reality; but the lines of truth and righteousness are faithfully and severely drawn, and the eternal march of the Divine law of retribution forms the fundamental harmony of the book.

It may seem strange in concluding these remarks, not to express an unqualified anxiety again and speedily to meet Lady Georgiana Fullerton in the walks of literature. But the writer of the work before us, has given to the public, and likewise has given to the Church, an interest in her reputation: and a first achievement of scope and dimension such as this, while it necessarily inspires a lively interest in those which may follow it, likewise suggests the hope that neither brilliancy of success, nor the ardour of a mind flushed with the glow of recent exertion, nor the benevolent and pious desire to strike another stroke for the sake of truth and human happiness—may tempt her to do injustice to herself by diminishing either the energy or the labour which may be requisite in order to sustain the character of any future effort. But we think that all those who desire to see even the lighter weapons of human influence, or those which are commonly esteemed to be such, wielded for the welfare of man and for the glory of God, will invoke blessings upon the career of one, who dedicates no common gifts of mind to the advancement of those high purposes, and will long for the day, when the principles of belief and conduct which she labours to enforce shall have free course, as among the community at large, so especially in those stations of especial power and peril, to which she belongs by birth and rank, and which she thus adorns by genius and by devotion.

Art. IV.—*A Series of Essays, intended to illustrate the state of Religion and Literature in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Centuries. Reprinted from "The British Magazine," with corrections and some additions. By the* Rev. S. R. Maitland, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Librarian to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth.* London: Rivingtons. 1844. 8vo. pp. 498.

There is something awful in the judgment of posterity. To appeal to the decision of a future generation, of those who have no participation in our errors, by whom our circumstances and prepossessions are forgotten, who award us only what strict justice assigns, who cite the whole race of men as witnesses against us, and the records of every age as the standard of our deserts,—this is a sort of anticipation of that unerring award to which all human actions must one day be subjected, and partakes of the fearful impartiality of our final doom. And in this sense we suppose it is, if any legitimate sense can be put upon it, that the voice of the people is the voice of God. For varying and false as are human judgments, yet a judgment in which all times agree, which unites the suffrages of men of the most different situations and conflicting prejudices, must be drawn out of the depths of that nature which was created by God. For error is multiform, and it is truth only, as Aristotle reminds us, which is permanently the same.

To claim, however, this prerogative of the Divine justice, can be allowed to no single generation of mankind. The eighteenth century has no exemption from frailty, any more than the tenth; modern more than mediæval times. The decisions of our fathers during the last age we may as fairly impugn, as they could the dicta of the preceding one. And this task the author before us has undertaken. He has called in question the received maxims of a whole century: its popular literature he maintains to be shallow and unfaithful: its standard writers he accuses of injustice; their admitted assertions he denies: allow, in short, his authority, and a new set of historical works must supersede those well-assorted octavos, which for fifty years have been ranged in luxurious tranquillity upon the shelves of every English gentleman.

Robertson and Henry would have been as much astonished by the appearance of a champion for the dark ages, as were Pope and King by the challenge of the persecuted Templars at the Council of Vienne. It seemed to be a ruled thing that this period of history was to find no advocate. By the magnificence of its structures indeed, and the wisdom of its institutions, we

profit as much as did Philip the Fair by the splendid buildings of those unhappy soldiers of the Cross, whose wealth made him their enemy, but its name and character seemed to be put under a ban by the fraternity of authors. What Englishman during the last century perused one of the mediæval writers? There was no necessity to insert them in a prohibitory index, for fashion, more potent than pope and cardinals, had hounded them out of the memories of men. But time has read a lesson respecting the writers and actors of the last century, which ought not to be lost upon our own. Their choicest exploits and most valued opinions are discovered to be factitious and unreal; their standard of taste and criticism is abandoned; we hear continual complaints of their coldness and formality; and at length a champion appears to expose the preposterous falsehood of their censures upon their predecessors,—to detect the utter ignorance of a judgment which professed to look down with supercilious contempt upon the unlettered barbarism of less favoured days.

It would be to give Mr. Maitland much less credit than he deserves for the boldness and originality of his views, if we omitted to state that eight years have elapsed since the first of these essays was printed,—that "they have all been more than five years before the public." (*Preface.*) They have contributed, therefore, in no slight measure, to that change in the public feeling to which we here allude. The revival of Gothic art, the taste for an æsthetic religion, the more candid estimate which some have formed of the monastic and conventual institutions,—in all these points the minds of men have undergone during eight years a wonderful alteration. Who would have expected that the literary oracle from which Brougham and Jeffery issued their vaticinations, enthroned as it is in a Presbyterian capital, would undertake the defence of Hildebrand and Becket, would apologize for the celibacy of the clergy, and declare the unity of the Church the salvation of Christendom? (Vid. the Art. on Michelet, in the Edinburgh Review.)

It was otherwise, even so recently as when Mr. Maitland commenced the present series of essays. He would hardly have ventured on them, but for the encouragement of a great and good man, whose loss was among the greatest which the Church could suffer, and in whose spirit and temper we would especially desire that our literary labours should be conducted.

"They were originally published in the British Magazine, between the months of March, 1835, and February, 1838. They were written at the request of my most dear, and honoured, and deeply-lamented friend, the Rev. Hugh James Rose, who was then, as he had been from the beginning, the editor of the work."—Pref. p. xxii.

And we think this admirable man never showed more clearly the

excellent judgment for which he was remarkable, than when he encouraged Mr. Maitland to a work so congenial at once to his acquirements and his powers.

If any man is fitted to track impostures which have passed current till their original inventor has escaped detection, it certainly is the writer of these essays. With an extraordinary knowledge of those ponderous collections, in which the records of the middle ages are hidden from ordinary eyes, he unites the most singular ingenuity in conjecturing the causes of misrepresentation. He can tell not only what was the story which is travestied by Robertson or Maclaine, but also what middle-men they severally employed, when they professed to be dealing with the real natives of the soil. In vain do these unfortunate plagiarists put down a formidable list of original authorities, avoiding such notice of the real source of their information as might give the pursuer the slightest hint of the whereabouts of their reading; the Lambeth librarian not only knows what the story really is, but has an intuitive perception how they come to have mistaken it. We will give two instances of this double species of detection.

In Henry's History of England, we are told, as illustrative of the ignorance prevalent in the 10th century, that—

"The clergy in this age were almost as illiterate as the laity. Some who filled the highest stations in the Church could not so much as read, while others who pretended to be better scholars, and attempted to perform the public offices, committed the most egregious blunders; of which the reader will find one example *out of many* quoted below."

At the foot of the page we find the following note:

"Meinwerc, Bishop of Paderborn, in this century, in reading the public prayers, used to say, 'Benedic Domine regibus et reginis mulis et mulabis [*sic*] tuis:' instead of 'famulis et famulabis; [*sic*]' which made it a very ludicrous petition.—Leibniz. Scrip. Brunswic., t. 1. p. 555."—Maitland, p. 125.

"Very ludicrous indeed," exclaims our author; "what an odd person Bishop Meinwerc must have been, and what a very strange habit to fall into." He then proceeds to show two things: first, what the facts of the case really are; and, secondly, how Henry came to mistake them. It seems, instead of its being true that Bishop Meinwerc "used to say, 'Bless thy mules,' instead of 'bless thy servants,'" that when he once stumbled upon the words thus written, he perceived their inaccuracy, and was not taken in like the Scotchman, the integrity of whose family Bible had been corrupted by a member of the clan Grant, and who therefore conceded the antediluvian antiquity of that ancient

name to the scriptural testimony—"There were Grants in the earth in those days."

But the reader shall hear the story, in the words of the original historian of Bishop Meinwerc.

"The emperor (Henry of Bavaria) knowing that the bishop, being occupied in a great variety of secular business, was now and then guilty of a barbarism, both in *writing* and in speaking Latin[1], with the help of his chaplain effaced the syllable fa from the words famulis and famulabus, which form part of a collect in the service for the defunct, in the missal; and then called on the bishop to say a mass for the souls of his father and mother. Meinwerc, therefore, being unexpectedly called upon to perform the service, and hastening to do it, read on as he found written, mulis and mulabus, but, perceiving the mistake, he repeated the words correctly. After mass, the emperor said, in a sarcastic manner, to the bishop, 'I asked you to say mass for my father and mother, not for my male and female mules.' But, he replied, 'By the Mother of our Lord, you have been at your old tricks, and have made a fool of me again; and now, in no common way, but in the service of our God. This he who is my Judge has declared that he will avenge; for that which is done to him he will not pass unpunished.' Thereupon he immediately convened the canons in the chapter-house of the cathedral, ordered the emperor's chaplain, who had been a party to the trick, to be most severely flogged; and then, having dressed him in new clothes, sent him back to the emperor to tell him what had happened.

"And here, good reader," proceeds Mr. Maitland in his own person, "you have, I believe, the whole and sole foundation for the notable story of Bishop Meinwerc and his mules."—p. 137.

He proceeds to add another, which, if proving less against the middle ages, has at all events, we hope, the advantage of being truly reported. Our author cites it from the laborious work of Lomeier, a Dutch professor, on ancient libraries.

"A certain bishop, named Otto, is said to have recommended a clerk to another bishop for an ecclesiastical office in those times,—'Otto Dei gratia, rogat vestram clementiam, ut velitis istum clericum conducere ad vestrum diaconum.' The words being abbreviated, the clerk, who was directed to read it to the bishop, read thus,—'Otto Dei gram rogat vestram clam, ut velit istum clincum clancum convertere in vivum diabolum.'"

But we return to our purpose. Our author has justified Bishop

[1] The original is "Latinitatis locutione, quam in lectione:" in speaking Latin as well as in reading it aloud. It would be worth an inquiry whether many of the authors who speak so fluently of the ignorance of the middle ages could speak Latin themselves at all.

Meinwerc; he has now to deal with Henry. Such a breach of the 9th is seldom unaccompanied by a transgression of the 8th commandment. The man who tells such falsehoods against others, has generally stolen them: had he gone to the originals which he cited, he would not have exposed himself to such direct refutation. The true art of kidnapping, is to disguise as well as steal the victim. But how shall we discover whence Henry has purloined the anecdote in question? We know how sagacious were Bow-street runners in detecting footmarks which baffle other observers; and a reference to Brucker's History of Philosophy in a preceding page sets Mr. Maitland on a search in that writer, which at once discloses the secret. Curiously enough, Henry exposes the source of his information by spelling the name of the great German philosopher in the same unusual manner which is adopted by Brucker. But Brucker, though he has evidently mistaken the circumstances of the case, does not assert the erroneous expression to have been habitual with Bishop Meinwerc: this is an addition which nothing but Henry's ignorance of the originals could have occasioned.

We have as glaring a mistake in the judgment passed by Milner, the historian of the Church of Christ, on the celebrated abbot of Clugni, Peter the Venerable. Those who have read the recent life of Stephen Harding, a work on which we shall say nothing at present, will enter into the amazement which all must feel at hearing the opinion of this ecclesiastical historian. "It may be proper just to mention Peter, abbot of Clugni, surnamed the Venerable. That so ignorant and so trifling a writer should have been honoured with a title so magnificent, is one of the strongest marks of the low state of religious knowledge in general at that time."—Milner's Church History, vol. iii. p. 435. This censure, Milner professes to found on the testimony of Dupin, in which occurs a notice of the controversy between the abbot of Clugni and the celebrated St. Bernard. Our author observes justly on the extreme unfairness of making such an attack upon Peter the Venerable, for defending his brethren from the charge of disregarding the rules of St. Benedict, since, if "an attention to frivolous, punctilious, and insignificant ceremonies" (the ground of Milner's complaint) is shown by any one, it is clearly by his more distinguished opponent. The ground of St. Bernard's censure is, that the precepts of their founder had not been observed to the letter. Peter the Venerable defends himself much as a clergyman in the present day might perhaps try to justify his deviations from the rubric. But the wonder is, that Milner should view his conduct with such displeasure. Here again, Mr. Maitland comes to our assistance.

After mentioning the abstract of Peter's letter, which is given by Dupin, he adds,

"Immediately after it comes what would be called a note, (by the translator,) if it were not inserted in the text in manner and form following:—

☞[*And now upon this whole Debate or Controversie between the monks of* Cisteaux *and those of* Cluny, *we cannot forbear making this one Remark, that, according to our old* English *Proverb, here has been a great Cry, but little Wool; a great noise and clamour about the Externals, but scarce one word said, Pro, or Con, about the Internals, of Religion; which sufficiently shows, that when men are once wedded to any party in Religion, their greatest Heats happen about the Circumstantials of Religion, to which that Party adheres, and that they have little or no Concern for the Fundamentals of the truly Catholic and Christian Church.*]

Mr. William Jones," our author continues, "in all probability, knew nothing whatever about the matter but what he found in Dupin, and did not consider that Peter was replying to the particulars of a charge of perjury, urged with great heat by a man whose character and station made it necessary that any such charge should be fairly met and discussed. He only thought, perhaps, that the bookseller who employed him wanted to have Dupin's works 'turned out' of French into English, as he tells us that Peter the Venerable 'procured the Alcoran to be turned out of Arabic into Latin;' and having learned and taught his readers in the foregoing chapter that St. Bernard 'touches the heart with his movements,' he perhaps expected to produce the same effect in the present case, or more probably only took the opportunity of showing his zealous Protestantism.

"The passage, however, inviting attention by the indicating hand and the brackets, and by being printed almost entirely in italics, probably caught Milner's eye as he turned over Dupin, just as its reprint here may arrest the attention of some one carelessly turning over the leaves of this book; and it is, most likely, to this effusion of Mr. William Jones that Peter owes the notice which he receives from the historian.

"It is not wonderful that, in the practice of these sortes Dupinianæ, Milner sometimes formed wrong opinions respecting the character and writings of authors of whose history and works he knew nothing. But, surely, if the matter is to be decided by a casual dip, it should at least be made in the author's own works; and who will venture to say that Peter would have been pilloried as an ignorant and trifling writer, if Milner had happened to open on col. 865, and to have read in one of his epistles, 'Libri, et MAXIME AUGUSTINIANI, ut nosti, apud nos AURO PRECIOSIORES sunt?'"—Maitland, pp. 363, 4.

These instances may serve as a sample of our author's labours,

of that literary police which he exercises from his head-quarters at Lambeth. We think that an admirable comedy, in the fashion of the learned amusements of the era of James I., might be framed out of his writings. Henry and Maclaine, Milner and Jortin, should be brought up for judgment before the archbishop's librarian, for their calumnies against their innocent and respected predecessors. Their total ignorance of the writings of those whom they censured, would be the readiest ground of their condemnation. But amidst the whole band of culprits, we think that none would present a more laughable figure than the formal and affected Robertson. We suppose him to be first brought up for judgment by a certain abbot, Bonus, for slandering a whole generation, because he was unable to understand the language in which its history is recorded. "Monasteries of considerable note," says Robertson, "had only one missal." This he states as an evidence of the illiterate character of the age. And in proof of his words, he makes an (incorrect) reference to the doings of the aforementioned abbot, as related in the Antiquities of Muratori. It seems that the abbot Bonus had lighted upon a certain chapel near Pisa, where he laid the foundation of what was afterwards a celebrated monastery. But at his coming such was its deserted state that he found in it nothing but a missal (in ipsa ecclesia non inveni nisi unum missale). He relates in consequence, how at first nothing could be read in service but the Epistles and Gospels; and contrasts this state of things with its subsequent condition, when it had become a monastery, and was supplied with books. We ask then, what reply Dr. Robertson could make to the homely remonstrances of this reverend abbot, whose words he has misunderstood, and whose testimony he has falsified. What ground had he for saying that monasteries of considerable note had but one missal, because nothing else was found in a certain deserted chapel in Italy? What judgment could he exercise respecting the middle ages, when so ignorant of their customs and language?

"In speaking thus of 'one missal,' Robertson obviously misunderstands the drift of the abbot's complaint, which was not that the chapel had *only one* missal, but that it had no other service-book *but* a missal; and that, therefore, only that service could be performed which was contained in the missal. Unus, in writers of that period, whether Italian, French, or German, no more implies definite singularity, than the corresponding word in either of those languages now does. We alone, I believe, have discarded it, or turned it into 'a,' and are apt to smile when our foreign friends very naturally say, 'Here is one book,' &c."—Maitland, p. 46.

But a more serious charge against the Scotch divine would be preferred by St. Eloy or Eligius, Bishop of Noyon (not Egidius, as Robertson calls him), whom he condemns in the strongest manner for the defective and unsatisfactory estimate which his homilies contain of the Christian character. Into the particulars of this story our limits will not allow us to enter: enough that having quoted from Mosheim a few sentences of a work which he had never seen, Robertson inveighs against St. Eloy for not adding the very expressions, which, had he consulted the original, he would have found there. His only defence could be, that he was but echoing the expressions of various writers, and especially of Dr. Maclaine, the ignorant translator of Mosheim, who had been guilty of the same error. But, however he might advance this plea in mitigation of punishment, we think that it would hardly shield him, even were it more true than it is, when pleaded against the sentence of our literary inquisitor.

Nothing can be more conclusive than our author's detection of numerous cases similar to those which we have adduced. His nature presents a perfect contrast to that idle acquiescence which induces ninety-nine men out of a hundred to assume that every reference is correct, and every writer fairly represented. His inclination is plainly towards the opposite extreme: and he has surrendered himself to the guidance of Aristotle's dictum, that there is an advantage in opposing received opinions. While the text of this work exhausts all the resources of wit and learning, against those by whom monasteries were destroyed: its preface displays an equal fertility in divining objections to their restoration. The same tendency, if we mistake not, is evidenced in some of his other works. He has opposed the symbolical system of interpreting the prophecies of the Old Testament, which had been prevalent from the days of the fathers in the Church Catholic; while the Protestant interpretation of the prophecies of the New Testament he has encountered with still greater success. In short, the very character, which Goldsmith complained was lost, seems to have been raised up for the especial benefit of Dr. Maclaine and Dr. Robertson.

"Here Douglas retires from his toils to relax—
The scourge of impostors, the terror of quacks:
Come all ye quack bards, and ye quacking divines,
Come and dance on the spot where your tyrant reclines.
When Satire and Censure encircled his throne,
I fear'd for your safety, I fear'd for my own:
But now he is gone, and we want a detecter,
Our Dodds shall be pious, our Kenricks shall lecture;

Macpherson write bombast, and call it a style;
Our Townsend make speeches, and I shall compile:
New Lauders and Bowers the Tweed shall pass over,
No countryman living their tricks to discover;
Detection her taper shall quench to a spark,
And Scotchman meet Scotchman, and cheat in the dark."

But we must pass to the most important subject of this volume, —an examination, namely, into the amount of scriptural knowledge during the middle ages.

"To begin with an inquiry respecting the Christian knowledge, or the means of such knowledge, which existed in those days; and to begin this at the beginning—Did they know any thing about the Bible?" —Maitland, p. 188.

What would be the ordinary answer to this question, it is scarcely necessary to say: the Scriptures are generally supposed to have been almost unknown during the middle ages; and the reason usually assigned for their ignorance is, that the Church of Rome had prohibited their perusal. We believe the popular impression to be embodied in the words of a useful, though not very original writer, who speaks of the period which followed the Norman conquest as

"A chasm of several centuries, during which the Scriptures appear to have been buried in oblivion, the general reading of them being prohibited by the Papal See."—Horne's Introduction, vol. ii. 1. vi. 3.

We shall endeavour to give a truer answer to our author's question, bringing together some of the facts which occur in his interesting essays, and adding a statement of what was really the law of the mediæval Church.

In reference then to the last point, we venture to affirm, first, that the Church of Rome never enacted any general law against the perusal of Scripture; and, secondly, that even of translations its prohibition was neither so general nor so early as is popularly imagined. The only enactment which can appear to be a law against the study of Scripture, is an Act of the Council of Toulouse, A.D. 1129, [republished, according to Harduin, a century afterwards,] which forbids the laity to be possessed of copies of Scripture (the use of the Psalter and Breviary was, however, allowed them).—Harduin's Councils, vi. 2. 1152. But this is manifestly a law against the Albigenses, published by a Provincial Council, and built upon the alleged heresy of those to whom it was addressed. A law directed against a particular body of persons by a Provincial Synod, cannot be called a general law of

the Church. Neither was this a law against the perusal of Scripture, but merely a prohibition to laymen to possess it.

Even the use of translations of Scripture was not generally forbidden at that period. To the Albigenses, indeed, it was expressly forbidden by the canon which we have cited, [Sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos, arctissime inhibemus.] And the same prohibition was imposed in England, when the labours of Wickliffe had coupled the diffusion of the Scriptures with the extension of his opinions. In the Constitutions made under Arundel, A.D. 1408, it is provided, that

"No one shall hereafter translate any text of Scripture by his own authority into the English tongue, or any other, by way of book or tract; nor shall any book or tract of this sort lately composed in the time of Wickliffe be read, till the translation is approved by the Diocesan, or if need be, the Provincial Council."—Wilkins, 3. 317.

These, then, are the only cases in which the use of translations of the Scriptures were forbidden; and these were ostensibly grounded on the fact, that the Albigenses and Wickliffites were in open opposition to the See of Rome, and therefore that their translations were sure to present a hostile aspect to it. We find no prohibition of the German version of the Scriptures, which was made A.D. 1466,—(Horne's Introd. vol. ii. 1, vi. 3, p. 228,)—any more than of those earlier ones, which had been made by Bede and others into Saxon.

"There were few countries of Europe," says Father Simon, "which had not the Scriptures in the language of the people. In Italy, Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, had translated the Bible into Italian. At Geneva they had a French translation, made towards the end of the twelfth century."—Critical Hist. II. cap. 22.

We are told by Horne, that

"The first English translation of the Bible known to be extant," executed, as is said, by an unknown individual, is referred "by Archbishop Usher to the year 1290: of this there are three manuscript copies preserved, in the Bodleian library, and in the libraries of Christ Church and Queen's Colleges, at Oxford. Towards the close of the following century, John de Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley, in the county of Gloucester, is said to have translated the Old and New Testaments into the English tongue."—Horne, v. s. p. 233.

Here, then, are a variety of cases in which translations of the Scriptures appear to have been made, while but in two places, and that, as was alleged, under peculiar circumstances, was their use interdicted. Not that we question that the ecclesiastical

authorities of that day would, in general, have been opposed to the extension of translations, but we contend that their paucity was owing to other causes, which we will proceed to state; and we object to attributing to the Church of Rome, what the Church of Rome had not enacted. For if she published such a law, as of general obligation, why is it not produced? In what collection of Councils is it to be found? In what part of the Canon Law does it occur? The formidable collection, entitled "Corpus Juris Canonici," is in the hands of all scholars; we have in it a list of such works as are to be rejected, but we find no prohibition of the study of Scripture; nor previous to the sixteenth century do we meet with any exceptions against its translation.

"Such works as heretics or schismatics have published, either by writing or preaching, the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome by no means receives. A few whereof which are remembered, which Catholics ought to avoid, we have thought good to mention."—[Can. Sanct. Romanæ Ecclesiæ. 27. Dist. xv.]

Why are not versions of Holy Scripture included in the list which follows, if it was intended to prohibit their use?

This inference from the silence of the Canon Law is the more material, in consequence of the explicit prohibition of translations in the 16th century. For then we come to the true era of that command, which popular belief has antedated. The first general order, by which the free use of books was limited by the Church of Rome, was made under Leo X. at the Fifth Lateran Council, A. D. 1515, and occurs in the 7th Book of the Decretals, v. 3. No especial mention is made in it of translations of Scripture, but it is grounded on the facilities for study which had recently been supplied by the art of printing.—"An art," says the decree, "which having by the favour of God been found out and advanced in our times, has given men the greatest opportunity of improvement."—(Harduin, ix. 1780.) This decree forbade the publication of any book without license from the Holy See, from the Bishop of the diocese, or his delegate; and to it the divines of the Council of Trent refer, when they proceed to speak more particularly of what the Romish Church by that time more especially opposed,—the translation of the Scriptures.

The opinions of the Council of Trent are expressed in "ten rules respecting prohibited books," drawn up by a congregation appointed for the purpose, and confirmed by Pope Pius IV. The 4th of them declares that, "inasmuch as experience shows that to permit the general reading of the Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue is by reason of man's temerity rather injurious than beneficial," the use of translations made by Catholic authors shall be

regulated by the advice of the parish priest or confessor. Except to those who had permission to study it, booksellers were forbidden to sell translations of the Scripture; and translations made by heretics were altogether interdicted. Here then was the first general decree by which the free use of translations of Scripture was expressly limited: hitherto their permission had been, like so many other points, an open question, on which the Church at large had not committed herself. The subject was discussed therefore by the members of the Council of Trent, as though it had hitherto been undecided. One party asserted, says Father Paul, "that it was a species of spiritual tyranny to prevent the faithful from exercising their reason according to the grace which God had given them. That it was better, after the example of antiquity, to allow a liberty of interpretation."—History of the Council of Trent, 2. 52.

It was from this time then that the free use of translations of Scripture was restricted by law in the Romish Church: its inherent aversion to it, however, remained to be showed in a yet more striking manner at a later period. When the translation of De Saci and the commentary of Quesnel had made the word of God more popularly known in France than it had ever probably been in a Roman Catholic country, the court of Rome was stirred up to express its repugnance to such general diffusion of scriptural knowledge in the celebrated Constitution of Clement XI., beginning with the word "Unigenitus." In that Constitution, 101 propositions are cited from Quesnel's book, and specifically condemned. Among the statements censured are the following:

"79. It is useful and necessary, in every age and place, for persons of all classes to study and know the spirit, piety, and mysteries of Holy Scripture.

"80. The reading of the Scriptures is intended for all.

"81. The sacred obscurity of the word of God is no reason why the laity should exempt themselves from its perusal.

"85. To interdict Christians the reading of the word of God, especially of the Gospel, is to banish the light from the sons of light, and to subject them to a species of excommunication."

We have been more full in detailing the opposition which the Church of Rome rendered to the general circulation of translations of the Scriptures after the Reformation, that we may show how little truth there is for the assertion, that she had issued any general order against their use at an earlier period. The conclusion to which we come is, 1st, That after the Reformation she altogether forbade the use of translations called heretical, but

tolerated the employment of versions made by her own members, when the bishop and parish priest allowed it; 2ndly, That these restrictions were not introduced, except in two places, before the 16th century; 3rdly, That she never at any time interdicted the study of the Scriptures in the original, nor their possession, except in the single instance of the lay-Albigenses.

The question, then, which we expect to hear asked is, how it happens that there were so few translations of the Scripture before the Reformation? Now, in the first place, we by no means deny that it was contrary to the general policy of the Romish Church to encourage translations of the Scripture; and of course, among men of learning, there would be a corresponding indisposition to provide them. Yet we have shown that several translations of the Scripture were made, and not forbidden—but though not forbidden, they obtained little circulation. A specimen here and there has been preserved; while other versions have perished altogether. This circumstance seems to point to some other cause of their scarcity than the prohibition of the Church of Rome. And such a cause we seem to have in the condition of the Middle Ages, in which there was a learned language common to the whole of Christendom, acquired by every one who had the least pretensions to education[3]; while, at the same time, the expense of providing books made oral intercourse the main mode of instruction. Had none but the vernacular tongue been usually spoken in each country, as at present in our own, those who had mastered the dialects in which the Scripture was written would probably have translated it for their own familiar use, if not for the benefit of others. Again, if the same facilities had existed, which the manufacture of paper and the invention of printing have since supplied, the Scriptures would have been rendered into the common tongues, as the best means of instructing the vulgar. It is to the union of these two concurrent circumstances then that we must attribute the absence of early translations into the dialects of Europe. In primitive days the Bible was soon rendered into the language of Italy; so were the comedians and philosophers of Greece. In the Middle Ages we find the latter circulated in Latin as well as the former. The Koran was translated into Latin: so was the philosophy of Aristotle. It is important to understand this circumstance fully, because the absence of translations is one of the popular arguments for sup-

[3] We observe, for instance, not only that letters to ladies, as may be seen by the writings of Peter of Blois, were written in Latin, but that they could understand what was read out in this language, (vid. Becket Papers, in Froude's Remains, Part 2, vol. ii. p. 134,) and that it was considered a great mark of ignorance not to be able to speak Latin.—Hoveden, p. 327. Savile.

posing the Scriptures to have been unknown during the Middle Ages. And it will still be objected, that even though there was so little literature that men were not disposed to translate Virgil or Cicero into the vernacular tongue, yet that they ought, for the sake of popular instruction, to have translated St. Paul. It may be questioned, however, whether there was any means of instructing the generality of men during the Middle Ages through written compositions. The want of some substance on which to write, after Byblus ceased to be imported from Egypt, added to the labour of writing, made the cost of books too great for their general circulation. Our author, though pointing out the absurdity of considering that the sum paid for a certain set of the Homilies of Haymon, bishop of Halberstadt, by the Countess of Anjou, was a fair sample, as is generally supposed, of the price of books in the Middle Ages,—as though Lambert had been esteemed the average weight of an Englishman,—yet explains the labour and cost of producing any ordinary volume. The majority of manuscripts which have been handed down to us appear to have been written as a labour of love in monasteries. For the purpose of facilitating this labour, small cells were often arranged round the calefactory, with a view of partaking of its warmth. Each cell or scriptorium was occupied by a single monk, and so large a part was this of the employment of the cloister, that

"Cells, or small rooms, or even larger apartments, which had no other particular name or use, were commonly called scriptoria, even when not actually used."—Maitland, p. 405.

It was only by the great command of leisure enjoyed by the monks that books could be obtained on terms so reasonable as were actually prevalent. And yet

"I am inclined to suppose," says Mr. Maitland, "that at this day a copy of our English Bible, paid for at the rate at which law-stationers pay their writers for common fair copy on paper, would cost between 60*l.* and 70*l.* for the writing only."—p. 202.

Under such circumstances, to circulate the Scriptures widely by means of books was impossible. The best substitute was that which the ancient canons of Ælfric required, had it been properly put in execution.

"'The mass-priest shall on Sundays and on mass-days explain the Gospel in English to the people; and by the Lord's Prayer and the Creed he shall, as often as he can, stir them up to faith and the maintenance of Christianity.' Let the teacher be warned to avoid that which the prophet has said, 'Canes muti non possunt latrare,' 'Dumb dogs,

they cannot bark.' We ought to bark and preach to the laity, lest perchance we should cause them to perish for lack of knowledge."—Maitland, p. 29.

But were the priests qualified for such a task? Was the Bible known to those at least who were conversant with Latin? The popular opinion supposes the study of Scripture, under any form, to have been discouraged, if not forbidden, by authority; and that, in consequence, the sacred writings were almost unknown. It is against this notion that Mr. Maitland especially opposes himself. He not only produces direct commands, by which the study of Holy Scripture was enjoined on the monks and clergy, but he shows that the habit of referring to its contents implied the most familiar knowledge of them among all who had any converse with letters. The reader has seen that, except in the decree of the Council of Toulouse, which had immediate reference to a people with whom Rome was carrying on an internecine war, there is not the slightest show of any law by which the study of the Vulgate was forbidden to any man: on the other hand, Mr. Maitland produces the following order from the canons of Ælfric, published shortly before the year 1000, the darkest period of the Middle Ages.

"Every priest before he is ordained must have the arms belonging to his spiritual work; that is the holy books, namely, the Psalter, the book of Epistles, and the book of Gospels, the Missal, the book of Hymns, the Manual, the Calendar, the Passional, the Penitential, and the Lectionary. These books a priest requires, and cannot do without, if he would properly fulfil his office, and desires to teach the law to the people belonging to him. And let him carefully see that they are well written."—Maitland, p. 29.

This command might be paralleled by one, which we do not see that Mr. Maitland has quoted, made at the Council of Coyacum, in Spain, A.D. 1050. "The archdeacons shall bring to orders at the four appointed times such clerks as know perfectly the whole psalter, the hymns, canticles, *epistles*, *gospels*, and prayers[4]."

Again our author shows, that by the statutes of most monasteries the Scriptures were regularly read to the brethren, though the order, arrangement, and amount varied in different places. The whole appears to have been read among the Cistercians, and it was probably only an ordinary practice, which was recorded of the Abbot of Brunwillers,—

"This man of God caused the whole of the Old and New Testament

[4] Harduin. VI. 1. 1027.

to be read through every year. The four Gospels, however, as they could not be read at the same time, and in the same order as the other books, he appointed to be read at four periods of the year, by four deacons, in the four sides of the cloisters."—Maitland, p. 461.

But was it a mere recitation, which was received without attention? Is there evidence that any knowledge of Scripture was thus acquired? In this point our author is particularly happy. He produces a sermon which was received with particular attention and interest, which depends so wholly upon the scriptural references which it contained, that it implied knowledge in the hearers as well as the preacher (p. 478—489). He quotes examples of distinguished men, whose familiarity with the sacred writers is among the characteristics for which they are eulogized by their biographers (p. 457). But, above all, he refers to the extraordinary familiarity with Scripture which is evidenced by the phraseology of the mediæval writers.

"The writings of the dark ages," he says, "are, if I may use the expression, *made of the Scriptures.* I do not mean that the writers constantly quoted the Scriptures, or appealed to them as authorities on all occasions, as other writers have done since their day—though they did this, and it is a strong proof of their familiarity with them—but I mean that they thought and spoke and wrote the thoughts and words and phrases of the Bible, and that they did this constantly as the natural mode of expressing themselves. Let the reader take the first half dozen writers of the period which he can lay his hands on, and resolve on making out the sense of half a dozen pages in each, and I have no doubt that he will find enough to make him suspect that further inquiry would prove the truth of what I have been saying."—pp. 470, 471.

Here then appears to be a ready means of testing the truth of our popular notions respecting the scriptural knowledge of the Middle Ages. For example, the Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelonda is in every one's hands, having been lately published, and illustrated by the pen of the original but capricious Carlyle. Here we may learn with what authors a monk of our own country was familiar: in what phraseology did the thoughts of a native of Bury flow forth. We have but to count the references which occur incidentally in the first twelve pages, and we find the following scriptural books quoted—Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Judges twice, Kings twice, Psalms, Jeremiah, St. Matthew twice, St. Luke, St. John twice, Acts, Corinthians twice. A reference to Roger de Hoveden would be still more striking, did we regard either the copiousness or the pertinency of his quotations—yet these are writers, who make no profession of touching on subjects of theology. How then is it possible that such

frequent use should be made of the word of God, save by those to whom it was familiar?

But it may be said, that though this was the case with the writers of that age, yet the great mass of monks were utterly without knowledge of Scripture. Although it may be confessed that such a genius as St. Bernard had an insight into God's word, which few moderns possess, yet the marvellous richness of his own scriptural knowledge might be equalled by the penury of his associates. But was this the case? Take his celebrated sermons on the Canticles; they abound with references to the Scriptures, as a book with which his hearers were familiar. "This interpretation," he says in one place, "might seem to be my invention, if you did not recognize the same from the Scriptures[5]." And again, when referring to some prophecies in the Old Testament: "I suppose," he says, "that your thoughts run before me, and that you know what I am going to say[6]." Do not these allusions show a familiarity with the word of God among the hearers as well as the preacher of these celebrated discourses. The same inference may be drawn from the complaints which were made at Trent, according to Father Paul, of the irreverent manner in which the Bible was often quoted. Its sacred words would not have become proverbial, nor parodies upon them have been an ordinary vehicle of burlesque, unless the words themselves had been generally familiar.

The truth is, that the difficulty of procuring other books before the invention of printing made that one, the authority whereof could not be denied, a more material constituent in men's mental composition. The multiplicity of writers in the present day has a contrary tendency. Although there may be fewer by whom the Bible is absolutely unknown, yet it is impossible to know the real condition of large masses of our people, without discovering that in general they are contented with a knowledge of certain portions of Holy Writ, and of certain texts which are the traditional exponents of their party creed, while the great deep of God's word is an ocean on which they never venture. Singularly enough, we have a complaint of this tendency from no less an authority than Martin Luther. The great mover in that theological excitement which multiplied the making of books and invention of systems was alive before his death to the tendency of things. So we gather from his "complaint about the multitude of books, and from his warning that men ought to study the Bible." "Doctor Luther once complained about the number of books; that there was no end or measure in writing; that men

[5] Serm. ii. 7 p. 1278.

[6] Serm. xv. 2. p. 1315.

would make books either for the sake of gain or praise, * * * Thus through so many commentaries is the precious Bible buried, till men pay no attention to its text. * * * I could wish that all my books were buried nine ells in the ground, on account of the ill example they will give to others to imitate me in writing so much."—Luther's Tischreden, p. 16.

If such then be the real statement of the case, if reading men in the Middle Ages were in truth as remarkable for their acquaintance with God's word, as they are supposed to be distinguished for their ignorance of it, what judgment must we form of the carelessness of those who adopt so untenable a position, and to defend the English, are content to slander the mediæval Church? Is it safe ground to depend on the currency of so monstrous a fiction? Are not the believers in our popular system in danger some day of being fatally undeceived? May they not be ready to abandon a Church altogether, if they are led to suppose that it can only be defended by fiction? Who knows what part this circumstance may have had in those recent perversions, by which all sound Churchmen have been astonished? Our friends have trusted to the current statement of facts, and illustrate the danger of venturing

"Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,"

who are liable at any time to a failure, if compelled to make trial of their own genuine resources.

It is with a view of guarding against this danger, that we notice one assertion, which in the minds of many may militate against our general argument, but which is sure to be turned by some skilful adversary against those who have employed it. Let us have the anecdote in its last dress: as it comes at present before the Protestant world. We quote from the Historical Sketches of Mrs. Milner, biographer of the Ecclesiastical Historian, who has compiled a *résumé* of the more interesting portion of her relative's labours, for the benefit of juvenile readers. Of course they must be introduced to Martin Luther. They learn accordingly, that in the year 1505 this celebrated man being then twenty-two years of age, and having made great proficiency in philosophical studies at Magdeburg, entered a monastery at Erfurth. Here "he occupied himself in study and in prayers, and to his inexpressible satisfaction, discovered in the monastery, in the second year of his residence there, A LATIN BIBLE. Now he first perceived, that the Church to which he belonged, did not allow to the people access to *the whole* of the sacred volume."

In saying this, Mrs. Milner merely repeats the words of her relative:—

"In the second year after Luther had entered into the monastery, he accidentally met with a Latin Bible in the library. It proved to him a treasure. Then he first observed, that there were *more* Scripture passages extant, than those which were read to the people: for the Scriptures were at that time very little known in the world."—Milner's Eccl. Hist. 4. 324.

We must admit that these statements militate greatly against the justice of our conclusions. In one we are told that the Scriptures were little known; in the other, that the people were not allowed access to them. Indeed, what other conclusion can we adopt, if a young man of extraordinary powers of mind, and great inquisitiveness, who had studied philosophy with signal success, and graduated at the University, first found out in his twenty-fourth year that such a book as the Bible existed?

Yet the story is one to which it is obviously difficult to give credence. Not only do we know of twenty different editions of the whole Bible, published in Germany alone during the preceding fifty years (Maitland, p. 469), but the course of philosophy which Luther is stated to have been successfully pursuing, was the study of those school divines, a large part of whose works is employed in the illustration of Scriptures. That Luther should have spent the flower of an active youth in their perusal, and never stumbled upon the fact that there was such a work as the Bible, is about as strange as that a man should have given his life to the study of the French Revolution, but remain in total ignorance of the existence of such a man as Bonaparte. And what are we to say of his conventual life? To say nothing of other portions of Scripture, of the weekly use of the whole Psalter, of passages from Scripture selected for every season, the rules of the Augustinian order impose the perusal daily of two chapters, one from the Old, the other from the New Testament at primes (Martene de Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus, 1. 4. 11.), and of a like quantity at tierce (Id. 1. 8. 7.). How strange, that the weekly use of the Psalter, and the listening yearly to above fourteen hundred chapters of Holy Writ, should not have suggested the inquiry from whence these treasures were derived! A careless mind might, indeed, have passed these things by with indifference, but how could they be neglected by one who was devoted like Luther "to prayer and study?"

But it will be answered, that good laws are not always obeyed, and that the wholesome perusal of scriptural lessons may have been intermitted by the Augustine monks, among whom Luther had taken up his abode. Have we no direct testimony on the subject? We have, and that of the most unimpeachable character. We have a contemporary life of Luther from a German

country parson, who wished to vary the instruction which for twenty-four years he had bestowed upon his parishioners. Now as John Mathesius had long sat at Luther's board, and been a favourite pupil, he thought nothing would be so acceptable to the people of St. Joachim's Vale, as a narrative of what he had heard by word of mouth from the German Reformer. And this author tells us distinctly, that on Luther's entering the monastery at Erfurth,

"Before he took the vows, the convent at his request gave him a Latin Bible, which he read through with the greatest earnestness and prayer, and learnt a large part of it by heart."—Mathesius, p. 5.

Now we wish to call our readers' attention to this statement. Here we have an anecdote repeated by one author after another, as illustrative of the religious character of the mediæval Church; an anecdote of so intelligible and interesting a kind, that those who hear it, seem familiar at once with the circumstances of the age; and yet this story turns out upon inquiry to be entirely inconsistent with the best contemporary evidence. What confidence can we place in history, if so classical an incident, affecting the most important character of the age, is erroneously reported? Can we wonder if men are disposed to doubt all the assertions which are made to the disadvantage of the mediæval Church, when they find traditional stories like this fail them? When the race of young divines, with whom Milner's history is a standard work, meet an intelligent Romanist, how will they be able to defend their other assertions, when this crowning one is so capitally erroneous?

But our author's feelings in reference to this incident are too amusing to be passed over. He shall speak for himself.

"I am not such an enthusiast as to suppose that a series of papers in a magazine, desultory and superficial as I sincerely acknowledge these to be, can do much to stop the perpetual repetition of falsehood, long established, widely circulated, and maintained with all the tenacity of party prejudice. If I were, the occurrences of every day would, I hope, teach me wisdom. While these sheets have been going through the press, they have brought me a specimen quite worthy of Robertson, and so much to our present purpose, that I cannot help noticing it. Even since the foregoing paragraph was written, a proof sheet has come from the printing-office, wrapped in a waste quarter of a sheet of a book, which I do not know that I have seen, but the name of which I have often heard, and which I have reason to believe has been somewhat popular of late. The head-line of the page before me is

The University. Luther's piety. D'AUBIGNÉ'S REFORMATION. Discovery. The Bible.

Among the contents of the page thus headed, and in the column under 'Discovery. The Bible,' we find the following passage relating to Luther:

"'The young student passed at the university library every moment he could snatch from his academic duties.... One day (he had then been studying two years at Erfurth, and was twenty years of age) he opened one after another several books in the library, in order to become acquainted with their authors. A volume, which he opens in its turn, arrests his attention, he has seen nothing like it to this moment. He reads the title—it is a Bible! A rare book, unknown in those days. His interest is excited to a high degree: he is overcome with wonder at finding more in the volume than those fragments of the Gospels and Epistles, which the Church has selected to be read in the temples every Sunday throughout the year. Till then, he had supposed these constituted the entire word of God; and now behold, how many pages, how many chapters, how many books, of which he had not before had a notion'."

Our author proceeds:—

"Is it not odd that Luther had not by some chance or other heard of the Psalms?—but there is no use in criticising such nonsense. Such it must appear to every moderately informed reader, but he will not appreciate its absurdity until he is informed that on the same page this precious historian has informed his readers that in the course of the two preceding years Luther had 'applied himself to learn the philosophy of the middle ages, in the writings of Occam, Scot, Bonaventura, and Thomas Aquinas,'—of course none of those poor creatures knew any thing about the Bible."—Maitland, p. 467-9.

Now we think our author rather hard upon J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, President of the Theological School of Geneva, and member of the "Société Evangélique." The same author whom we quoted above would remind him,

> "Well suppose it a bounce—sure a poet may try
> By a bounce now and then, to get courage to fly."

For that D'Aubigné's work is a sort of religious novel, a grand epic picture of the 16th century, is sufficiently acknowledged in its title. "The Great Reformation," so we believe the work is entitled, is not of course to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, any more than *the Grand Cyrus*, or any other work of a corresponding character. Who ever censured Sir Walter Scott for dressing up the adventures of Raleigh or Cœur de Leon? Having found an anecdote therefore of Luther, for which he refers to the very authority of Mathesius, which we have quoted, our Genevese poet had surely a right to transfer it to a time when its occurrence could be brought in with such effect as is required in epical narration.

We are the more anxious to make good this justification for D'Aubigné, because without it, he would be in danger of being

charged with intentional dishonesty. For Milner, indeed, who, as we have seen, has carried the story some years later, and represents it to have happened when Luther was in a monastery at Erfurth, we must make a different excuse. Neither of the two Milners by whom the history of the Church of Christ was written, appear to have been acquainted with the German language; a knowledge of which is of course essential to any one who would do justice to the facts of Luther's history. The Dean of Carlisle, therefore, was evidently led by Seckendorf into this monstrous error—an error which we have shown to be as contrary to general probability as to acknowledged fact. Even by Seckendorf, indeed, he might have been set right, since this author mentions[8] that at Luther's entrance into the monastery, the monks gave him a copy of the Scriptures; but the circumstance which D'Aubigné asserts to have happened when Luther was twenty years of age, is certainly assigned by Seckendorf to a later period. Of course we need scarcely remark, that Seckendorf, himself only a compiler, is no sort of authority in a matter of this kind, when opposed to an original historian like Mathesius. And we can only regret that the Dean of Carlisle did not enable himself by the study of German to give a more complete life of Luther, since his fairness of mind would have led him to unfold more fully the character of that coarse but energetic man. We should then, we think, have heard something of those broad-sheet caricatures, altogether unknown we believe in this country, but which it does not belong to our purpose to mention, with which Luther waged war against the Papacy.

Milner, thus unacquainted with the language in which Mathesius has recorded the events of Luther's life, could only trust to the testimony of Seckendorf. But D'Aubigné, who evidently had the original work of Mathesius before him, could not be ignorant of the time at which this alleged discovery is said to have taken place. Had he designed therefore to commit himself to the duties of a historian, he would have had the candour to observe that Mathesius, the original authority, from which this incident is derived, puts the date of anno 1501 opposite to his relation of it, that is to say, he fixes it to the seventeenth or eighteenth year of Luther's life; the year of his arrival at Erfurth. And if we date Luther's birth a year later than Mathesius does (with the Biographie Universelle), we have only the ignorance of a youth of fifteen or sixteen to account for. Even in this case, the circumstance is sufficiently remarkable, considering the multitude of editions of the Bible which had so

[8] Hist. l. 8 10. Add. 3.

recently been published; but we are unwilling to reject altogether the testimony of a credible contemporary, and think likewise that something must be referred to the peculiar circumstances of Luther's life. The son of a poor miner, who had supported himself at school by begging, "panem propter Deum,"—we imagine Luther to have possessed, probably, no books at all, till he was sent to the high school at Erfurth; and to have profited mainly by the public instruction, which was orally bestowed. Now, numerous as were then the reprints of the Latin Bible, the majority of them—like a splendid folio now before us, printed in 1512, at the expense of Antony Hobinger, of Nuremberg,—were beyond the reach of a poor scholar. It is not impossible, therefore, that he may then have learnt to know the *whole* Bible, and that his previous acquaintance may have been with such passages as were read and explained to the people in public worship. Mathesius speaks of the *common postills*, as well as of pulpit instruction, as the means of knowledge which the youth had hitherto possessed, and the work which Luther himself subsequently published under this name, shows how large a body of scriptural instruction they might embrace. The free command of Latin had not probably been gained by the indigent student before his fifteenth year; and that a whole Latin Bible should not have fallen in his way for one or even two years afterwards seems just conceivable. That the same thing should have happened when, at the age of twenty, he had made large acquaintance with writers whose works are chiefly commentaries on the Scriptures, is a supposition which could hardly be hazarded by any writer who did not aim rather at the praise of epical effect than of historical accuracy.

We have already expressed our opinion that the circulation of Scripture among the laity, though not forbidden by formal law, was certainly discouraged by the Romish hierarchy, and we doubt not that, among the scandalous delinquencies of many clergymen, gross ignorance was numbered. We could help Monsieur D'Aubigné to the authority for a fact illustrative of this negligence, which he states on the credit of its having been somewhere read by the ecclesiastical historian Weisman. He will find in Luther's Table Talk, that "Doctor Carlstad first began to read the Bible in the eighth year after he was Doctor[9]." But it is that due credence may be given to what can be really authenticated, that we are the more anxious to clear our shelves and platforms from those spurious assertions which have been allowed to overrun them. We must give another specimen of

[9] Tischreden, p. 7. Ed. 1569.

our author's labours in detecting such malversations. There lived in the thirteenth century a certain inquisitor, named Reinerius Saccho, who had been for many years an associate of the Albigenses, against whom he afterwards directed the censures of the Church. A work is extant in which he details the principles of his former associates. Among other things, he asserts, whether truly or falsely, that "they pray little"—"parum orant." Now, there is a class of writers who have laid it down as a rule, that whatever is said of the opponents of the Romish Church, must needs admit of a favourable interpretation. They translate the expression of Reinerius, therefore, in the following paraphrastic manner. "They are concise and devout in their prayers, blaming an inanimated prolixity[1]." It seems hardly credible that any one should be found to make such a misstatement, still less that it should be repeatedly propagated. Yet this version, Mr. Maitland tells us, has been transferred into the tract of the Religious Tract Society, called the Lollards, where it is thus introduced, "The following description of the Lollards, is given by a Popish inquisitor of those times, named Reinher. Strange to say, he thought such conduct highly deserving of censure[2]." So wrote Mr. Maitland nine years ago; but his labours have had no effect in inducing the Religious Tract Society to alter their line of argument. A copy of the "Lollards, or Witnesses for the *Truth*," published subsequently to the detection of this falsehood, is before us, and retains the identical words which Mr. Maitland has shown to be so gross a misrepresentation.

But we cannot take leave of our readers without touching upon a more pleasing subject than these unscrupulous attempts to fight the battles of truth with the weapons of falsehood. Our main purpose has been to induce a closer attention to the real condition of the mediæval Church, to induce men to "extenuate nothing," nor "set down aught in malice." And while there is much in its history which is gloomy and disastrous, there are not wanting sunny spots on which the eye can rest with satisfaction. If we meet with persecutors, who appear to have been actuated only by the pride of power, or the lust of aggrandizement, we find traces, too, of that humble, sincere, and devout spirit which betrays a heavenly origin. That this spirit should have taken up its dwelling in the low and sheltered corners of the ancient Church, with the neglected monk or despised recluse, is less contrary to men's expectations than to meet it in the more exalted places of the earth, beneath the armour of St. Louis, or under

[1] Maitland's Strictures on Milner's Church History, p. 49. [2] Ibid. p. 50.

the mitred head of the Primate of Gaul. Especially are we apt to suppose, that those who took a leading part in crushing the opponents of ecclesiastical domination, who were main pillars of what none can deny to have been a corrupted and disordered system, must needs have been actuated by love of this world rather than love of God. Yet as we maintain firmly, that "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His;" so, likewise, where this Spirit appears to show itself, we venture to hope that He who bestows it did not refuse to dwell. When can such a hope be more consolatory than at the present moment, when the miserable divisions of Christendom, and especially of that grand focus of discord, in which our lot is cast, have shaken the confidence of many an earnest heart in all outward signs of Christian fellowship. What a solace is it, then, to discover the hidden signs of a devout life under circumstances in which modern prejudices would least induce us to expect them. Surely there is room for hope that among the violent and persecuting spirits of our own day there may be misled enthusiasts, whose secret lives would discover corresponding marks that Christ's Spirit is not altogether a stranger to their hearts. With this feeling we must express our especial thanks to Mr. Maitland for having dug out of the immense mine of the Gallia Christiana some interesting particulars respecting the private life of an important actor in the mediæval Church.

But we must say a word by way of introduction. In the year 1178, the Albigenses had attracted such notice that the kings of France and England determined to send some wise men who might convert them by preaching. The persons sent were Peter, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, the Archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, Reginald, Bishop of Bath, John, Bishop of Poictiers, Henry, Abbot of Clairvaux, and others. These emissaries controverted the Manichean opinions which were propagated, as they asserted, by the Albigenses; and though they put no one to death, yet they doubtless prepared the way for those great severities which followed. For this they have been spoken of as might be expected, by such persons as wish to find witnesses to the true faith in the Arians of Toulouse. But our present purpose is with one of them alone. Jean aux Bellemains, Bishop of Poictiers, was our countryman; a man whose talents and learning did honour to the Church of York, where he had been canon and treasurer. None of that age are said to have been his superiors, either in eloquence or in knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages[3]. He was raised to the episcopate at that

[3] Leland in Biographia Britannica.

stormy period when the independence of the spiritual power was maintained by Becket against the attacks of Henry II. The Bishop of Poictiers was a friend of the Archbishop's, but was not perhaps possessed of that firmness which Becket displayed in his long banishment. He was at the conference between the Kings of France and England at Montmirail, and seems to have wished the Archbishop to abate something of his demands. Herbert de Boscham, who was present, tells us that "John, Bishop of Poictiers, an old dear and tried friend of the Archbishop, spoke of the downfal of the Church. 'Brother,' replied the other quietly, 'have a care lest thou bring the Church to a downfal; I never shall.'"

But the Bishop of Poictiers showed no want of zeal for the Church's liberties, when he had been elected to the see of Lyons, the primacy of France, to which he was chosen at the very same moment that the clergy of Narbonne had called him to be their archbishop. On the vacancy of the bishopric of Autun, we find him defending its independence against the King of France[4]. But a more important question required his attention. Two years before his election, A. D. 1179, the followers of Peter Waldo, who were called the poor men of Lyons, had presented a memorial to the Pope, in which they requested his permission to teach[5]. As the treasurer of York had been brought into contact with the Manichean Albigenses, so was he now opposed to Peter Waldo, the first founder of those more orthodox opponents of the Church of Rome, who from him have been called Waldenses[6].

It was by him therefore, according to Perrin, that Waldo was forbidden to teach, and finally driven into exile. And thus do we find him in a situation the most hateful of all others to the great mass of Protestant authorities, opposing the first diffusion of that party of which many have spoken as though it were identical with the true Church of Christ. In short,

"He has been, and continues to be," says Mr. Maitland, "held up

[4] Gallia Christ. iv. 132.

[5] Moneta in Gieseler's Kirchengeschichte, 3. 86.

[6] It may be disputed whether Milner be right in saying that it was by him that Waldo himself was excommunicated, since, if Milner be right in his Chronology, Waldo died A. D. 1179.—(Milner, vol. iii. p. 444.) But this opinion Milner derives from Perrin, whose authority is very uncertain; and Thuanus, to whom he refers, seems by no means to bear out his assertion. Perrin says that Waldo left Lyons A. D. 1163.—(Perrin, ii. 12.) On the other hand, Mosheim, a far more accurate guide, says that Waldo commenced his teaching, A. D. 1180. And Perrin, who is the main authority for a difference of time, says expressly, that the archbishop was John de Belles Mayons; which Milner has further corrupted into John de Beles Mayons. Milner seems to have been utterly ignorant that he was dealing with a countryman. In the index to Raynaldus, the archbishop is called Joannes ad Albas Manus, which, in the Biographia Britannica, has been contracted to Belmeys.

to the horror and execration of Christians for his malicious fierceness against the true doctrine of Christ, and as one of the members of Antichrist, 'who could neither abide that the Scriptures should be declared by any other, nor would they take the pains to declare them themselves.'"—p. 340.

But however "jealous of the honour of that corrupt system, of which he was a distinguished member,"—(Milner, 3. 442.)—Jean aux Bellemains did not value apparently the possession of the worldly power which he was called upon to exercise. Though neither disgusted, as far as we learn, by any great reverses, nor wearied like Charles V. by sitting for a long life at the helm of affairs, he resigned his primacy after about thirteen or fourteen years, and retired to the monastery of Clairvaux. His choice may, probably, have been guided, as Mr. Maitland suggests, by reverence for St. Bernard, whose prayers he seems to have especially valued. But we must notice, what Mr. Maitland has not recorded, the reasons which, in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, he gives for his retirement.

"That modicum of life," he says, "which God yet affords me, I have determined to spend in penitence and tears, and to taste the sweetness of a life of contemplation. For while I discharged the honourable office of Archbishop of Lyons, I was of necessity involved in the world's warfare. Against men who were guilty of robbery or sacrilege, I was compelled to fight, with the risk not only of their lives, but of those of my own followers."—Gallia Christ. iv. p. 133.

From such labours, therefore, our countryman retired, living upon a pension of thirteen pounds (or as Hoveden[7] expresses it, of one hundred pounds Esterlingarum). And there are, happily, not wanting indications of the nature of his pursuits. On several points which especially exercised his mind, he consulted Pope Innocent III. The most remarkable, perhaps, is his wonder that in the Canon of the Mass, where our Lord's words at the institution of the Holy Communion are recited, the expression "mysterium fidei,' should be introduced. "Inasmuch as no Evangelist asserts our Lord to have used these words," replies Innocent, "you are greatly astonished (miraris non modicum), and wonder that any one should have ventured to assert that He said more than the Evangelists have related."—(Raynaldus, A.D. 1202, § xiv.) The other inquiry of our countryman was, on what authority the intercessions of the Church for Pope Leo had been altered into prayers addressed to him.—(Id. § 18.) Even in that day the minds of men were exercised, it would seem, by such difficulties, and it was not always easy to adjust the relative

[7] Roger de Hoveden, p. 425. ed. Savile.

claims of individual judgment and Church authority. The answer of Innocent shows much familiarity with Scripture, into which it enters at large; but it depends in reality on the legislative supremacy of the See of Rome, which it was difficult to deny, so long as the spurious decretals of Isidore were believed to be genuine.

But it was not for such perplexing questions that our countryman had laid down the chief sway in the French Church; and the difficulties of practical life would have been ill avoided by the distressing anxieties of theological uncertainty. His will was to *taste the sweetness* of a life of contemplation; and we thank Mr. Maitland for reminding us, how the ancient soldier of the Church militant was allowed, even in this life, to anticipate the exalted employments of the Church triumphant. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, a prelate still immersed in public affairs, visited France while the old man was yet living at Clairvaux. Though religious Christendom was then one family, and a canon of York was not among strangers, even when he sat upon the throne of Lyons, or knelt among the woods of Burgundy, yet the heart of Jean aux Bellemains seems to have yearned after his native land, which he had revisited in the year before his resignation, and he begged the Bishop to give him an interview. To this circumstance we owe our knowledge of the nature of his pursuits. For when the Bishop asked him what part of Holy Scripture formed the especial subject of his meditations, he replied, "the meditation of the Psalms has swallowed up my whole soul." (Psalmorum meditatio sola jam penitus totum sibi me vindicavit.) —Maitland, p. 340.

Surely the practical tendency of our age and country has overreached itself. That great evils required to be redressed in the 12th century cannot be denied. The archbishop of the very cathedral in which the aged recluse before us had first borne office was, during this very time, under process[8] for his profane addiction to worldly pursuits. And yet the strength of the Church lay not in the courts of princes, but in the affection of the multitude. It was not to conciliate the kings of Europe, but the people of England, that Henry II. (allowing him no more genuine motive) submitted to the lash before the tomb of Becket. What was it that fascinated the popular regard but the spectacle of that sincerity which could lead an aged prince of the Church to bury himself in conventual shades, that he might taste the

[8] Geoffry, Archbishop of York, the natural son of Henry II., was proceeded against by his canons, who "asserebant eum, omne episcopale officium vilipendentem, aucupio, venationi, et aliis curis militaribus deditum esse."—Roger de Hoveden, Savile, p. 417.

delights of heavenly contemplation? Where could the same resource be now sought, even were there the spirit to desire it? And how many earnest labourers in the Lord's vineyard wear out their prime of life in a profession where they have not, as elsewhere, opportunity of making secular provision for its close, to whom no such friendly haven offers the opportunity of walking peacefully with God in the calm evening of their days. How blessed such a resource, as well in time of tribulation as in time of wealth—to those to whose poverty it would give the means of support, and to those to whose greatness it would give the opportunity of repose!

Art. V.—1. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with Appendices and Plans of School-Houses:* 1842-43.

2. *Thirty-second Annual Report of the Incorporated National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales: established* 1811.

3. *Fourth Report of the Chester Diocesan Board.*

4. *Fourth Report of the Salisbury Diocesan Board of Education:* 1843.

5. *Fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge Board of Education:* 1844.

6. *Report of the State of the Northamptonshire Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, from January* 1842 *to January* 1, 1843.

7. *Fifth Annual Report of the Lichfield Diocesan Board of Education, formed on the 29th day of November,* 1838, *under the authority of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese:* 1844.

8. *Fourth Annual Report of the Bath and Wells Diocesan Board for promoting the Education of the People in the Principles of the Established Church in connexion with the Incorporated National Society:* 1842.

9. *Third Annual Report of the Church Education Society for Ireland:* 1842.

It is gratifying to observe the quiet earnestness with which the work of education is proceeding;—indicated by the reports issued by the Government, the National Society, and the various Diocesan Boards,—by the large amount of funds lately contributed

for the purpose,—and the schools that are every where rising into existence. Education may be said to be the question of questions, on which the fate of the country mainly depends. The children now at our schools will in ten or fifteen years constitute the thews and sinews, nay more, the mind and moral energy, of the country; and as we form them now, so will be the condition of the nation then,—religious or irreligious, moral or immoral, ignorant or enlightened, obedient or turbulent. In no single instance does the harvest more evidently correspond with the seed sown than in the education of the young. In no way are we more certainly treasuring up for our children,—nay, in all probability, for ourselves,—years of misery, turbulence, crime, and anarchy, than by neglecting the present opportunity to train up the young of the land in right paths. And in no way can we hope to realize a more usurious interest of worldly prosperity and happiness, as well as a never-dying reward hereafter, than by our faithful exertions in making the youth now growing up around us, a generation of honest men and good Christians.

We do not think the worse of the cause of education, because the newspapers no longer teem with the subject, and the inundation of pamphlets and tracts has subsided, and because the meetings, requisitions, petitions, and speechifications are less numerous than they were. The fact is, that the great points of controversy on the subject are settled, and to our mind settled in the right way,—those questions at least which have been mooted. There may be, and we believe there are, others yet remaining to be discussed, not less important than those which have already occupied the attention of the public.

First, the opponents of religious education have been signally defeated, and for the present silenced. We no longer hear confident boastings of the progress of the human intellect, and of its power to direct the moral energies of man. It is now quite understood and recognized, that if you desire to make men sober, honest, and industrious, it is not enough merely to cultivate their intellect. Virtue and morality are no longer supposed to spring from reading and writing. The love of arts and science is not found to keep our mechanics from the beer-shop,—at least, such instances are exceptions. It has become a settled axiom, that education must be based on religion.

A no less important point has been gained in the practical discomfiture of the latitudinarian. The people of England have pronounced their solemn judgment against the mere apologies for religious education which have been held up for our admiration on the continent,—the education of all denominations on a neutral system. We have had a narrow escape; and have, in a

great measure, to thank the Dissenters for it. Very few sound Churchmen, we think, will now be found to regret the loss of Sir James Graham's Factory Bill of 1843.

The Church may now be said at length to have a fair field, and that not without favour. She starts with many advantages. For though our rulers do not adopt the straightforward course of availing themselves of her aid in a general scheme of education, yet they are decidedly friendly to her efforts. She has drawn within the vortex of her influence many who have been heretofore little inclined to act cordially with her. Even the advocates for latitudinarian education admit that the Church has got the power of education in her hands. It is to be regarded as no slight indication of the state of opinion, that the Training School at Battersea, which was instituted by Mr. Kaye Shuttleworth and Mr. Tuffnel, the former Secretary of the Committee of Council, has now been placed in the hands of the National Society, as the fittest managers. Add to these facts, the very considerable funds, amounting to 150,000*l.*, recently contributed by Churchmen for the education of the poor, and we believe that the prospects of the Church, and her power of doing good to the rising generation, have not for the last century been more promising than at present.

It must therefore be an object of more than usual anxiety to all the friends of sound religion, to take care that the Church should use the means thus providentially afforded to her in the wisest and most effectual manner.

We propose, in the following observations, to speak our minds very candidly on the subject. It is an important crisis. The efforts now being made for the education of the people will give a character, whether for good or evil, to the future destinies of the nation.

The first question is,—Are we proceeding on a right principle?

Now let us take the condition of our Diocesan and Parochial Schools, which are already under the management of the Church, and see whether they are what they ought to be, or whether any alteration or modification of system is needed; now that we are about so widely to extend the sphere of our labours.

The question to ask ourselves is this,—*Are we training up in our schools God-fearing, holy, and pious children?* are we leading them to avoid the errors of their parents, and to live soberly, honestly, and religiously in this life, and attain a happy eternity in the next? In considering the efforts which we are making as a Church to educate the people, we must not place the question on ground one step lower than this.

We would fain hope and believe that there are in our

schools many children who will grow up to be good men and women. God forbid that we should doubt it. We have also a valuable testimony, as far as it goes, in the report of Mr. Sinclair (the last report made by the late indefatigable Secretary, now Treasurer, of the National Society), who shows that, during the riots of 1842, there was a marked difference in the conduct of the teachers and pupils of the Church schools and those of others; proving that the principles inculcated have not been without their good effect. From diligent inquiry in 150 places, he says,—"It appeared that in every case the effect of education, whether in Sunday or Day Schools, was salutary in proportion to its completeness. Wherever means of Church instruction were best provided, there the efforts of the disaffected were less successful." One writer affirms that, "amongst the rioters, no individual in full communion with the Church was to be found, and scarce a youth accustomed to attend a Church Sunday School." Another says that, "not one parent of his Church Sunday scholars (amounting to 700) took any part in, or was present at, any of the tumultuous meetings which had been held in his parish or township." . . . Another report says that, "among the youthful mob not one pupil belonging to the National Schools could be discovered, though the attention of the teachers had been specially directed to this subject;" and that "those trained up in Church Schools, by their adherence to their country's laws and institutions, stopped the torrent of disorder." "Nothing could induce the teachers of Church Sunday Schools to attend any seditious meetings; on the contrary, they, to a man, enrolled themselves as special constables, kept aloof from agitation, and waited patiently for the improvement of trade[1]." All this is hopeful and satisfactory. Still we fear it must be admitted, even by those who have been most successful in this Christian work, that they are far from being satisfied with the results hitherto obtained. In the very best schools there is a sad want of serious religious principle and fear of God; and the most promising children too often turn out ill. We are constrained, therefore, to confess, that *the mode of dealing with the young for their moral and spiritual amendment is still a question which demands the most serious attention of all who love their Church and country.*

There are not wanting explanations of the cause of failure, nor opinions as to the means of correcting what is amiss. Some people are found even now who attribute the evils of the country to *over-education.* When a man is condemned to be transported for forgery—"Ah!" say they, "this comes of reading and writ-

[1] Thirty-second Annual Report of the National Society, p. 3.

ing." It may perhaps gratify such persons to know, that of 734,000 persons married during three years, 300,000 were unable to sign their names. Mr. Coleridge, of St. Mark's College, says, —"Evil has grown up, not *because* of education, nor *in spite* of it, but *for want* of it. There is need not so much to extend the means of instruction as to improve the quality." Others attribute the want of success to the neglect to take care of young people *after* their education. When you have taught them, say they, to read, you must furnish them with proper books. When you have given them a taste for knowledge, you must supply the means of gratifying it. All this is true.

But with very great respect for the opinions and exertions of those excellent persons who are labouring in the cause of religious education, we would venture to express a doubt whether they have yet fully mastered the true principle of the training of young Christians. We have indeed arrived at the important truth that religion is the soul of education, which is a decided step in advance. But we are still unconsciously entangled in the grand error of the nineteenth century, namely, *a false estimate of the paramount importance of the intellect.* We dwell too much on scriptural *knowledge*, religious *instruction*. We do not sufficiently advert to the fact, that true wisdom is something moral and spiritual, not merely intellectual. "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom." There is an extensive field for educational labour which is yet very imperfectly cultivated. In bestowing our principal care on the intellect, we have too much neglected the other departments. We have not taken sufficient care to enlist the feelings, to engage the affections, to mould the habits, to guide the conscience, to discipline the body, to govern the will, and generally to avail ourselves of those various influences, whether divine or human, which, if rightly used, act with so powerful an effect on the whole inner man. As a practical corollary to the undue estimate of the paramount importance of the intellect,—though also it must be confessed partly from the force of evil circumstances,—*we undervalue those precious years which elapse before the intellect is sufficiently developed to embrace the doctrines of Christianity.* We acknowledge the great truth, that the principle of education is to bring the power of religion to bear upon the soul; and how do we proceed to accomplish our object? We collect together from the lanes and alleys a number of boys and girls, five, six, seven, or eight years old, *whose habits have become in a great measure formed*, and who from early neglect have become unruly, passionate, deceitful, envious, covetous, and ungodly. These we get together in great schools; we set over them the best master or mistress we can find, some of whom are

sadly incompetent; and then suppose that by teaching them the doctrine of Christ crucified and other great doctrines of revelation, we shall, *by the mere presentation of Divine truth to the understanding*, expel the spirit of evil which has been suffered to fix itself in their hearts, and bring them humbled to the foot of the cross and rid them of their evil dispositions. And then we are disappointed when we find them still irreverent and ungodly; with difficulty kept in order while they remain at our schools, and often conducting themselves extremely ill afterwards. Far be it from us to wish to exaggerate the extent of our failure, but we fear it is considerable. The mistake is, that we do not train them up from the beginning. They do not come under Christian education till they are boys and girls, and then the mischief is done. *In suffering evil habits to grow up, we have lost the great vantage ground, which it may be the labour of a life to recover, if even it be recovered at all.* And to this very circumstance, we are persuaded, may be traced the comparative failure of our best intended plans of education, and nine-tenths of the evil that abounds in the world around us.

Numerous and almost unsurmountable, it must be confessed, are the difficulties which present themselves when we attempt even to get at children in their early years, so as to bring the influence of the Gospel to bear on their spiritual state. Still it is our duty, as Christian ministers and educated men, and as guardians of the interests of our poor brethren, to make every attempt in our power to accomplish this unspeakably momentous work. And in this, as in every other branch of our duty, we shall find our path greatly smoothed, if we would but dutifully and honestly follow the direction of the Church to which we belong.

Let us endeavour to explain our views more fully on this subject.

Education, in its truest and most comprehensive sense, *is the process of training an immortal soul for heaven.* A child is born into the world whose nature is corrupt, and whose tendencies are to sin. How are we, as parents, teachers, and ministers, to do our parts and duties in training this child to be a saint in heaven?

The position which we maintain is this: *that not only the intellect, but all the other faculties, must be cultivated; that this cultivation must begin at the earliest possible period; and that the Church affords us the most practicable means to attain our object.*

To proceed to particulars. The first means afforded us by the Church for influencing the spiritual state of children is *holy baptism.*

But here occurs, at the very outset, an instance of the prevailing tendency to which we have adverted; namely, the resting too exclusively on the intellect, and forgetting to take into account the various other natural and supernatural influences which affect the soul of man. Many very sincere persons cannot realize to themselves how baptism can affect the spiritual condition of a child whose *intellect* is incapable of even knowing what is done for it. The communication of any spiritual benefit, otherwise than by affecting the will through the medium of the understanding, is so mysterious, that many will not believe it: a mere *opus operatum*, they cry out; and so they think the question is settled. And yet there is nothing more certain amongst the doctrines of our Church than this,—that whereas the child before baptism was a child of wrath, and subject to Adam's curse, he was made, *in* baptism and *by* baptism, "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." Explain the fact as you choose, or call it by what name you please, it is most certain that an important change has taken place in the spiritual condition of the child; and this not through any operation or concurrence of the intellect, but by the free and mysterious gift of God.

But why introduce this subject? Why bring forward the doctrine of baptism into a discussion on education? All children are baptized, and have received the benefits of the sacrament, whatever they may be.

We conceive it necessary to begin with this subject for several reasons. First, because it seems impossible to understand the theory, or to make any advance in the practice of education, *without distinctly knowing what is the real condition of those with whom we have to deal.* Are they children of wrath, or children of grace? Are they in a state of condemnation, or of salvation? The Church distinctly declares, they are members of Christ, children of God, heirs of immortality, placed "in a state of salvation." They are no longer beings whose whole nature is corrupt and sinful, but they are joined with Christ in sacramental union: gifted with God's free grace in such abundant measure as to be sufficient, under proper care and discipline, successfully to wrestle with and keep down the lusts of the flesh and the infection of nature which doth yet remain.

The important and obvious inference from this doctrine of the Church is this, that our first and principal care must be *to keep children what they are after baptism*, not to make them what they are not. We must pray for them, and take counsel for them, and train them, so that "the rest of their life may be according to this beginning;" that they may *continue* children of grace;

that they may be *daily renewed* by God's good Spirit; that what they are on the day of their baptism, such they may be the next and the next; not changed, altered, converted, but renewed, continued, advanced, brought up, confirmed in that state of salvation in which they have been placed by the operation of the grace of God.

This appears to us to be the keystone of religious education; and never shall we, by our most zealous endeavours, effect any great amount of good; never shall we train up a holy and religious generation, nor bring the community to any thing like a right spiritual condition, until we educate them on this principle.

In practically following out this view, we ought to keep to the ordinance of the Church, in giving a prominence corresponding with its dignity to the baptism of children. The admission of each new member into the Church by baptism is, if rightly viewed, an affair of the greatest solemnity. So holy a work ought not to be carelessly treated as a mere formal ceremony of little value, thrust out from the ordinances of the sanctuary, robbed of the prayers of the congregation. On the contrary, it should be done as our Church enjoins, publicly, solemnly, and religiously. The whole congregation ought to be impressed with a feeling of the solemnity of the occasion. How common a thing it is in some parishes to find that neither sponsors nor parents are able even to answer the questions put to them, much less to understand and feel their importance. This ought not to be allowed. Care should be taken to obtain proper sponsors, and to ensure, at least, decency and reverence in the holy office. Then they, as well as the parents and the congregation, will be impressed with the preciousness of their children's souls. They will understand the holiness with which they are invested as "members of Christ," their high hopes as heirs of immortality, their mysterious sacredness as temples of the living Spirit; and, consequently, they will learn to feel the deep responsibility which devolves on them to preserve their children in purity, and to take heed lest, by any fault of theirs, they fall from their high estate and lose their bright inheritance.

Such sentiments as these impressed on parents would have the most beneficial effect. They would touch that natural affection and pity which a merciful God has implanted in their breasts. They would lead them to view their children with quite different feelings, and treat them with a tenderness and respect not to be expected from those who have no knowledge of their spiritual state, no faith in the great things which God has done for them. If they are not themselves able to bring them up conformably

to their condition, as heirs of so great promises, they will, at least, be disposed thankfully to accept such aid as the Church affords them.

This, then, is one obvious way which the Church possesses of getting at children through the medium of their parents. And a very great point in education is gained, if by any means we can induce parents to perform their duty rightly, and behave to their children as Christian parents should do. Their duty, and one which they only can perform effectually, is to keep down and control the still remaining infection of the old nature, and to draw out and establish the imparted graces of the new; or in the words of our formularies, so to train them that they shall "renounce" sin; put it from them; not suffer it to gain the dominion over them; and, as their faculties expand, learn to "believe" in God, and "walk in his commandments."

And they will find the means afforded by nature and by grace, if rightly used, abundantly sufficient for this purpose. The infant cries from pain, or hunger, or terror. The harsh parent spoils it by violence; the weak parent by indulgence; the affectionate and right-minded parent soothes it with kind affection, until it is filled with a corresponding love, and learns to nestle in her bosom with the full satisfaction of perfect confidence. It shows a desire to grasp and possess itself of what it sees, being by nature quite ignorant that it may not have every thing it desires. Indulge the propensity, and you make it self-willed and covetous; roughly deny it, and you check its confidence: but treat it with kind discrimination, and it will soon learn obediently to restrain itself from even desiring those things which are forbidden it. The same may be said of any tendency to deceit which shows itself in children. How willingly does the sanctified conscience, when appealed to, recognize the excellence of truth, and learn to abhor lies and deceit with all the vehemence of childish aversion!

Thus, as spiritual foes spring up one by one, they must be crushed and kept down, and the implanted graces of the Spirit be encouraged and promoted. Suffer the evil tendencies to remain unchecked, and to establish themselves in the heart, and they will grow into habits and ripen into crimes; but use the simple means afforded for restraining them, that is to say, not any inculcation of Christian doctrine, (for we are all along supposing a period before the child is capable of even understanding the terms of revealed truth,) but use with judgment the influence of love, and authority, and appeal to the germ of grace, the sanctified moral sense implanted by baptism in the heart; and the child

may be led on to refuse the evil, and to choose the good, with the same instinctive preference as it discerns between the bitter and the sweet.

And this is, if we did but know it, the grand battle of education. Half the victory, nay, more than half, is won, if you can but effectually keep down the first rising growth of evil passions and desires; just as in a field where seeds are sown, your first care is to keep down the evil weeds, and then the good seed gains strength, and is established, and bears fruit.

But now, imperceptibly, education advances into the field of instruction. And to whom must we look to impart the first principles of religious truth? To whom are we all indebted for our knowledge of the great God Almighty, of heaven and hell, of our fallen nature, our baptismal regeneration,—to whom but to that parent who first imbued our wondering souls with these primary elements of truth? And what adequate substitute can the Church find if parents are unable or unwilling to perform this office?

No teachers in after years can, with the utmost efforts, do that which the Christian parent may do with comparative ease. The child is ready to receive its parent's doctrine as the dew that falls upon the tender plant. Its heart and soul are, as it were, gaping for instruction. Who does not from his inmost soul admire and bless, nay, almost envy, the faith of children? It seems to be a portion of their redeemed nature. It is not, as if faith were then first implanted when divine truth is received; but the living principle of faith seems already there, prepared to grasp the truth presented to it. Thus Hooker, speaking of the question whether children when baptized have faith or not, says, "Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly be said for infants at the time of their baptism, that they do believe, the effect of St. Augustine's answer is, yea, but with this distinction. A present actual habit of faith there is not in them: there is delivered unto them that sacrament, a part of the due celebration of which consisteth in answering to the articles of faith; because the habit of faith, which afterwards doth come with years, is but a further building up of the same edifice, the first foundation of which was laid in the sacrament of baptism[2]." There the faith is, however it got there, ready to receive and to respond to the deep mysteries of revealed truth:—yes, far more ready and capable of doing so than the most highly-cultivated intellect which has been hardened in the world's ways. What may not a Christian parent make of his child, if he takes heed to cherish betimes the implanted seed

[2] Hooker's Eccles. Pol., Book v. lxiv.

of grace! Will it be said, that the holiness of children is imaginary; that it is futile to attempt to bring up children in baptismal purity? Alas! that we should have fallen on days when holiness in children is supposed a dream. O let us never be satisfied without an earnest endeavour to restore it! Never let us deem our schemes of education worthy of the Church of which we are members, or of the God whom we serve, until we have devised some means for preserving the holiness and purity of childhood.

First of all, then, we must do all we can to get at the children *through their parents*. In fact, during the first two or three years of a child's life, there are no other means of influencing them but these; and in those two or three years it may be that their future character is sealed. But let us see what other means the Church affords. She presents us with her admirable catechism, which, of all the blessings that the providence of God has conferred on the English Church, is, when we consider all things, perhaps the most remarkable. On the duty of thoroughly inculcating the Church catechism on children we need not insist. But we would take this opportunity of very earnestly suggesting, for the consideration of our clerical readers, whether in many places the *public catechizing of children, according to the direction of the Church, might not be profitably revived?* It may be said, that the same amount of *knowledge* can be more conveniently communicated in the school-room. Here again is an instance in which the cultivation of the intellect is preferred to the drawing out the other faculties. Is there nothing in the mode of communicating knowledge? Nothing in the association of God's consecrated house, his ordained minister, his people met together to do Him service? The impression of reverence made on the soul is of far more importance than the mere information communicated to the understanding. Some clergymen, from want of practice, would perhaps find a difficulty in publicly catechizing children; but if any should experience this drawback, which we suspect is chiefly for want of practice, it does not seem absolutely necessary that they should confine themselves to mere questions and answers. It would be very proper that the catechetical instruction delivered in our Church should partake, in some measure, of the nature of a lecture. Let the children be called out: let a few questions be asked them according to the discretion of the minister: and let him then proceed to lecture the children, as well as the congregation, on the subject of the catechetical instruction. One advantage of this method would be, that it would break in upon the formality of set sermons, which have come to be much too stiff and starched. Another would be, that it would draw the minds of the congregation not only to matters very necessary for them

to be reminded of, but to the importance of children, and the solemn duty of the Church to train them in the faith and fear of God.

Here we would take occasion to remark on a singular misapprehension and misuse of one of the Church's most valuable ordinances for the young. The whole tenor of the service of confirmation, is (as the name implies) to confirm and establish young persons in the graces and privileges of their baptism; and to enable them *to go on as they have begun.* Instead of which, confirmation has come to be looked on by many persons as the proper time for conversion, or *changing* their course of life. The following very remarkable answers of the young people at Norwood School of Industry are mentioned apparently with approbation by Mr. Tremenheere.

One says,

"I think that confirmation day is the happiest day of life to young people; at that ceremony it is thought that more persons are *converted* than at any other."

Another says,

"I think that confirmation *stops* young people as it were on their way through life, and makes them reflect on their past conduct."

Another,

"The meaning of the word confirmation is to make sure; and I think it a very good thing: for you might go on committing sin and never at all think about your soul, and you would very likely not stop yourselves except you were to repent by God helping you. *So confirmation as it were stops you in going on in your sins.*"

Some answers are more appropriate. One child says,

"I think it a very kind act of the Archbishop to come and confirm us poor boys. Sir, I have a great desire to be confirmed, for I think I shall be a great deal better, and *I shall become more the child of God.* . . . . May God's mercy be upon me, and remain upon me, and upon all that go to be confirmed on that blessed day, for Christ's sake. Amen[3]."

This is sensible and Christian like. But the perverted view of confirmation contained in the former answers, is, no doubt the real notion with which it is received and acted on by very many persons in the present day. It is the use actually made of this important ordinance. Instead of being trained from their baptism in the faith and fear of God, and, at the proper

[3] See Minutes of the Committee of Council, pp. 622, 3, 4.

age, confirmed in holiness, children are suffered to run wild, and acquire all sorts of evil habits, and their parents, if they think at all on the matter, vainly hope that confirmation will act as a sort of charm, or at least furnish a fit opportunity for conversion and entire change of life. But alas! we fear it too often happens that, for want of early culture, children come to this holy ordinance little prepared to receive the spiritual benefit it is designed to administer.

We come now to an important topic connected with education, and one to which the attention of the Church has providentially been awakened—*the training of teachers.* "Hitherto," as Mr. Coleridge says, "the attempt has been to educate by *system*, not by *men*." The Church is now endeavouring to prepare the men for the work. The time we trust is not far distant when the 77th, 78th and 79th canons of our Church shall be virtually revived. So far at least that the teachers of youth—we mean of course those engaged in teaching the children of churchmen—shall receive the authority of the Bishop, and be subject to his supervision.

And here let us first remind the clergy of the very great importance of that too much neglected class, the teachers of infant children, whose office approaches most nearly to that of parents, in giving that early bias on which so much depends. "In many places," says Mr. Tremenheere, "the children of the poor when first sent to school have acquired every habit of which it is desirable as soon as possible to divest them. Up to that period of their lives they have probably known no other control than that of children a little older than themselves, or the scarcely less capricious government of ill-informed parents." For the eradication of these habits, great skill and tact, and, above all, Christian temper is required. Direct religious instruction can scarcely be attempted at first, but their moral sense is to be cultivated, and moral habits formed. For instance, little acts of obedience are required of them; their conduct to each other is regulated. The teacher should be possessed of gentleness and tenderness, unruffled, cheerful, persevering firmness, with which to interrupt the wrong and enforce the right in each action, habit, and movement, as it arises; to bend the child's will, and establish the habit of obedience, founded on affection rather than fear. The attention is to be occupied, no injudicious indulgence tolerated; and the first beginnings of misconduct checked, not by continual scolding and fault finding, but by a kind motherly care, guided by Christian charity. Such should be the qualification of the teachers of infant children. There is not a more important class of persons, nor one on which the parochial

minister will more profitably bestow his attention and encouragement. We do not allude merely to the regularly trained infant schoolmistress who bears sway over two or three hundred children; but we speak now more particularly of that humble but most valuable class of females, who teach what are denominated *dames' schools*. In the smallest village there is generally a person of this sort, and often one of modest merit, who by general consent, and not without good reason, has been selected by the rustic parents as the fittest person to take charge of their children. These persons deserve peculiar attention as, in some respects, the real trainers of the people's minds. The best schools for very young children are those where the number is not so great, but that the teacher may know the character of each child, and be enabled to perform the part of a parent in moulding the infant mind. It is not desirable to collect too many children together even in a spacious room. Two or three dames' schools are better than one large infant school. In populous places where there is no alternative, but the establishment of large infant schools, the want of individual attention may, in some degree, though very imperfectly, be compensated by systematic management and skill in details.

We ought to have in every diocese a good model infant school, to which the parochial clergy may send their village schoolmistresses, brought up under their own eye, to receive instruction in those branches of school teaching which are so necessary for the successful management of an infant school, especially where the pupils are numerous. The securing of proper persons to teach our infant children is, next to enabling the parents themselves to instruct them, one of the most urgent wants of the Church.

Next in order is the very important business of training masters and mistresses for our more advanced school. What we want are holy, serious Christians, worshippers of God, and full of the Holy Ghost. Let us not shrink from applying these terms to the teachers of youth. Let us not be satisfied until our training schools furnish such as these. Give them all the skill and competence you are able, but be assured that without godliness they will not serve the Church's purpose. Mere clever teachers may inform the understanding; but what is that, if they have done nothing by their example or influence to imbue their pupils' souls with the fear of God?

We have great hope, and the various documents at the head of our article afford satisfactory reasons to believe, that a considerable advance is being made in this important department. The insufficiency of the old Model School system, in which men who had failed in other professions were manufactured into school-

masters by a few months' cramming with a system, is now fully admitted; and it is acknowledged, that if you desire to have good masters, you must subject them to a more lengthened training. "The object of a training school is the formation of the character of the schoolmaster, as an enlightened Christian entering on the instruction of the poor with religious devotion to his work." Little reflection is necessary to prove that in three, or even six, months they cannot acquire the principle, the knowledge, or the skill, necessary for this difficult work.

Great praise is due to Mr. Kaye Shuttleworth and Mr. Tuffnel for their persevering exertions in the establishment of the Training School at Battersea. Mr. Allen's report of this school in the Minutes of the Committee of Council is highly interesting.

"One cannot help feeling," he says, "a peculiar interest in the progress and success of this institution, regarding it as established by two individuals, not of large means, but whose chief strength lay in their strong perception of and sympathy with the degraded and suffering condition of millions among their fellow-citizens, and in their determination, under Providence, to contribute somewhat towards the achievement of a radical cure."

We readily accord to these gentlemen very great praise for giving the example of the possibility of training a far superior order of masters to those who have commonly had charge of our Parochial Schools. At the same time, we wish that the pupils at Battersea had been trained more strictly in the distinctive principles of the English Church, and were more fully prepared to carry with them a deep feeling of attachment to the Church, and reverence for its formularies, than from the course adopted we should suppose them to have imbibed.

In these respects, the National Society's Institution at Stanley Grove more nearly comes up to the model of a Training School, than any yet established. In the first place, they have been most fortunate in the selection of a principal. It required the energy of no ordinary man to carry out the experiment. Mr. Coleridge is well aware of its vast importance. He feels that he is the chief instrument in a great undertaking, which, if successful, may effect the most permanent benefits both to the Church and nation.

We shall briefly describe the nature and object of this institution from the report of Mr. Allen.

"*Theory and Aim of the Institution.*—Resting upon the ground, that it is the duty, and, by consequence, the right and privilege of the Church to be the teacher of the nation, Mr. Coleridge's efforts have been mainly directed to form the character of his pupils in accordance with

Church principles; to raise up a body of teachers who might appreciate the scriptural character of the English Church, and who should feel themselves to be living, intelligent, and responsible agents, in the carrying out of her system. For such an end they must prove (so far as such result can be secured by any system of training within the reach of man) capable of communicating that entire preparation of heart and mind by which, with the help of God's Holy Spirit, the due reception and effectual working of the Gospel message may be secured. Accounting it to be the peculiar aim of Protestantism, contemplated as an awakened energy of the Church, to enable each man for himself to give a reason for the faith that is in him, and to ground that faith on Holy Scripture, Mr. Coleridge trusts that the teachers educated in this institution will be skilled to cultivate the best fruit of the English Reformation, as that which would substitute a religion of light for the darkness of superstition [4]."

We have no objection to contemplate Protestantism as "an awakened energy of the Church," or that our faith should be grounded on Holy Scripture, though not in the sense which we are sure neither Mr. Allen nor Mr. Coleridge means, that the grand principle of the Reformation was "the right of private judgment."

"Mr. Coleridge feels strongly that no number of attainments, nor any facility in communicating them, can, of themselves, qualify a schoolmaster for his arduous office; and that before we inquire into the special fitness of a teacher, there is needed, as an essential prerequisite, a sound and to a certain extent a cultivated understanding—a certain moral power, the growth of religious principles, but developed by intellectual culture. And as the parochial schoolmaster has to supply all the indirect teaching to which the better-provided classes owe so much, and perhaps the best of what they know, in those children of the poor intrusted to him, he will have to cultivate good habits on the ground of self-respect,—habits of regular industry and self-control, of kindness and forbearance, of personal and domestic cleanliness, of decency and order; he will have to awaken in them the faculties of attention and memory, of reflection and judgment: he will have not merely to instil knowledge and supply the materials of thought, but to elicit and exercise the powers of thinking, to seek the first dawning of reason, to awaken a faculty by which truth may be discerned, a faculty which he cannot give, but *which he will assuredly find*, and to which, by continually presenting its proper counterpart, he will ground knowledge upon faith, and give to religious truth an evidence approaching to intuition. Wherefore he specially needs to be not simply a seriously-minded Christian, but an *educated* man [5]."

All this is unquestionably true, though we should not perhaps

[4] Minutes of the Privy Council, pp. 283, 284.

[5] Ibid. p. 285.

have expressed ourselves in quite the same words, or have appeared to lean so much to the *intellectual* part of education, being convinced that the grand desideratum and difficulty is to train masters who shall fear God, and communicate the same principle to their pupils by contact and example rather than instruction. However, Mr. Coleridge is anxious to show the unreasonableness of the imputation, that he is too highly cultivating the intellect of his pupils. In this we fully agree with him. There is nothing more superficial than the notion one sometimes hears, that a schoolmaster need know only what he has to teach. He ought to have a superiority of mind and strength of intellect which is to be acquired only by a high degree of cultivation, and which alone can ensure that dignity of deportment, that mixed gentleness and firmness, which is so necessary in one who is to guide the minds of others.

"These conclusions will have the greater force, when (to borrow again Mr. Coleridge's words) we remember that on the parochial schoolmaster the children of the poor are too often dependent, not merely for catechetical instruction, but for the first implantation of religious sentiment. He has too often to give that first presumption in favour of holy things as they are set forth in the Church of our fathers, of which there should be no rememberable beginning; he has to interpret that sound of Sabbath bells, which ought to have a meaning to earliest childhood as often as it carries to the cottage its message of peace. And further, there is an influence for good, which the honoured teacher may, and ought to exercise over the youth long after he has quitted school; an influence which he can only maintain by the ability to direct and assist him after he has ceased to be a child. So that, in a word, the Church schoolmaster is not merely to minister to the clergyman in some of his most arduous and important functions, the instruction of children and the guidance of youth, but also to make up much that is wanting, and correct much that is perverse, in the circumstances and tendencies of humble life."

Such is the theory of the training school in the view of its principal; and a most just view it is. St. Mark's College is an experiment in training competent and religious masters for our schools, who shall be able to draw the humbler classes back to the side of truth and religion, and train up a generation better than their fathers. And we are bound to say that the means adopted seem well calculated to ensure success. First, as to the selection of pupils, great care is taken to inquire into their previous character: high acquirements are not expected.

"A strong, healthy, well-grown lad, of amiable disposition and promising talents, who shows an evident desire of knowledge, and has made a good use of the opportunities which he has already enjoyed,

though these may not have been great, is considered to be the description of youth best fitted to fulfil the design of the institution [6]."

There are at present fifty-eight pupils in the institution. The discipline to which they are subjected is strict and judicious. They are required to rise early, to work hard; their fare is simple, and their manner of life plain, though not sordid.

"The object being to produce schoolmasters for the poor, the endeavour must be, on the one hand, to raise the students morally and intellectually to a certain standard; while, on the other, we train them to the duties of a lowly service; not merely to teach them hardihood, and inure them to the duties of a humble and laborious office, but to make them practically acquainted with that class of the community amongst whom they will have to labour [7]."

Their time is divided between industrial occupations and intellectual, four hours and a half being given to the former, and seven hours and a half to study and united devotion. The industrial occupations consist in the ordinary labour of cleansing the house, in work done in the farm and garden, the care of domestic animals, pigs, poultry of various kinds. The lawns, shrubberies, and flower-gardens furnish abundant employment for those not otherwise engaged. Mr. Coleridge justly considers that all these occupations may be of very great value to the country schoolmaster.

We may here remark, by the way, that the *Minutes of the Committee of Council* contain some valuable information on the advantages of industrial schools in various parts of the continent; De Fellenberg's, at Hofwyl, in Switzerland; Père Gerard's, at Fribourg; Vehrli's, at Kruitzlingen. There are also several well-conducted establishments of the sort in Ireland, especially that of Templemoyle, near Londonderry; and in England at Ockham, Surrey; Lindfield, Sussex; Winkfield, Berkshire, and Horn, Suffolk; from which it appears that, by judicious management, the expense of a common school may be almost entirely defrayed by the produce of a garden or small farm, cultivated by the boys themselves, under the superintendence of the master. This, however, is a distinct branch. Industrial occupations are introduced at St. Mark's, not so much with a view to economy as to moral cultivation, and apparently both there and at the Battersea school with the best results.

Our space does not permit us to enter into the system of instruction exercised at St. Mark's: indeed, our object throughout has been to draw attention rather to the moral than the intellec-

[6] Minutes of the Privy Council, p. 292. [7] Ibid. p. 296.

tual part of education. Mr. Allen's skilfully-arranged papers will show, at a glance, that the pupils have made very great progress, especially in knowledge of history, language, and theology. Their proficiency in mathematics is not so great. Their written compositions show remarkable power of apprehension, habits of reflection, and discrimination. But on this subject we speak from experience, as well as testimony, having been ourselves present at the examination of the training pupils at St. Mark's in May, 1843; and never were we better pleased with the general appearance of any set of boys. It was not merely that they acquitted themselves well in their answers, and showed an intimate acquaintance with various departments of knowledge in which they were examined; but what impressed us particularly was the modest intelligence of their demeanour; their calm, collected manner, without a grain of forwardness. They gave the impression of being exactly what it was intended they should be—well-principled, intelligent, and earnest-minded young men, prepared to enter into the profession of schoolmasters, with a serious determination to do their duty in it, not merely as a livelihood but as a calling,—a station of life to which they have been called by the providence of God.

But "the keystone of the arch," on which rests the training of these youths, is that which, in ancient as well as modern times, has been *ostensibly* at least, and in many cases we trust *really*, the principle of education. What has at our universities been in too many cases suffered to lapse into a formal ceremony, is at St. Mark's training-school again restored to life and vigour, and made an effective instrument of spiritual training. We mean *the daily service of the Church.* At nine each morning all the pupils of the college attend the Church service in the college chapel: and we speak as eye-witnesses when we say, that in no church or cathedral that we have seen is the service performed in so admirable and devotional a manner. Too generally in our parish churches the peculiar beauties and solemnities of our Liturgy are little attended to: while in some of our cathedrals the little interest in the worship exhibited often by the choir renders the beautiful service devoid of all sympathy or devotion. But at St. Mark's we see what the Liturgy of the Church of England really is when joined in by a congregation in good earnest, endeavouring to serve God in the best manner they are able, and to worship Him with the heart and understanding. To hear the pupils, together with the children of the practising school, chaunt the Psalms, unaccompanied by any organ, but still in admirable tone, and, what is far more important, with zeal and energy, is one of the most impressive scenes that can be witnessed. And the ten-

dency of such training is invaluable. We can scarcely conceive any thing more beneficial to the Church than to possess a body of schoolmasters, accustomed not only to devotional habits as individuals, but trained to such habits in unison with a hearty appreciation of the value of our admirable Liturgy, and a practical knowledge of its formularies, practices, and liturgical discipline, imbued thoroughly with the characteristic and pervading spirit of our National Church. And secondarily only to this, we know nothing more important, with reference to present circumstances, than that our schoolmasters should be qualified to aid the parochial minister in inducing the congregation, especially the younger branches, by their example and instruction, to enter with earnestness into the public service of the sanctuary.

That, which above all things is most necessary in the education of youth, is to train them up to be worshippers of God. We shall have done nothing, absolutely nothing, for the Christian education of children unless we have accomplished this object. All the information we can give them, even on religious subjects, will be of no avail if this vital requirement is omitted. This is a point which we conceive demands the most serious consideration of all who desire to aid in the spiritual improvement of the rising generation. *We must make them worshippers of God:* and in order to make them so, it is not enough to take them to Church, but we must teach or induce them to worship when they get there; which we fear can seldom be said of the children in our ordinary schools. To this end not only must they be instructed in the meaning of the service, but all that they see and hear, all that the senses present to the mind, especially the behaviour of those around them, ought to be holy and reverential. They ought to feel that they are on holy ground, assembled together in the immediate presence of their Maker to worship and adore Him. But if there be no visible reverence in the congregation, no sympathy of worship, no fervour of devotion; if no response of the people follows the solemn prayers of the Liturgy; if, when the praises of God are to be sung, the children perceive their parents, teachers, and elders stand in listless silence; if those to whom they look up for example and authority give few signs of interest, reverence, and devotion, it must needs happen that the especial benefit of public worship, as the means ordained by God for the promotion of religious warmth and love, for sanctifying our daily lives, and training us up for the courts of heaven, all this will be neutralized and lost.

We would with the greatest respect submit to our reverend brethren, that this is a point in the education of children—rather it should be said in the education of all of us—

which demands our very serious thought. The deficiency in this respect is so general amongst us, that some perhaps will scarcely feel its existence. But we question whether it is not the crying evil of the day and of our country—*we mean the irreverence and carelessness and want of reality in our public worship.* But let us be assured that it is of little avail what amount of religious knowledge is communicated to children, or almost what amount of religious feeling is implanted in their hearts; they will quickly lose it all, if they are deprived of the sympathy of religious fellowship; if all around in God's house is dead and cold and unreal. A chill will settle on their hearts, a deadness will come over their feelings, nay, their very knowledge will be turned to their destruction, unless this, the food and sustenance of their souls, be afforded them.

The question is, how a generation in itself cold and irreverent shall train up children to be godly and earnest in religion. We think that one of the most important steps is a very great alteration, not in the form, but in the character and tone of our public worship; and therefore, we conceive it to be the very highest feature in a training school, that it should rear up a body of young men thoroughly imbued with the spirit of our Church, especially as regards her public services, intimately acquainted with their meaning and value, sensible of their spiritualizing power, and prepared to aid the parochial minister in training up the children of our people in the same spirit.

If, as there is every reason to believe, the training school at St. Mark's shall prove a successful experiment, we trust that, not only will it be put on a more extensive footing, for we believe that double the number of pupils at least might be trained by the same staff of masters, but also that it will be a model for similar establishments in the country. A training school for each diocese is perhaps more than is absolutely necessary. But populous dioceses like those of Chester, Lichfield, York, and Ripon, might each well maintain one, and others might be united together, as Winchester and Salisbury.

From the reports before us, as well as from other means of information, it would appear that the diocesan training schools are not generally supported with the liberality which their importance demands. It is not fair to compare them with St. Mark's, because, while the latter has had every possible advantage, and no expense has been spared, many of the diocesan training schools have had to struggle for a bare existence. The establishment at Wells, after having been maintained for the last year by the liberality of a single individual, has been suffered to fall to the ground.

Except in cases where some radically false step has been taken, which may render it impossible to correct, without breaking up, the establishment, we should strongly deprecate the discontinuance of any training school. There are not at all too many to meet the demand for trained masters. It is impossible that Chelsea and Battersea can supply any thing like the number required. If the clergy and churchmen of a diocese desire good masters, they must train them for themselves.

A Pamphlet[8] of excellent tendency has just been published by Mr. Mathison, a gentleman, to whose zeal and perseverance may, in a great measure, be attributed the vigorous steps recently taken by the Church, for the training of Masters in Diocesan Schools. He states, that in Prussia the received calculation is, that in every hundred schools, four vacancies for masters annually occur. In England, where the insufficiency of existing masters becomes daily more palpable, in proportion as our work advances, and new schools are continually springing up, four per cent. will be a very low average; but it may serve for the basis of a calculation. The number of National and Parochial Schools amounts to 12,000; and this, exclusively of private and middle schools. So that for the Parochial Schools alone, 480 masters at least would be required annually; whereas the number now supplied, by *all* the existing Training Schools, is under 200. Evidently, therefore, it would be most unwise, except under very pressing circumstances, to give up *any* of the existing Training Schools.

The success of the training school at Chelsea having proved the excellence of the system, the greatest exertions ought now to be made to bring the diocesan institutions to the same state of efficiency. The National Society itself is to a great degree compromised; since the diocesan training schools were formed, principally at the earnest suggestions of the Society's Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence. It would not be fair in them to throw these establishments overboard: and they, on their part, are most desirous of aid and co-operation. One thing specially required for the success of such institutions is strict inspection from without. The local managers get hampered with private interests. They see that changes are required, but do not know how to effect them. They could easily set another training school right, but not their own. What is wanted, is a firm and conscientious inspector, who shall look thoroughly into the establishment, and report faithfully on its condition. We apprehend

[8] How can the Church Educate the People?—Rivingtons.

that the managers of the diocesan training schools would gladly avail themselves of such assistance from the Parent Society.

With regard to the establishment formed by Mr. Kaye Shuttleworth at Battersea, and now placed under the management of the National Society, we have great misgivings as to the soundness of the plan proposed; except, indeed, as a mere expedient of temporary necessity, in order to furnish a supply of masters for the schools which are now being founded in the manufacturing and mining districts. It is understood, that the training pupils are not to be under twenty years of age at the time of their admission; and that they are to remain no longer than a year under instruction. This may be an improvement upon the Model-school system, for some time adopted at the Society's central establishment in Westminster, where persons desirous of becoming schoolmasters are sent for three or six months, in order that they may "learn the System," and be instructed in the method of managing the details of a school. But it will be a poor substitute for the regular training practised at Stanley Grove, and the Diocesan institutions. And if the Battersea School is allowed to interfere with the regular training establishments, either by diverting from them any funds, or by diminishing the interest taken in them, it will be productive of no small mischief. One year at a training school is far too short a period for the pupils to imbibe those habits and feelings, and modes of thought, which the higher classes gain by an University education, and which may be communicated to the future master by the discipline of a training school. In fact, the peculiar advantage of such an institution is, not so much the amount of knowledge gained, or skill in teaching, as the character impressed on the inner man by living in the midst of right associations, at a well-ordered establishment, under the eye of a superior of ability and right principle. Teachers so trained become an integral portion of the Church's official establishment. They go out with a hearty desire to aid God's ordained ministers in some of the most important branches of their duties. And going out with this feeling, and with well cultivated powers, they rank amongst the most efficient promoters of the Church's beneficial influence. But the mere residence of men whose characters are already formed, for the space of a year, at a large establishment, however well conducted, cannot be expected to exercise any deep or lasting influence on their habits and feelings, or to fill them with that religious devotion to the duties of their calling, which is so essential to complete success. Mr. Kaye Shuttleworth, himself, was convinced of the inefficiency of the system of short training,

though constrained by circumstances to adopt it. The tendency to limit the course of training was brought about, says Mr. Allen in his Report, rather in spite of the views and wishes of the Directors, than with their concurrence. They reluctantly yielded to the force of circumstances, and the inadequacy of their private resources alone compelled them to abandon their earnest wish, to prolong the period of training to two or three years. We trust that the Committee of the National Society will consider well, before they suffer the Battersea plan to fix itself as a permanent establishment, which shall in any degree supersede or interfere with the regular Training Schools.

One circumstance connected with the Battersea School is highly favourable. "The appointment, as principal, of Mr. Jackson, Incumbent of a populous district in Stepney, which he has, in a great measure, reclaimed from semi-heathenism, gives assurance," says Mr. Mathison, "that the formation of *a self-denying Missionary character* will be aimed at, however difficult it may be found to adopt modern practice to Scriptural precept [9]." This, after all, is the true spirit with which the Church Schoolmaster must go forth into the long neglected moral wastes of our manufacturing and mining districts; and the value of the Institution will be in exact proportion as it furnishes men imbued with the spirit of zeal and self-denial for the Lord's sake.

Before concluding our remarks on this subject, we wish to lay before our readers the account given in the Report of Mr. Kaye Shuttleworth and Mr. Tuffnel, in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education [1], respecting an association of persons in Paris called "Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, or Christian Brothers."

"The Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, who devote their lives a cheerful sacrifice to the education of the poorer classes in France, can be understood best by those who have visited their Noviciate School in Paris. From such persons we expect acquiescence, when we say that their example of Christian zeal is worthy of the imitation of Protestants. Three of the brothers of this order are maintained for a sum, which is barely the stipend of one teacher of a school of mutual instruction in Paris. Their manners are simple, affectionate, and sincere. The children are singularly attached to them. How could it be otherwise, when they perceive that these good men have no other reward on earth for their manifold labours, than that of an approving conscience.

"The régime of the Noviciate is of considerable austerity. They rise at four; they spend an hour in private devotion, which is followed

[9] How can the Church Educate the People? p. 43.

[1] Page 229.

by two hours of religious exercises in their chapel; they breakfast soon afterwards, and are in the day-schools of Paris at nine; they dine about noon, and continue their attentions to the schools till five; they sup at six, and then many of them are employed in the evening-schools for adults from seven to nine, or from eight to ten, when after prayers they immediately retire to rest.

"No one can enter the schools of the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, without feeling instinctively that he is witnessing a remarkable example of the development of Christian charity.

"With such motives should the teachers of elementary schools, and especially those who are called to the arduous duties of training pauper children, go forth to their work. The path of the teacher is strewn with disappointments, if he commence with a mercenary spirit: it is full of encouragement, if he be inspired with the spirit of Christian charity. No skill can compensate adequately for the absence of a pervading religious influence on the character and conduct of the schoolmaster."

The same gentlemen again allude to the Christian Brothers in their second Report, and speak in the highest terms of their efficiency and pious zeal. They conclude—

"We are far from recommending the establishment of such a school [in England], to the success of which we think we perceive insurmountable difficulties."

There doubtless are good reasons for abstaining from such a recommendation. It is well observed by Mr. Mathison, that "we are more familiar with the corruptions of monastic endowments than with their excellencies[2]." The former were exaggerated, to forward the mercenary views of those who advocated their suppression, the latter were for the same reason studiously overlooked; and the unfavourable impression thus made upon the public mind, in the days of the VIIIth Henry, has been but little weakened since. An attempt, then, to revive them in any shape, or under any modification, could scarcely be recommended. It is also evident, that there is much in the details of "the association of Christian Brothers" which is not adapted to the usages or the spirit of the English Church. But it may not on that account be said, that no effort should be made to accomplish similar objects in a different manner. It cannot be admitted that our Church is unable to furnish men of sufficient self-denial to undertake the work. We are as staunch Protestants as the principal of St. Mark's himself, and will never admit that our reformed Church is incapable of infusing into its members a genuine self-denying spirit. At the same time, it must be con-

[2] Page 80.

fessed, that there is sad want of facility and encouragement for such devotion. Our most ardent spirits are driven off to Romanism or Dissent for want of opportunity and encouragement. Many who would gladly devote their lives to the laborious work of self-denial, finding no opportunity in the English Church, betake themselves to the ranks of Methodism, where they are employed as class-readers, or in preaching the Gospel in the hearts of our neglected cities, or the depths of our collieries. When will the Church feel it desirable to adopt some method of engaging and disciplining to her service those ardent spirits who long to devote themselves to the service of God? What that method should be, we do not venture to determine. But it may be well to consider, whether it might not be desirable to allow the appointment, under a system of judicious preparatory training, of some subordinate officers, such perhaps as the catechists employed in the Colonial Church, who might act under the license of the Bishops, and the superintendence and controul of the parochial clergy.

Art. VI.—1. *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England, and the finall Recouerye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI.* A. D. M.CCCC.LXXI. London: for the Camden Society. 1838.

2. *A Chronicle of the first thirteen years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth. By* John Warkworth, *D.D., Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge.* London: for the Camden Society. 1839.

If the aggressive renown of the Cambridge Camden Society has not utterly devoured the credit of all synonymous associations, some of our readers may possibly be aware that there is a Camden Society of London. This club was instituted a few years ago, for the publication of early historical and literary remains; its complement of twelve hundred members was speedily made up, and it now requires some exertion and interest to secure an admission to its body. Since the year 1838 it has periodically sent forth to the world such documents as the council have selected; and though its volumes (like those of most societies and individuals) would furnish a few amusing additions to D'Israeli's chapter on Literary Blunders, yet they are all of most unquestionable interest and value. A publication, however, has lately issued under its warrant, which calls for a passing word of more especial notice. It consists of three chapters of original letters, relating

to the suppression of monasteries, and mainly from the well-known originals in the Cottonian Library. The editor has prefixed forty-six lines of his own observations. In this circumscribed space he has pronounced the most extraordinary sentence ever put on record by any European writer: he has registered his belief that they contain nothing untrue. Historic doubts have often been suggested on interesting points, and a most liberal latitude is allowed to the paradox or partiality of an adventurous scribe. It has been questioned whether Marat was not the saviour of his country; and differences of opinion are known to exist on the character of Mr. Thomas Paine. A folio Martyrology, published not very long ago, includes a supplementary history of those innocent victims who so cruelly suffered for having effectually forewarned the nation of the Popish plot. This is a considerable advance it must be owned; but the persuasion that Titus Oates was a persecuted martyr is tame and spiritless compared with the belief that Richard Layton wrote truth to Thomas Cromwell.

We have no inclination to quarrel with the editor's sentiment, that the destruction of religious houses was "one of the greatest blessings conferred upon us since the first introduction of Christianity into this island." It is probable that others may look on the event with less transport and more doubt; but this *is* matter of opinion, and a matter on which it may be difficult to come to any general agreement. What we are surprised at is, that any one in such an investigation should place implicit reliance on the letters referred to. If documents of this nature are to be received as evidence, there are others equally authentic and more decisive. The editor would have had no difficulty in publishing a collection of surrenders, signed by the prior, sub-prior, and brethren, and sealed with the convent seals of the respective foundations; in which the memorialists confess that they have always vainly, detestably, and ungodly employed their yearly revenues in the continual ingurgitation and farcing of their carrion bodies, and in others the supporters of their voluptuose and carnal appetites, solicit the king's highness' most gracious pardon for their horrible abominations and execrable persuasions of his grace's subjects to detestable errors for their own damnable lucre; and petition that his grace of his most excellent wisdom will graciously be pleased to receive the goods moveable and immoveable to the said houses appertaining. Surely such confessions supersede the necessity either of witnesses or verdict. We are at a loss to come to any charitable conclusion. Had the editor been unknown or inexperienced, we might have imagined that he had not informed himself of the

occasions on which these precious letters were composed, the purposes for which they were sent, and the parties by whom they were written, and to whom they were addressed. But the gentleman who edits these volumes is an earnest and practised antiquarian, and one with whose name every student in such literature is acquainted. If he has been ironical, he has expressed himself too covertly; if serious, he should have defended his position. On a future opportunity we may recur to this subject, and we are ready to gibbet Master Cromwell's visitors to the heart's content of all their admirers, if no more contagious popular delusion should intervene to demand our attention [1].

We quit the matter the more readily at present, because we had no intention of taking it up; its mention was incidentally suggested to us by the two publications, the titles of which we have prefixed to this article, and the contents of which will more fully appear in the following pages. Every one is more or less acquainted with the uncertainty which characterizes the annals of our country throughout the greater part of the fifteenth century, every historian has recorded his regret and perplexity, and every reader is left to the task of forming in a great measure his own theory in explanation of such events as are related most fully, and guessing at the circumstances of such as are barely mentioned. Yet this cannot arise from the remote antiquity of the subject; a lapse of four hundred years is certainly not long enough to throw round any dynasty or revolution the prescriptive ambiguity of primæval gloom; and indeed, in some respects, we know more of the century preceding. Nor has any accident deprived us of our records or our recorders. The White Tower was not burnt by Van Tromp; nor did any mediæval Tacitus perish in the libraries of Glastonbury or St. Edmund's. Neither is it that no observer ever chronicled the events of his times. We possess at least as many contemporary pictures of these few decades as of any similar period. Our purpose in these sheets is to lay before the reader a sketch of the original authorities for this portion of English history, to point out the additions which have been successively made to them, to allude to the manner in which modern historians have variously employed their materials, to embody so much narrative as will render our remarks more perspicuous and less fatiguing, and to offer such observations of our own as may arise from time to time out of the matter in hand.

[1] Since the above passage was written, we have seen that in the volume of the Camden publications immediately succeeding that in question, the Council of the Society have inserted an advertisement, desiring it to be understood, "that they are not answerable for any opinions or observations that may appear in the Society's publications, the editors of the several works being alone responsible for the same."

"The Wars of the Roses," says Sir James Mackintosh, "fill an isolated space between the cessation of Latin annalists and the rise of English historians." Speaking generally, this is true; but, as will be presently seen, there are Latin chronicles of considerable importance which treat of these troubles, and there are English writers of much value, though not strictly to be called historians. Far more attention has lately been directed to the sources of history, than was the case with students in this branch of literature thirty years ago. A reference to Rapin or Robertson is not now considered as final, and even Hume's award is known to exhibit the moderation of philosophy without always combining its impartiality and justice. Still there must be narrow limits to this practice of private inquiry. Few men possess the privilege of access to original authorities; fewer still the power, or the wish, to employ it, and a general spirit of indefinite scepticism on any subject is so often productive of discredit and discomfort, that it would be well exchanged even for a mistaken credulity. The majority of readers will always be content with a single historian, perhaps taken indiscriminately, or possibly selected from a similarity of political views; and by him they will be guided in their opinion of the past. It is acknowledged that a contemporary writer is not always the safest authority. He may probably, though not certainly, have greater opportunities of ascertaining the truth; but this advantage is likely to be counterbalanced by the greater inducements he may have to conceal it. It is posterity which is to judge, *sine timore et metu, et rursus, sine odio aut invidia;* what the contemporary annalist is to supply is the groundwork of events and dates. As long as these are transmitted with tolerable fidelity, the history of the times can neither be altogether uncertain nor obscure, though a confused and rapid succession of incidents may baffle the modern historian in his endeavour to detect the motives of the actors, or collect the circumstances of their deeds. Our opinion of such a writer will be formed from his selection of authorities, and his use of them. Historians are now less given than formerly to quoting each other, and are more scrupulous in referring to the original sources of information. They have also availed themselves of the national archives to an extent which their predecessors little thought of, and had never the means of reaching. In Turner, Mackintosh, and Lingard, the reader will meet pages after pages resting solely on references to the Rolls of Parliament, the Statutes of the Realm, and Rymers's Fœdera; which collections, together with Wilkins' Concilia, form an outline map of English mediæval history. In addition to these documents, the principal authorities for the period between the marriage of Henry VI. and

the battle of Bosworth-field are as follows:—1. Whethamstede. 2. William de Wyrcestre. 3. Historiæ Croylandensis Continuator. 4. Chronicle in Leland. 5. Chronicle in Harleian MSS. 6. Hearne's Fragment. 7. Fabyan. 8. Original Letters; Fenn and Ellis. We will now subjoin a short account of these authorities, that their probable worth may be more easily estimated.

The writer cited by the title of Whethamstede was a monk of St. Alban's, named John Bostok, who derives his usual appellation from the little village near St. Alban's where he was born. In the year 1382 he was ordained priest, and shortly after became prior of Tynemouth in Northumberland, a cell attached to his abbey. From this post he was elected to be abbot of St. Alban's in 1420, and three years afterwards he was delegated to the Council of Sienna. Owing to some differences within the monastery, he resigned his charge of the house in 1440, and retired for eleven years into the country. In 1451, however, he was re-elected, and retained his office till his death, at a very advanced age, in the year 1464[2]. His *Chronicon* extends from the first battle of St. Alban's to the battle of Ferrybridge and the coronation of Edward IV., and he thus confines himself strictly to the events of his own times. Although, like most of these chronicles, it was intended for a register of the private affairs of the abbey, as much as for those of the nation, yet the situation of St. Alban's, which made it so often the seat of war, gave more than the usual opportunities to the abbot of witnessing the great public events of the times. He was evidently present at both the battles fought in the town, which he describes with some minuteness, though with excessive virulence against the north-countrymen. He had frequent personal interviews with the royal and noble leaders of either party, and speaks of his receiving King Henry in the abbey *in cameram suæ solitæ hospitacionis*. His advantages, therefore, in these respects, were considerable. He had been an intimate acquaintance of the good old Duke of Gloucester, who in his fondness for letters often visited him at the abbey, and encouraged him in the collection and compilation of books for his library. So zealously did the abbot second his noble patron, as to neglect in those studies the superintendence of the monastic estates, and to excite, it is said, those complaints which resulted in the resignation above alluded to. His history displays this turn of his character very peculiarly; it is written in a most florid and amusing style, crowded with quotations as well from all classes of profane writers as from the Vulgate, and interspersed with long speeches, which he puts into

[2] It is with reference to this circumstance that certain monastic instruments in the chronicle are dated by the years, "*secundæ prælationis* Johannis de Whethamstede."

the mouth of kings and captains, but most frequently into his own. He writes in the third person; but the *Abbas S. Albani* is repeatedly introduced, and never loses an opportunity of making an oration which the writer describes as most affecting and energetic. After the first battle of St. Alban's, when the bodies of Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford, were lying exposed in the streets (*in capite platearum*), he boldly went to the Duke of York (*Tobiæ moris rememorans*), and after quoting the examples of Æneas, Achilles, and Cæsar, he prays him to remove the interdict from the bodies, lest, like Creon, he be put to death by Theseus. The intercession, in whatever form it was really made, was successful, and Whethamstède buried the noble dead in the Lady Chapel of his church—*in lineali ordine, juxta statum et gradum et honorem dignitatis suæ.* With allowance for this rhetorical taste, his chronicle may be pretty safely credited; his bias is towards the Yorkists, though not violently so, and seems to arise principally from the inclination towards that party shown by most of the old Duke of Gloucester's friends, and from the outrageous animosity which he felt towards those bands of northern plunderers who so steadily supported Queen Margaret. It should be added, that he has inserted and preserved some original documents; as, for instance, the award of Henry on the differences between the nobles in 1458, and the letter to the king from the insurgent lords, said to have been maliciously kept back, before the first battle of St. Alban's [3].

The next reference likely to attract the notice of an inquisitive reader of English history, is that to William de Wyrcestre. This writer, whose name was William Botoner, was born at Bristol in 1415; at sixteen years of age he went to Hart Hall, Oxford, where he seems to have remained four or five years at his studies. He then went down to Sir John Fastolf, his patron, who lived in Norfolk, where he employed himself as an antiquary and ecclesiologist. He travelled all about Norfolk first, and then over every part of the kingdom, collecting legends, extracting records, and measuring churches. As he had not the opportunity in those days of "reading a paper," he contented himself with writing an *Itinerarium*, which still remains in his autograph, in the precious library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It is written on scraps of paper of all sizes and shapes, on the backs of letters still retaining the marks of their original foldings, and obviously on whatever came to hand. A late publication of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society throws much

[3] This identical letter, on the miscarriage of which was charged so much bloodshed, was, within a few years, in the possession of one of the descendants of the person accused of withholding it.

light on this performance, and, what is more to our purpose, on the character of the man. It is evident that he was present during the building of Redcliff Church, Bristol, and that his inquisitiveness was such, that he copied down from the mason's mouth (in English, for he could not put it into Latin) a list of twenty or thirty mouldings of the north porch. He wrote a great many treatises on various philosophical and topographical subjects, but the work with which we are here concerned is his *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*. This chronicle extends from the year 1324 to the eighth year of Edward IV. It is not written like a history, but deserves strictly the name of annals; two or three lines comprise the events of their respective years through most of the early part, but he relates the revolution of 1399 much more particularly, and inserts the articles exhibited against Richard II., who, he adds, died (*obiit*) on the 2nd of February, 1400, and was buried at Langley. From this period the chronicle proceeds a little more fully than before, to the year 1449, when it details circumstantially the impeachment and execution of Suffolk, and the insurrection of Jack Cade. It then passes rapidly, without any mention of the origin of the civil wars, or the first battle of St. Alban's, to the year 1459, when it states the attainder of the Duke of York at Coventry, and gives the names of his adherents included in the sentence. The succession of events, for it can hardly be called a narrative, is then more continuously marked; and we have the death of York at Wakefield, the arrival of Edward in London, and the battle of Towton and its consequences, described comparatively at length. The impression of the reader on first examining this chronicle, would probably be some surprise at the authority given to it by the frequent references of Lingard and Turner; but it should be borne in mind, that though brief, it is much more to the point than many of these documents, and conveys sometimes a very important hint in two or three words. The writer was very curious after information, both by nature and profession, and was not living in a cloister, but abroad in the world. After relating the second battle of St. Alban's, he volunteers one of his few remarks, viz. that the Queen ruined her cause by not marching straight to London. *Et hoc fuit destructio regis Henrici et reginæ suæ; nam si venissent cum exercitu suo Londoniam, omnia habuissent ad eorum libitum.* Now here he is probably speaking from his own observation of the things around him, for when he describes the advance of Edward to the city about three weeks afterwards, and states that the people were assembled in a large field beyond Clerkenwell, where they all saluted him king, he adds, *interfui et audivi et descendi cum eis continuo in civitatem.* On another

occasion, when speaking of the death of Lord Scales, he says, "I saw him lying dead in the churchyard, near the porch of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark;" and he seems to have made particular inquiries as to the exact circumstances of his murder, for he says that it occurred *in conflictu vel insultu per nautas comitum Warwici et Marchiæ*, and in the night, and on the bank of the Thames, just under the wall of the Bishop of Winchester's palace, and while the unfortunate nobleman was escaping to the Sanctuary at Westminster. Again, though he devotes but three or four lines to the mention of that important parliament of October 1460, yet in one short sentence he conveys the weighty information that this first solemn claim of York to the throne was at all events not favourably received *then; et* illo *die pauci dominorum sibi* (i. e. *illi*) *favebant, sed solummodo absentabant.* It is clear that considerable authority must be attached to a writer, who states in the simplest language, and with all apparent sincerity, what he had unquestionable means of learning. Though he is believed to have lived on till the latter years of this century, yet his chronicle is not continued through that dark period; the last political fact recorded, is the expedition of five thousand men, under Lord Mountjoy and Lord Scales, to intercept the threatened invasion of Margaret, in October 1468. There follows a mention of three events of the year 1491: viz. the death of Bishop Aillington of Bath and Wells; the admission of Humphrey Pole, son of the unfortunate Duke of Suffolk, into holy orders by Bishop Alcock, at Downham; and the circuit of the province of Canterbury by Archbishop Morton and Bishop Fox of Exeter, for the purpose of levying a royal benevolence. From the character of these events, and from the language of the register, we are inclined to think that they are additions to the original, or, at all events, that they did not form part of the "Annales Rerum Anglicarum [4]."

[4] Accident has preserved for us more circumstantial information respecting this chronicler, than is generally to be found in such cases. Both he and his patron are among the writers, whose private correspondence has been handed down through four centuries in the Paston Collection of Letters. His father was a William of Worcester, so called, no doubt, from the place of his birth. His mother was Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Thomas Botoner, and he was thus called indiscriminately, by either one or other of his parental names. He signs himself W. B., or sometimes "W. Botoner dit Worcestyr." All the intelligence we thus collect is of a kind to increase his credit. One of his friends writes (in 1459), that "Willyam hath goon to scole to a Lumbard called Karoll Giles, to lern to be red in poetre or els in Frensh; and hath bought diu's boks of him, for the which he hath put hymself in daunger (i. e. *debt*) to the same Karoll; and he said that he wold be as feyn of a good boke of Frensh or of Poetre as my Maister Fastolf would be to p'chace a faire Manoir." It is also clear, that he was very inquisitive after the news of the day: we have letters addressed to him, in which the writer expresses his fear of thus committing political matter to paper, but sends it at his request; and we have letters from him to others, giving

We have yet one more Latin chronicle to introduce to the reader, after the discussion of which we will relieve him from such troublesome company. Since the publication of Mr. Maitland's *Dark Ages*, it is probable that a little more general interest may be taken even in so very antiquated a foundation as the Abbey of Croyland. If its ignorant and superstitious inmates, however, had not been at the foolish trouble of caring for posterity as well as themselves, and transmitting for our benefit the annals of their country, as well as their monastic records, we should be under no necessity of dragging them from their resting place on the present occasion. Even the great monastery of St. Alban's was not more celebrated for its chronicles than this old house in the Lincolnshire marshes. Ingulphus, its Abbot, commenced its history from 716, and the History of England from the year 626, and continued these two united narratives down to 1089. At the request of the Society, Peter of Blois took up the chronicle where Ingulphus ceased, and continued it down to the year 1117. For this purpose he was furnished with all the documents preserved in the abbey, and the ecclesiastical information thus handed down to us is extensive and valuable; but the public affairs of the kingdom do not receive any large share of the Archdeacon's attention, though he was in an excellent position for acquiring the necessary information. Between the period last mentioned and the latter part of Stephen's reign, there is a chasm in the chronicle, which is at length taken up by another hand at the year 1149. It was originally complete, as we learn from the writer himself, who says that he commenced where Peter terminated; but there is a small deficiency at the end of one portion, and at the beginning of the other. This third section of the chronicle extends from 1149 to 1470; and the writer in concluding it tells us the plan of his work, and the nature of his authorities. He says that his purpose was to write a *Concordance* of the kings of England and the abbots of the monastery, with the several incidents of their times, *prout regni vel loci concernunt statum*, which, he adds, was the original intent of the chronicle. For the early part of his own composition he says he derived some materials *relatione certa*, and some from old and worm-eaten muniments (*papyris*). The events of the civil wars he professes to detail from his own experience. He writes clearly and easily, with a bias, scarcely perceptible, to the

particular accounts of what was going on in London when he was present, in 1457-8. We might even check his annals by his correspondence. And if the curiosity of any reader extends even beyond this, he may, by referring to the Fastolfe Inventory in the Archæologia, vol. xxi., inform himself of the apartment in which William slept in his patron's house, and of every article of furniture in his bed-room.

Yorkists, but gives more prominence generally to the affairs of the monastery than those of the public. He remarks in one passage, that he has endeavoured to combine into a connected *history*, the dry detached *annals* of his predecessors, which they had written *non juxta aliquam historiæ cohærentiam, sed secundum quod* (i. e. prout) *aliqua nova diversis annorum interstitiis emergebant*. Perhaps the reader will not be very well pleased, when we tell him that all this is nothing to the purpose, and that Ingulphus and Peter, and this anonymous *tertius*, have merely been cited as introductory ushers to the writer now to be mentioned. This person, who is emphatically called the *Historiæ Croylandensis Continuator*, though such title is justly due in common to at least two of his predecessors, was, as we collect from his own pages, a doctor in the canon law, and a privy councillor of King Edward IV. His continuation is short, reaching only from 1458 to 1486, but it possesses certain qualities, which have made its pages some of the most important in our sources of history, as will presently more clearly appear. The writer starts with remarking, that to the due comprehension of these civil conflicts, it is requisite that some of the final portions of his predecessors' register should be repeated with more accuracy, and he then reverts (as above-mentioned) to the year 1458, though the conclusion of the former section had been at 1470. The events of this period he recites very briefly (*transeo hoc leviter*) till he gets to 1465, when he begins to investigate more carefully the origin of the differences between Warwick and Edward, and he then proceeds, with scarcely any intermixture of private matters, to write the history of all those momentous years up to 1486. His celebrity and importance arise not only from his intrinsic merits, but from his standing almost alone at this dark period. It will be seen, that there are several chronicles and records which can be compared throughout the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV.; but for the gloomy interval between the 9th of April, 1483, and the 22nd of August, 1485, the reader will observe the references of historians almost exclusively confined to the Continuator of Croyland and Sir Thomas More. And certain well-known circumstances have so much tendency to affect the credit of More on these points, that the writer of whom we are now speaking, may be almost said singly to transmit to posterity the history of his times. It is fortunate that so weighty a part should have fallen to so able an actor. Of all the mediæval chroniclers who remain to us he is the best, and if he had extended his narrative over the entire century, instead of confining himself to twenty years of it, we should not experience the *desideratum* of one good historian for the Wars of the Roses. Though of

course a Yorkist, he writes with great moderation, and, as he asserts himself, with freedom and sincerity (*libera voce, nullo scienter admixto mendacio*). His position as a privy councillor gave him excellent advantages. He was sent as ambassador from Edward to Charles the Bold, and he was evidently present with the expedition against Louis XI., in 1474. He writes sensibly and acutely, and if he were but sceptical in his opinions, and sarcastic upon the Church, he might claim at the hands even of modern critics, the credit of excellent sense. Unfortunately he was a devout Catholic, and strongly attached to Croyland Abbey. But though the Peloponnesus and the Peninsula have shown that the events of less than thirty years may give ample scope to the most magnificent historian, yet experience is against the theory that the space of half as many days is sufficient for the compilation of the history. And our chronicler of Croyland confesses that he commenced his deathless task, his κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ, on the 20th of April, and completed it before the end of the month! *Acta sunt hæc et expleta apud Croylandiam*, A.D. MCCCCLXXXVI°. *per spatium decem dierum, quorum postremus fuit ultimus dies mensis Aprilis ejusdem anni*;—an amusing contrast to Gibbon's valediction to his Decline and Fall in the acacia-walk on the terrace at Lausanne!

These three Latin annalists are the more formal authorities for the wars of York and Lancaster, and a few more words will put the reader in possession of the facts relating to the three minor English chronicles, which we enumerated in succession after them. John Leland, the antiquarian, amongst the treasures of his Collectanea[5], has given copious extracts from a "Booke of Croniques," in the library of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, extending from the reign of Henry II. to the year 1473. It was soon seen, that the latter portion of this chronicle contained the most valuable information, and a reference to it under the name of "Leland's Chronicle," quickly found its way into the notes of our modern historians for the reign of Edward IV. The story of the original is briefly this; John Warkworth, D.D., Master of the college from 1473 to 1500, presented to the library this MS. volume of the History of England, of which the earlier part is a compilation from known sources, but this section, comprising the first thirteen years of Edward's reign, was written by himself; a fact which, of course, gave it a vast superiority over the rest of the MS., though Leland extracted most impartially from all portions of it.

[5] Vol. ii. p. 471. ed. Hearne, Lond. 1770. Perhaps it may be the means of saving some reader an hour's trouble, to mention that Whethamstede and W. de Wyrcestre are also to be found in Hearne's volumes, the latter being appended to the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*.

Accordingly, one of the earliest productions of the Camden Society was a republication of the *whole* of this short chronicle, hitherto accessible only in a fragmentary state in Leland's pages; and this is the second of the two works whose titles we have prefixed to this article. The historical value of this record is obvious; it is the work of a contemporary of decent education and position, and with no more partiality than every man then living must have felt for one side or the other. His bias is towards the house of Lancaster. He was zealous for learning and letters, and a great benefactor to his society. Several manuscripts of his gift still remain in the College library, with his autograph dedication on the covers, preserved under slips of horn. Beyond these indications of a studious and inquiring spirit, we have no record of his qualifications for writing a narrative of his own time[6]. Hitherto this narrative has been usually referred to as "Chron. in Lel.," or "Lel. Collect."

The history of the fifth chronicle in our list is more curious. That King Edward returned in 1471 after his short exile; that in two months' time he won as many battles, annihilated the Lancastrians, and regained his crown, were facts always well known. But for the events of these fifty days the chronicle in question, though written by an eye-witness and a personal attendant on the sovereign, was not always made available to its fullest extent. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth a MS. of this document was in the possession of Mr. Recorder Fleetwood, who compiled from it a little history of his own, which was afterwards transferred to Holinshed, the authority being duly acknowledged in the margin. But it happened that both the recorder himself, and the editor of this portion of Holinshed, were alike inclined to extol the house of Lancaster at the expense of their old rivals; and the Yorkist narrative of King Edward's servant underwent so much transformation, during this double process of re-arrangement and *rédaction*, as to retain but little likeness to its original self. Fortunately, however, the industrious Stowe had access to Fleetwood's books, where he made a transcript of the MS.; and this copy of Stowe's, in his own handwriting, found its way through Sir Symonds D'Ewes into the Harleian library. Still it was only known to the public through the incorporation of its mutilated members in Holinshed's chronicles, until Sharon Turner's saga-

[6] How little was known of Leland's original, may be seen from an amusing proof in the preface to the Fleetwood MS. presently mentioned. The editor (writing in 1838) says, "Of the chronicler from whom Leland extracted we know absolutely nothing. The extracts contain many anecdotes and minute particulars, and the spirit and feeling of a contemporary are evident throughout, but I have not observed any thing which has enabled me to identify the author." In 1839 the whole chronicle was published under the writer's real name, by the same Society.

city and judgment detected the existence, and acknowledged the importance, of the perfect text. The original is lost, or at least is not discoverable; but the fidelity of Fleetwood's MS. and Stowe's transcript is demonstrable by evidence as singular as ever was applied to the confirmation of history. On the 29th of May, 1471, three days after the termination of the record in question, King Edward addressed from Canterbury a despatch to the authorities of Bruges, thanking them for their kindness in his exile, and communicating to them his wonderful successes in recovering his throne. For the further particulars of these striking events they are referred to the bearer of the letter, and to a document which was an abridgment, in French, of this very narrative. In the public library at Ghent is preserved a contemporary copy of this document and the royal letter, illustrated with four illuminations, viz., the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, the execution of Somerset, and the attack of Fauconberge upon London. With this Ghent MS. Fleetwood's history, as we now possess it, almost exactly coincides. Its publication from the Harleian MS. was the first work of the Camden Society, under the title which we have given at the head of our remarks. It is thus tolerably clear that we possess this chapter of history as it was originally written, a consideration which is agreeable enough, but which leaves untouched the question of its intrinsic credibility. The author was, of course, an earnest partizan, and his narrative was held to be so unfavourable (whether honestly or not) to the opposite party, that it was, as we have seen, subjected to revision by them. But the perfect acquaintance with the events as they occurred, joined with acute power of observation on the part of the writer, make this chronicle of the fifty days a relic of very great interest, and, after all deductions, of very great importance. The estimate of an author's character which we involuntarily form from his style is more favourable in this case than in Warkworth's. The document is generally cited under the title of "Fleetwood's Chronicle," or "Harl. MSS."

The sixth given in our list is "Hearne's Fragment." It is unfortunate that this piece of history is, as its title imports, an imperfect relic. It was intended to be a life of Edward IV. The author was evidently a man of some decent place about the court, and his intent may be seen, and his character in some degree estimated, from the following extract:—

"Wherefore my purpose is and shall be (as towching the liffe of King E. the IIIIth) to write and shew thois and such thinges the which I have herde of his owne mowth. And also in parte of suche thinges in the which I have been parsonally present aswell within the

royaulme as without during a certayne space most especiall from the yere of our Lorde 1468 unto the yere of our lord 1482, in the which the forenamid King E. departid from this present lyffe."

It commences with the seizure of the throne by Edward (first mentioning the date of his birth) after the second battle of St. Alban's, and proceeds to detail rather minutely, but with a very clear prejudice against Warwick, the estrangement of this earl from his sovereign. It relates the preparatory insurrections in Yorkshire, but breaks off abruptly just before the arrival of Warwick and Clarence in England in 1470. Had it come down to us complete, it might have been entitled to much consideration, though the circumstances and position of the writer, and the obvious controversial spirit in which he undertook the biography, would always have left it liable to suspicion. It was discovered in an ancient MS. which Hearne had borrowed from some learned friend of his, and given to the world by this indefatigable antiquary by way of filling up the last five-and-twenty pages of his edition of Thomas Sprott's chronicle. From these incidents of its detection and publication, it is cited indiscriminately by the title of "Hearne's Fragment," or "Fragm. ad fin. Sprot."

Of Fabyan it is unnecessary here to say much. He is the first of those English historians who are alluded to by Sir James Mackintosh as rising up after the Wars of the Roses. But as he did not die till the year 1512, at a respectable old age, he must be considered in part of his history as a contemporary authority. He calls his work the *Concordance* of two histories, a term which we have before observed in the Croyland writers. The meaning of the expression is a connected history of two subjects proceeding by sections or chapters through the contemporaneous events of each alternately, such parallel subjects being the monastery and the kingdom in the Croyland case, and the realms of England and France in Fabyan's. He was by residence a Londoner, by profession a cloth-worker, by prejudice a Lancastrian. He served the office of sheriff in the ninth year of Henry VII., and five years afterwards was entrusted with the defence of one of the city gates against the Cornish rebels. His original production extended from the remotest English period conceivable to the end of the reign of Richard III. Its celebrity arises from its being the earliest example of a complete history of England of such length in the vernacular tongue; but the annals of each reign or year, considered separately, are nearly as meagre as those of the most ancient Latin chronicler: and especially in the two last reigns, which should be the most valuable, we derive little information from it beyond the ordinary gossip of the city.

It omits much of the intelligence conveyed in the other contemporary narratives extant, and supplies but few of their deficiencies.

Original correspondence, when we have the good fortune to get it safely transmitted to us, forms a source of history common to all periods, and available for the illustration of a thousand particulars either of domestic life or public transactions. In the earlier centuries of the middle ages it is frequently our richest repertory of information; and for the dark and stormy years now under consideration, we happily possess such a collection of it as would be ill exchanged even for a tolerable history. Every reader is acquainted with the two volumes, published by Fenn, of letters written during the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. The authenticity of these epistles is placed beyond a doubt: the rank and position of the parties to the correspondence are the most favourable for us that could have happened, and it certainly would have been impossible to select a period of our country's annals where their aid would be more acceptable. Their utility may be readily inferred from a glimpse at the references in Turner, Lingard, or Mackintosh. Yet it should be remembered, that a letter is not always, nor necessarily, more faithful or accurate than a paragraph of history. The writer may have as much reason for deceiving his correspondent as the historian for misleading his reader: nor is a private individual more likely to be acquainted with the particulars of any event than the chronicler who made it his business to investigate them. The same tests of credibility must be applied in both cases. John Crane could only ascertain the number slain at St. Alban's from the common report in London; and therefore his letter, though written only two days after the battle, may not be infallible authority. The greatest attention should be paid to the circumstances of the two parties, and of each special letter. In the Earl of Leicester's correspondence we have two epistles on the same occasion, and addressed to the same person, but one official and the other private; one intended to be overlooked by Queen Elizabeth, and the other to be secretly perused by Mr. Secretary Walsyngham. Had the first only been extant, or inserted in some history, we might have drawn very inaccurate conclusions from it. The Paston Letters are, fortunately, as little liable to exception as could well be hoped.

There succeeded to Fabyan a train of English historians which reached throughout the sixteenth century. The names of Rastall, Hall, Grafton, Holinshed, Stowe, and Speed are familiar to the ears of every one, though a just appreciation of their several characters may not be equally universal. But we are afraid to

continue so tiresome a subject as the discussion of successive annalists, and we therefore now confine ourselves to remarking, that our estimate of their value will depend on the persuasion we may entertain of their respective advantages. If we imagine (as is very possible) that they had access to sources of information now lost to us, we must assign considerable weight to their assertions; but if we conclude, that for the most part they but copied their immediate predecessors or their contemporaries, improving perhaps their narrative from such oral traditions as were not yet extinct, we shall be inclined to neglect them except for the periods at which they were themselves living, or such peculiar pieces of intelligence as they take an obvious interest in detailing. Hall is a person of some consequence in this list, and he had the fortune or merit to confine himself within the (comparatively) narrow and practicable limits formed by the rise of the house of Lancaster and its absorption in the Tudors. Stowe, too, from his preservation of original documents, will be found frequently cited by even recent historians. We have already seen in this paper that he detected one, and another will be mentioned presently, for which he is also our creditor. Yet of neither of these has he availed himself in his own chronicle. There yet remain two writers unmentioned, to whose evidence modern authors will be found more or less to appeal, according to the taste or judgment of each. These are Philippe de Commines and Polydore Vergil. The life of the first is almost exactly measured by the duration of these troubles, and so often during the eventful drama was the scene shifted to France, that he may almost be looked upon as the countryman as well as the contemporary of the actors. He did not actually witness the conflicts, but he generally had an opportunity of conversing with some of the survivors a few days after the engagement. He could not record his observations on the feelings of the English nation, but he heard the remarks of others, and was cognizant of all those intrigues at his master's court which accompanied every incident of these struggles. An intelligent Englishman, resident in London fifty years ago, in communication with Louis XVIII., and in the confidence of Mr. Pitt, would not be bad authority for the history of the revolutionary wars. Polydore Vergil is of far less value. He wrote his Historia Anglica (commencing from the earliest times) at the request of Henry VIII., and about the middle of that monarch's reign. It is probable that he had the opportunity of adding to his merit of unusually creditable Latinity the recommendations of accuracy and research; but if these advantages were within his reach, he certainly did not embrace them. Though the marriage of Henry of Richmond with Elizabeth of York was

presumed to unite the rival houses, and remove all the feelings and objects of party spirit, yet in effect it was little else but a restoration of the line of Lancaster. The personal feelings of Henry VII. were transmitted with little qualification to his descendants, and the influence of these hereditary sentiments, aided by the now national legends of Richard of Gloucester, the last Yorkist monarch, gave as virtual a predominance to Lancastrian spirit as had existed at any time of the previous century. The ascertainable bias of almost all the writers of this age is in this direction. The reader will now probably be of opinion that we have enumerated a list of authorities sufficient to furnish ample materials for a history of the times, and will be surprised when he turns over in his mind the catalogue of doubtful transactions or unexplained events. Perhaps a rough sketch of some of these scenes will enable him more readily to remark the peculiar deficiencies of our annals; after giving which, we will offer such few observations on the subject as may be either of interest or use.

The narrative may, for our purposes, be divided into four periods, in each of which the occurrences may be grouped round certain central incidents; and since battles are always the most prominent objects in history, as being the issues generally of a long series of events, and the cause of a long train of consequences, we will take the four engagements of St. Alban's, Northampton, Towton, and Barnet. It would not be easy for an historian of these wars to select a judicious period for the commencement of his work. He would certainly have to premise the irruption of the house of Lancaster, which he could hardly do without entering on the singular reign and character of Richard of Bourdeaux. Nor could the misfortunes and deficiencies of Henry of Windsor be appreciated without a survey of the conquests of Henry of Monmouth. Perhaps the beginning and end of the century, taken not very arbitrarily, would be the best limits. No such infliction, however, on the reader is at present contemplated.

At the end of May 1445, Margaret of Anjou was crowned at Westminster. Her husband had been seated upwards of twenty years on the English throne, where his father and grandfather had sat before him. The two most powerful men in the state were the Duke of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort, his uncle and great uncle, the former of them the heir-presumptive to the crown, and the favourite of the nation. The Marquis of Suffolk was chief minister. Richard, Duke of York, was an orderly subject and an efficient soldier, to whom the king's advisers had entrusted the regency of France.

At the end of May 1455, Margaret was a fugitive and Henry a prisoner; Gloucester had been murdered, nobody knew how; and

Suffolk executed, nobody knew why. Richard, Duke of York, was at the head of a victorious army, England in arms, and France lost. Of these facts and dates, we possess authentic records and tolerably full particulars; of any satisfactory explanation of the counsels which in ten years produced such changes, we are utterly destitute.

The steps in the mischief seem to be the removal of the Lancastrian chiefs, the alienation of the people by the loss of France, and the rise of the old Mortimer family. On the 10th of February, 1447, Gloucester arrived at Bury St. Edmunds, to be present at the opening of a parliament there summoned; on the 11th, he was arrested for high treason; on the 28th, he was found dead in his bed. The peculiar hardship in explaining the transactions of those days is, that we do not know what we have to explain, nor whether we have any thing to explain at all. We have to solve a theorem without a proposition. The common law of England most reasonably declares that there can be no coroner's inquest on a murder, without the production of the body or its fragmentary representative; and the jury, to be quite sure that they have a real and not an imaginary subject of investigation, proceed in a body to view the corpse. But no such equitable grace is accorded to the writer of mediæval history. The mysteries ascend in a graduated scale till they are lost in excessive nebulosity. The end of Suffolk is an instance of the lowest degree. We are certain he was put to death, certain he was put to death violently; and we are so thankful for these two known quantities, that we consider the problem easy and the event almost a natural one, though the facts, as they have come down to us, can only be paralleled in modern description by imagining that Lord Brougham while crossing to Havre, after being supplanted in the chancellorship, had his head chopped off on the paddle-box of the Grand Turk steamer, and no inquiry made about it. The death of Gloucester rises a degree higher in the scale of mystery. All we are certain of is, that on the night of the 27th of February, he ceased to live. While we are collecting the evidence for the murder, and turning it upon Beaufort, or Suffolk, or Margaret, or on some person or persons unknown, an advocate rises with proof that he died a natural death. Dr. Lingard so asserts, relying on the authority of Whethamstede, who, as the reader will collect from our previous account of him, is certainly important evidence in this case[7]. Perhaps the learned historian thinks this the most effectual

[7] It may be observed, that the same cause is attributed, in almost the same words, to almost all these mysterious deaths. The unfortunate captive is sure to expire from sorrow and despair at his miserable circumstances.

hypothesis to screen the Cardinal of Winchester; though we acknowledge our concurrence in the acquittal of Henry Beaufort, and admit that the old churchman of four-score, buried in his episcopal palace, and labouring under a painful and mortal disease, was not likely so to busy himself against a rival of former days, whom within six weeks he followed to the grave. In this case then, we are holding a trial for murder, without any certification of violence committed; and after determining the criminal to the best of our ability, we are liable to be told there was never any crime. In the case of Richard II., we get an example of a more exalted degree still. We are certain of nothing, except that he is not alive now. On the 6th of Oct. 1399, he was seen openly of men; on the 12th of March, 1400, a corpse, purporting to be his, was shown at St. Paul's, but the countenance was displayed only from the eyebrows to the chin; and the impression of the multitude was, that it was not the body of their sovereign. We may think the motives and the agents in this deed so obvious as to set the matter at rest, but the people did not; and it is an instance of the state of public feeling at the time, that they could not unhesitatingly believe even in such an every-day occurrence as a murder. Edward V. and his brother disappear in a similar manner, with this additional mystery, that they are not only never seen, or supposed to be seen, dead; but that they, or persons supposed to be they, re-appear alive. Nor are we better informed now than in times past. The latest edition of the latest history contains excursive arguments on each of these two questions, and will still be considered by many to leave the case as it found it. But it was discovered that the excessive secrecy of villainy defeated its own objects, and that a murder was profitless if the victim was believed still to be alive. Accordingly, in the case of Henry VI., we are relieved from this doubt, for his corpse was so exposed that no person could possibly deny his death. It has always appeared to us that this careful and anxious notification of the fact of his decease, is very strong evidence of the light in which the Yorkists regarded it; and naturally suggests an inference that they would not be unwilling to hasten what they were so glad to welcome and so eager to publish. A circumstance very characteristic of the times is, that we have the most minute particulars of all these events of which we know nothing at all. King Richard is carried to Pomfret castle, where, as he held out a long while against starvation, Sir Piers Exton and seven assistants are sent to dispatch him. The king defends himself bravely for twenty minutes, and destroys two of his assailants, but Sir Piers gets behind him on a step and beats out his brains

with a double-handed battleaxe. When the tomb of this "Stuart of the Plantagenets" was opened, some time back, the skull was actually examined for a trace of this fatal wound, but in vain. Henry the VIth was killed in the Tower, by the Duke of Gloucester, who crosses the Thames for that purpose in a small boat, at two in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 21st of May, 1471; the weapon was a knife, and the wound was in the ribs. But to return to the incident which occasioned these remarks: it is clear that if the queen's party, or any of the Lancastrians, procured the death of the good Duke Humphry, their policy was even as foolish as it was wicked, for while so great a favourite was heir-presumptive, no interference with the succession was to be dreaded. It is evident, though, from many other considerations, that at this time no apprehension whatever was entertained of any such claims from the house of York. But when Gloucester was gone, and the only representatives of John of Gaunt were to be found in the Somersets, whose bastardy was little less objectionable from having been formally legitimated, the thoughts of the nation were necessarily turned to some successor, and almost as necessarily to York, through the eight years of sterility which followed Henry's marriage. Had the Prince of Wales been born in 1446, the face of all affairs might have been changed; but in 1453 his birth was of more prejudice than advantage to his father's house, and was little likely to disturb the schemes which had been projected on the presumption of its improbability.

The alienation of the people (to a certain extent) from the reigning monarch, admits of very easy explanation. We have qualified this sentence, because the Lancastrians never ceased to form a very numerous party, as far as there could be said to be any political party at all. The loss of France was the fatal blow. There was first the personal contrast between Henry and his father, a contrast as great as could be well imagined, and one which would be terribly influential with a generation which could remember Agincourt, and a nation so peculiarly minded in this respect as to forgive the errors of King Harry the Eighth for the legendary portliness and lusty carriage of that magnificent turkey-cock. Then, there was the destruction of all convenient patronage, and the utter blockade of the old markets for martial and discontented spirits, when war was the trade of half the nation. The province of Aquitaine alone contained three archbishoprics, thirty-four bishoprics, fifteen earldoms, an hundred-and-two baronies, and above a thousand great captainships. Let the reader imagine what would be the effect, even in our better regulated community, if the presidency of Bengal were ceded or captured next month, and our home circles enlivened by the re-

introduction of one bishop, fifty-four chaplains, three hundred and eighteen judges, four hundred and seventy collectors, five hundred and twenty commissioners, and three thousand six hundred officers of native infantry.

Unfortunately, too, the cession of Maine and Anjou at the royal marriage, connected these losses in the people's minds with Margaret and her party. The true history of all this is as natural as possible. The nation imagined that the conquests they had made from a weak enemy, could be kept without expense against a strong one. The characters and proceedings of the two governments were counterchanged, and the result of course was, that recent prizes and ancient conquests were lost together. If all the transactions of this period were as intelligible as this, we should have little reason to complain.

Our records and authorities thus inform us very clearly (as far as facts go) of the estrangement of the people, of their indefinite desire for change, and of their turbulent insurrections (Cade's rising was in 1450). It is natural too, that when they had fixed their eyes on some single substantial grievance, such as the loss of France, they should refer all others to it, and visit the accumulated mischiefs on the heads of the supposed authors. And it is also reasonable, that when they thought about the succession at all, in default of any prince of true Lancastrian blood, they should turn their eyes to the family of York. But it is not at once so ascertainable what were the original intentions of York and his partisans; whether they purposed or not to advance his hereditary claim; or whether such claim was forced upon them by circumstances, and if so at what period; or with whom rests the blame of an appeal to arms. These are the points, for the decision of which we want the aid of an historian, and not of an annalist, and it is precisely this assistance which we do not possess from a contemporary, but which modern historians do their best to supply. The Duke of York was at this time at his government in Ireland; his name had been connected, perhaps maliciously, with Cade's rebellion, and it seemed advisable to his friends that he should return home. Like more than one great man, he left his province without waiting for a recall, and appeared in London with a retinue or army of four thousand men. He had hardly arrived a month, when Somerset returned from Normandy, and the two rivals were then both in the field. But Somerset had lost Normandy, and York had improved Ireland. During the next parliament, the Yorkists could make little head against Somerset's party; but the attack and pillage of this latter nobleman's house gave the customary indication of the opinions of the people. This state of things lasted several

months; and our principal authority, besides the records, for these and many other unconnected events, is William of Worcester. At length, in January 1452, York raised the old Mortimer tenants and marched into Kent. The king, at the head of a superior body of troops, went out to meet him. The duke made the usual professions of loyalty, and the usual demands for the removal of obnoxious ministers from the king's person. But by the judicious mediation of the spiritual lords, they at length parted in peace. There was no civil war yet, nor any thing very uncommon in the proceedings. The only remarkable point is, that Henry informed the duke that his pretended claim to the throne was made matter of unseemly boasting amongst his followers. Yet York, before retiring, took the oath of fealty to Henry on the sacrament in St. Paul's. Eighteen months passed away with no great movement in England; but in France, Guienne also was totally lost, and the famous old Talbot killed. In November 1453, the incapacity of the king became a declared disease; *subito occidit in infirmitatem capitis*, says Wyrcestre, but it could not have been very unexpected. York took advantage of the opportunity to send Somerset to the Tower; and after a long speech in parliament, of his loyalty to King Henry, he got himself declared protector, but with merely ordinary powers. At Christmas, however, the king recovered. His first acts were to liberate Somerset, and terminate the protectorate, but he showed no resentment towards York. On the contrary, he exerted himself strenuously to reconcile the rivals, and he appointed the 20th of June for an award upon their differences, to be pronounced by six secular and two spiritual lords. We have noted briefly the events of these few years, in order to conduct the reader up to the first battle of St. Alban's, and at the entrance to that field he now stands. The circumstances of the engagement are well known. The 20th of June, which the poor king had fixed for the pacification of the rivals, was a day which one of them was fated never to reach. York re-assembled the ready tenantry of the marches, and proceeded with Norfolk, Salisbury, and Warwick, towards London. Henry met him at St. Alban's, and the battle took place. Now, having arrived at our first resting-place, let us take as good a view of the state of the case at this moment, as we can obtain. In the first place, it seems by no means clear that the battle was intended to take place at all, and that it was not, like Navarin, the result of accident. Considerable parley took place beforehand, and after the battle it was averred by the Yorkists, that a final proposal had been sent to the king by the duke, which, if it had not been maliciously kept back by those about him, must have ended in a

treaty of peace. They also asserted, that a fortuitous personal affray between Somerset's men and their messengers, had been the commencement of the conflict. One thing is certain, that the Yorkists, though victorious, were by no means inclined to defend it as a legitimate action, or an affair in a just war. They tried to throw all the blame on the Lancastrians, and, in exculpation of their several selves, even quarrelled amongst each other. It was an untoward event, a *mal journey* which nobody wished to have the credit of. The captured king was treated with every mark of outward respect, and the only demand of the triumphant nobles in the ensuing parliament, was a full pardon. The oath of fealty was again renewed by all. Up to this time, the movements were all referable to the personal differences between Somerset and York; the common-place struggle between two lords for the king's person and the ministerial authority; like the contests between the appellant and the counter-appellant nobles in the reign of Richard II. The battle of St. Alban's was little more than the affair of Radcotbridge, as far as any principle was involved in it. But there was one fatal distinction between them. At Radcotbridge there fell no one of note; at St. Alban's, though the number of the slain was probably very few, yet amongst them lay Somerset, Clifford, and Northumberland, and these bequeathed a feud to their families and retainers, which was to live for years. Again, towards the Christmas of this year also, were the faculties of the unfortunate Henry suspended by disease; and again was York declared protector, with increased privileges. His rival, Somerset, was now removed; and as he was certainly a prince devoid neither of equity nor moderation, there was hope that the battle of St. Alban's would terminate, as it had commenced, this civil bloodshed. The king recovered his senses as speedily as before; the protector's commission was revoked, and in the spring of 1456, within twelve months after the battle, the great offices of the state were held by the old party, without any avowed discontent on the side of York or his friends. So ends the first period of these struggles. The Lancastrians are in possession of an undisputed throne, and of the powers of government. The Yorkists have destroyed their chief enemy, and got an amnesty for their outbreak. Both sides have reason for being contented. But the Yorkists suspected Margaret, and desired present power; and the Lancastrians had the blood of their leaders to avenge. Both sides had temptations to violence. The details of these transactions are given circumstantially in much of Whethamstede's narrative, and are often recorded very graphically in the Paston Letters.

The last period ended, as it commenced, with Henry on the

throne and Margaret in power. A double revolution had occurred in the interval; the field of St. Alban's had elevated the Yorkists, and the sudden revocation of the protectorate had depressed them. The king's unexpected recovery had answered the purpose of a counter-victory. We have now to run rapidly through a second period, which will terminate with a very different arrangement of the scene, after the battle of Northampton. Here we have uncertainty and confusion at the outset. We cannot ascertain how the rupture really began. The queen, for good political reasons, had transferred the court from London to Coventry, and more than a twelvemonth was passed in apparent calm. At length, as it is said, Margaret invited York, Salisbury, and Warwick to Coventry, to a hunting party, with the intention of putting them all three to death; but the lords received timely information on the road, or in the town, and betook themselves with all haste to their fastnesses. The reader will find the story thus unhesitatingly told in Hume, and repeated in Mackintosh; but Lingard, a zealous modern Lancastrian, quietly dismisses it as resting on no good authority; and Turner, who supports the white rose even in Richard III., speaks without confidence. "The queen," he says, "*is charged*" with so doing. The incident is one of those which we learn solely from the gossip of the chroniclers. Fabyan's account is as follows: "wher (*i. e.* at Coventry) by covene of the quene thei were al thre in greate daunger. Howebeit by monishment of their frendes thei escaped." He adds, "and shortly after were taken near London foure wonderfull fishes, whereof one was called Mores maryne, the second a sword fishe, and the other two were whales, which after some expositoures were prognosticacions of warre and trouble."

The question here is simply the credit of these old writers when unsupported. Unfortunately the truth of the story in the present case is of considerable importance, for the culpability of one party or the other depends on it; and a serious culpability it is. If Margaret was really unscrupulous enough to adopt such barbarously decisive measures against her enemies, their recourse to arms was but in self-defence. It seems against the credibility of the tale that the conflicting parties should so soon afterwards meet in London for a reconciliation, which we know that they did, at the poor king's instance[8]. On our Lady's day, 1458, Somerset and Salisbury, Warwick and Exeter, York and Margaret, walked arm and arm in this order in solemn procession to St. Paul's. Before the end of the year, civil war was as formally declared as after the battle of Edge-hill.

[8] Mackintosh has transposed these two events in order of time, but with no authority quoted, and none that we can find. The point is not unimportant.

We have few details of the interval. In November, a scuffle took place at Westminster, between part of Warwick's retinue and some of the royal servants. Loss of life ensued: the earl chose to consider the affair alarming; and having concerted plans with his father and York, started for Calais. And this meagre and unsatisfactory history is all the account we have of the opening of the War of the Roses. The winter was spent in undisguised preparations for open war on both sides. From a contemporary letter we learn that writs under the privy seal, "asynyd wyth ye Kyngys howyn hand," were sent in all quarters to raise men, who were to rendezvous at Leicester on the 10th of May. It seems strange to us to hear that the royal party allowed the insurgents quietly to organize their forces without interruption. It was all done as deliberately as if the counties of England had been independent states. At length, in the autumn, Salisbury having completed his arrangements, broke up from Middleham, and after defeating (Sept. 23), at Bloreheath, a force which had interposed to cut him off, effected his junction with the Duke of York at Ludlow. In a few days Warwick joined them with his troops from Calais, and the Yorkist army was complete. Margaret and Henry were at Worcester with *sixty thousand* men, so serious had affairs now become. The good king tried his usual entreaties, and the Church her usual mediation; but the Bishop of Salisbury could make no peace, and Henry's promises (or more truly his powers) were distrusted. It is worthy of remark, that a rumour of the king's death was industriously spread in the Yorkist camp; and so far was the delusion carried that mass was sung for his soul. However, a veteran commander, who had been brought over in Warwick's train, refused, when he discovered the facts of the case, to fight against his anointed sovereign, and he accordingly passed over to the king with all his troops. This decided the day without a battle; the Yorkist army dispersed itself in the night, the lords retired again to their strongholds, and Henry and Margaret were still *in statu quo ante bellum.* A parliament at Coventry, and the attainder of the confederate nobles, shortly followed.

Affairs remained in this position six or seven months; but in those days an exile was quite sure to reappear on the coasts, like the bull in the Georgics, with increased vigour. On the 3rd of June, Warwick landed in the Yorkist county of Kent, marched to London, and thence to Northampton (July 10), where the royal troops were entrenched. He defeated them, drove the queen and prince into exile, and conducted the king in an honourable captivity to the metropolis. There, then, is the battle of Northampton. And now let us again take a view of the

state of things from this point and at this period. It is clear that the fate of parties is reversed, and that the governors of the country are changed. But no attack is yet made upon the throne. It was a civil war, but not a war of succession. It was a contest for the king, not for the crown. The manifestos of the Yorkists at Ludlow professed nothing but loyalty. The proclamations, before Warwick's arrival in Kent, set forth that the fugitive lords desired nothing but an audience to prove their innocence before their sovereign. The first act of Warwick, when he reached London, on his march to Northampton, was to go to the convocation, and there make a gratuitous profession of his loyal fidelity to Henry. After the victory, no mark of respect was withheld from the captive monarch. But a new aspect was soon given to the matter. A parliament was sitting at Westminster, to go through the usual process of repealing the acts of the last, when York returned from Ireland. He walked into the hall, stalked up the house, and there, placing his hand on the throne, *similis homini sumpturo possessionem sui juris tenuit illam super ipsam per moram temporis parvulam.* The primate of Canterbury asked him to visit the king. His answer is thus given in the chaste Latin of Whethamstede: "*Non memini me nosse aliquem infra regnum quin diceret eum citius venire ad me et videre personam meam, quam me accedere et visitare suam.*" As the session proceeded, a most extraordinary scene was enacted. In this age of championship and bloodshed, the two most powerful personages in the kingdom, a king regnant and a king claimant, pleaded their respective suits before the house. On the 16th of October, the duke, appearing formally by his counsel, put into the chancellor's hands a memorial of his claim to the crown of England. The lords decided that, as every Englishman, *whether high or low, had a right to be heard*, the petition should be read. The king's sergeants and attorneys were appointed his counsel to defend his claim against the duke's. The extraordinary debate which ensued will be found, at more or less length, in all modern historians. Hume is singularly partial to York, and has not done that justice to the narrative which he was so competent to do; Sir James Mackintosh escapes from his detrimental brevity on the occasion of such a favourite topic[9]; Turner and Lingard are, as always, minute and circumstantial. The result was the well-known com-

[9] Sir James says, on this occasion, "It is needless to cite the various narratives of the singular scene which followed, as they are described by our ancient historians, who seldom thought of searching for the materials of their relation in original and authentic documents. We now know with certainty *from the Rolls of Parliament*," &c. We quote this sentence, as showing one of the chief distinctions between modern historians of this century and those of the last.

promise. Henry was confirmed in possession of the crown, and its reversion was given to York, to the prejudice of the prince of Wales. The duke and his sons swore not to molest the king, but to maintain his dignity; and on the 31st of October, 1460, Henry, with his crown of gold on his head, attended by the new heir-apparent, rode in state to St. Paul's. It was just two years since the last procession of amity to this old cathedral. With these results of the field of Northampton terminates the second of our periods. The rhetorical abbot of St. Alban's still supplies us with most opportune information, and the Paston Letters and William Wyrcestre give a large portion of the other detail which fills up the outline of the public records.

Had the Prince of Wales fallen in the battle, or had the queen been taken, it is perhaps possible that the conflicting parties might have acquiesced in this national settlement of the question, and permitted their feelings of animosity gradually to expire. But Margaret had retired no farther than the borders, and she was little inclined to be a party to a contract which deprived her son of the throne. With her were another Somerset, another Northumberland, and another Clifford. Before the duke had time to look round him, he was summoned to quell a slight disturbance in the north. The disturbing cause proved to be Margaret at the head of twenty thousand northern men. York had only five thousand. He descended from a stronghold into the open plain at Wakefield, and was of course cut to pieces; he, his son, and his army. His head was crowned with paper, and placed on the gates of York, within two months after he had been declared heir-apparent. But he had left other sons; and his eldest, Edward of March, was collecting troops for his father's aid; Warwick too, as yet the firmest ally of York, was marching northward with strong reinforcements. The queen detached Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, against Edward, and advanced in person against Warwick, whom she again encountered at St. Alban's, and this time with better fortune. Her victorious army drove him from the town. But Edward met Tudor at Mortimer's cross, beat his troops, beheaded his father, effected his junction with the broken remains of Warwick's division, and presented an unshaken front to Margaret. It was here that the fatal mistake occurred, before alluded to. Margaret distrusted London. Like many generals, both before and since, she lost the advantage of her victory by neglecting to advance after it; she retired northward, and abandoned the metropolis to Edward. It was clear, that a city so hostile to Lancaster must be favourable to York. Edward entered it with his troops, and on the 3rd of March, 1461, within three weeks after Margaret's last victory,

was declared king of England. But the queen had again only retired to the north, and this time a conqueror instead of a fugitive. Of all men living Edward was the least likely to neglect such an enemy, and he and Warwick forthwith marched to find her. On the 29th of March the armies met at Towton; the Lancastrians were totally routed, and Edward left unquestionably king. We have said but little on the details of these several engagements, because even if our space had allowed such digression, it would have been inconsistent with our plans. The reader will be good enough to remember that we are not writing a history of these wars, but merely compressing portions of the narrative to discourse upon, and reciting the text to save the hearer's memory. But a line may be spared for this terrible field. Proclamations forbidding quarter were issued before the engagement. Like Leipsic, it reached over the night; but unlike Leipsic, even the hours of darkness brought no rest. They fought from four o'clock in the afternoon, throughout the whole night, on to noon the next day. Like Waterloo, it was fought on a Sunday. And the accounts of contemporary writers state, in words very like those letters from Mont St. Jean, that for weeks afterwards the blood stood in puddles, and stagnated in gutters, and that the water of the wells was red. No inaccuracy is more frequent in ancient authors than that of numbers, and generally on the side of exaggeration. But on this occasion we can form a more correct estimate of the carnage by the concurrence of unusually respectable testimonies; and perhaps in these times it will give the best idea of it, to say that the number of Englishmen slain exceeded the *sum* of those who fell at Vimiero, Talavera, Albuera, Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo. This third period, though short, is fatally eventful. Not nine months had elapsed since the battle of Northampton, and four desperate engagements had taken place. Every thing is changed. The history is no longer that of Henry VI., but of Edward IV. Up to this period the poor king had always been treated with respect and kindness. It was worth nobody's while to hurt him who never hurt a single human being. He was carried about like a royal standard, recaptured by his queen at St. Alban's, and preserved at Towton. It was now evident that his liberty if not his life was in danger, for two kings could not exist at large together; his kingdom was totally lost, and he escaped being a prisoner only by being a fugitive. He was even attainted; and he, his queen, and his son were called *traitors.* After the battle of Wakefield, the war was clearly a war for the crown; and Edward won it as completely as William the Conqueror. It is at this period that Warkworth's Chronicle commences and Hearne's Fragment comes in, and that

we get the valuable additional aid of the Continuator of Croyland.

If it were not for the strange outbreak of Warwick ten years hence, we might here almost finish our outline of the Wars of the Roses; but the chroniclers show a year *readoptionis Henrici VIti*, and we must therefore shortly get to it. The convulsive struggles of the indefatigable Margaret, though attended with some bloodshed, were of little avail. After the last conflict at Hexham, Henry wandered for nearly a twelvemonth in the wilds of Westmoreland and Lancashire, till he was betrayed and taken. On this occasion there was no respect for him. He was treated with indignity, and committed to the Tower. By this time (June 1465) the Lancastrians had ceased to struggle, and Edward had nothing to do but to retain his friends. Unfortunately he preferred forming a new connection, a connection productive afterwards of nearly as much bloodshed as had gone before. We are now again getting into confused and imperfect history; for five years we have fewer decisive events and more inexplicable intrigues. Edward marries, and his wife's family form a distinct party, at variance with the old Yorkist nobility. Warwick is estranged from his sovereign; and to the account of his movements, which the chroniclers afford, it is not easy to supply his motives, which they omit. Louis XI. appears more distinctly on the field; Charles the bold takes a part too; and Commines is of great value. The struggle, which has hitherto been almost purely national, extends itself to the continent. Habington says, it was observed that no foreigner fell in these bloody wars, which up to Towton field is true; afterwards Margaret did introduce a small band of Frenchmen, and money and other aid was obtained by either side from France and Burgundy. The history of the years 1469 and 1470 is more obscure than ever, even the bare events are uncertain, and their relations almost utterly undiscoverable. Against Edward's wish, Clarence marries Warwick's daughter (July 11, 1469). Just at this period an insurrection breaks out in Yorkshire, which, nevertheless, is checked by Northumberland, now no longer a Percy but a Neville. But the rebels mustered again strongly under the lords Fitzhugh and Latimer, both Warwick's kinsmen; and the new queen's family was now openly complained of as a grievance. Warwick and Clarence had by this time crossed from Calais to England, and they found Edward at Olney, in desperate circumstances. Without the presence of Warwick, the insurgents had destroyed a detachment of the royal troops, and put to death two of the queen's family; the arrival of the earl completed the business, and King Edward found himself a state prisoner of

Warwick's at Middleham castle[1]. There were now in England two rival kings, both prisoners; and the same man had conducted Edward to Middleham and Henry to the Tower. To add to the confusion, the Lancastrians seized the opportunity of making a stir for the captive Henry, and the Yorkists would not fight without their captive Edward. So Warwick liberated him, and the Lancastrians were checked. But the incidents become still more multifarious and intricate. Another insurrection occurs (March 1470); Clarence and Warwick are ordered to levy troops to suppress it, but Edward crushes it before their arrival, and then discovers that the two nobles are marching against *him*. On the 31st of March he proclaims them traitors. An attempt to take Edward prisoner again having failed, they set sail (April 15) for Calais. So rapid were the incidents of this period, that even this bare enumeration of them has occupied a larger paragraph than we wished to devote to a catalogue which any one may find in any history of England, though not always related in the same manner. Hearne's Fragment here becomes of considerable value, and Commines a constant authority. There is also another fragment of a chronicle, preserved by Stowe and kept among the Harleian MSS., which throws much light upon an obscure period. The title given by Stowe is, "Maner and gwidynge of the Earle of Warwick at Aungiers from the xvth day of July to the IIIJth of August, 1470, which day he departed from Aungiers[2]." Margaret and Warwick were both exiles, and both aggrieved by the same man; but it was long before they could come to the agreement which their common hardships naturally suggested. The details of this transaction are well told in the MS. last mentioned; and it is only necessary just to state, that Warwick returned to England, a Lancastrian, on Sept. 13. Edward was in the north. Warwick pushed on to him without opposition. A priest rushed hastily to the king, who was in bed, with the news that his enemies were upon him, and he had barely time to escape falling into their hands. With the mention of this circumstance Hearne's fragment abruptly concludes. Henry was now king again, and on the 13th of October he went in procession a *third* time to St. Paul's. Within seven months afterwards

[1] Hume disbelieves this captivity of Edward, apparently as not very creditable to the Yorkist monarch. The respective notes of this writer and Lingard at this point may be compared for a fair specimen of their style of argument.

[2] See *Original Letters*, published by Sir H. Ellis, 2nd Series, I. 132. One of the stipulations of the treaty was, that Anne Nevile should marry Prince Edward. But Turner argues ingeniously (III. 378, ed. 4to.) that this marriage never went beyond the contract, and that Anne was only a widow in Shakespeare's imagination. He is inaccurate, though, in stating that we have no contemporary evidence, for both Hearne's Fragment (p. 304) and Warkworth's Chronicle (pp. 9 and 19) expressly speak of the *marriage*, and call Anne Prince Edward's *wyf*.

he was laid out dead in the old cathedral, the scene of his piety and his reverses. During the interval it is not alleged that the people were either ill-governed or ill-pleased; but the banished kings and nobles of these ages were as sure to return as the political exiles of old Greece. It was on the 14th of March, 1471, that Edward disembarked at Ravenspur, the landing-place of Henry's grandfather on a similar expedition. Of the fifty days which followed, the Harleian MS. of Fleetwood, before mentioned, gives the best and indeed the only account. It is circumstantial and sufficient, and leaves our information of this singular enterprise complete. Hume's narrative is very imperfect for want of its aid: but the detail may be found in Turner, and our limits will not permit us to do more than allude to this very remarkable exploit, by which an exiled monarch in two months reconquered a kingdom with an indifferent people, and against a well-prepared enemy. It was not like the march from Cannes: no hoards of white roses were brought to light on his arrival: nor, on the other hand, did any body attack him. It was more like the advance of the Pretender to Derby, who, as Gibbon says, "marched into the heart of the kingdom without being joined by his friends or opposed by his enemies." But the result was different, and Edward reposed on his reconquered throne for twelve years. The war of the Roses can hardly be said to terminate but with the battle of Bosworth; but whether we put Henry VI. or Edward V. in the last scene, the effect is the same. The curtain rises on the unexplained murder of one sovereign, and falls on that of another; a fit overture and appropriate *finale* to the scenes that intervene. Let us see now what can be said of the obscurity in which the history of these times is enveloped, and what general views can be taken of the motives or actions of the various classes of society at such a stirring period.

It has been said that genealogy furnished the principles of contention in these bloody wars. It should have been said that it occasionally gave a pretext. Of all the useless wars recorded in history, not one will be found involving so little principle of any kind as these. It is true that the claims of York rested on hereditary right, and the claims of Lancaster on parliamentary establishment. It is also true that in these titles are involved principles of such depth and power, as lives and fortunes may well be staked upon. But it is again most incontestably clear, that nobles and people in this case cut each other's throats without caring a groat for either one or the other. The question was not even a party question of any decent importance. If Sir Robert Peel were to raise the north, and Lord John Russell to array against him the men of the midland counties, their conflicts

would be intelligible and admirable compared with those we are now considering. We know what Lewes and Evesham were fought for, and what was at stake at Marston-Moor and Worcester. But at St. Alban's and Ludlow, Englishmen cut each other's throats because their landlords hated each other. It has been shown already, that no attack on the crown or succession was originally intended in these struggles. No question therefore of hereditary right could possibly intervene. The dispute was simply and entirely between two parties, York and Somerset, which should have charge of the king, and exert the ministerial authority. Moreover it was purely personal. They differed on no point except their own interests. As far as regarded taxation or representation, peace or war, government or misgovernment, they both made the same professions, and the nation would have fared precisely the same under either. The only reasonable argument they had for fighting was self-defence. For political rivals in those days, there was no alternative but the Treasury or the Tower. They fought for their heads, and unfortunately there fell early in the struggle some who left a debt of vengeance behind. This prolonged and exasperated their fury and their conflicts, in which at last was conveniently involved a question started in the interim, that of the succession. Let the reader revert for a minute to the first battle of St. Alban's. On one side is the prime minister with the king's person and troops; on the other, the prime minister's enemy with his own personal friends. The three nobles supporting York, were Salisbury, Warwick, and Norfolk. The two first were his wife's kinsmen, the last, the hereditary private enemy of the house of Lancaster. Before the battle, they send a memorial to the king, demanding not the restitution of the rightful heir to the throne, not the redress of acknowledged grievances, but the delivery of Somerset into their hands. As he falls in battle, they are saved the trouble of beheading him; so they merely congratulate the king on the loss of such a scoundrel, and apologize for the apparent rudeness of their conduct. Even after the battle of Wakefield, when the contending nobles were fighting under rival sovereigns, the names of Henry and Edward are used only to excuse the open and wholesale prosecution of their private quarrels; about the claimants to the succession they cared little more than did the barons of 1150 for Matilda of Anjou, or Stephen of Blois. There is altogether a considerable similarity between these two reigns. In both, a martial prince fights against a resolute woman; in both, their respective supporters perpetually desert them; in both, the country is deluged with blood; in both, a compromise is made of the two suits for the crown; and had Stephen not died imme-

diately after, perhaps the parallel might have been carried farther. As early as 1452 three serious conflicts, including the siege of a castle, occurred between these turbulent nobles in the space of a year. When they had demolished their peculiar enemy, or received a fresh insult or provocation, they changed sides. Scarcely one nobleman of importance wears the white or red rose throughout, or for many months together. Three of the battles were lost by the treachery of persons of consideration. When Warwick was asked by Margaret at Angiers, why he had so fought against her and her's, he says not a word about the hereditary right of York, but replies, that he had been ill used and driven to it, "and that therein he had not done, but that a nobleman outrayed and disperred owghte to have done." And having been now ill used by somebody else, he seeks redress by a corresponding change. Even a Somerset passed over to the Yorkists, and reverted to his original allegiance only (as we are told by a contemporary) because his bribe was not paid. For any such feelings as sent Lord Derby to Bolton, or Lord Derwentwater to Tower Hill, we may look in vain.

It would not be altogether surprising if more sincere attachments were discoverable in the people, but such does not appear to be the case. The only principle for which they fought was feudalism. They looked no higher than their immediate lords. The accession of a gentleman to the cause was followed by that of his tenants. The western people join Somerset and Courtenay, "for that they reputyd these old enheritors of that cuntrie[3]." The northern people make no opposition to Edward's landing, "not havynge any of the Warewyks or Nevell's blode, whom unto they might have restyd, as they had done afore[4]." They had certain objects of abhorrence, like the butcherly Earl of Worcester[5], and certain personal favourites, like Warwick and Clarence; but they followed them quite as readily against Edward as against Margaret, and never hesitated to change along with their leaders. Clarence's troops march against Edward, and then *fraternize* without any difficulty. Edward's troops are harangued for five minutes by Lord Montague, and forthwith shout, "a king Harry for ever." The only persons

[3] Harl. MSS.

[4] Ibid.

[5] This man practised barbarities of such enormity on the Lancastrians at Southampton, as were never even devised by Carrier at Nantes. When Warwick and Clarence returned in 1470, he was the only man of note put to death; and his execution was demanded by the universal clamour of the nation. Yet Hume eulogizes the learning and polish of this "accomplished person," adding only, "it is pretended that knowledge had not produced on this nobleman the effect which naturally attends it—of humanizing the temper and softening the heart." There were few more zealous Yorkists in 1469 than was Hume in 1761.

likely to view the question independently, were the citizens of the metropolis; and amongst them a decided preference to the Yorkist cause was generally manifested. After Edward's accession to the throne, much of this may no doubt be traced to his popular manners, but it was displayed earlier than this, and on several occasions. When he made his entry, they saluted him king without hesitation, and the mob had previously demolished the convoy of provisions on their road to the queen. The fact is, that considerable apprehension was entertained of Margaret's ruthless temper, and above all, of that propensity to plunder so peculiarly disagreeable to the inhabitants of a wealthy city, which her supporters from the north border and from Fauconbrege's mariners had clearly exhibited. There seems no doubt, but that on the first overt claim of York to the crown, the general sentiments among the higher classes were in favour of Henry, arising partly, it is probable, from respect to the individual; though the violent death of the duke soon enlisted feelings of compassion and pity on the side of Edward also. Perhaps upon the whole, throughout the country, where any real preference was given to either side, it was most frequently to York. And in our observations on the facility with which the people were roused to arms, we must not forget the disturbed and insurrectionary state of the country for some years previous; the tumult attending Cade's revolt, and the agitation produced by the violent deaths of Exeter, Gloucester, and Suffolk. And after blows had been once exchanged, there arose all the other inducements to war; thirst for revenge, lust for plunder, impatience of quiet, shame of defeat. The fighting two battles in any cause, would leave ample reasons to any nation for fighting twenty more.

We have spoken of lords and commons: there remains a third body, whose conduct in these struggles is now to be noticed—the Church. Modern history has made great strides in the last half century. It has recovered facts, arranged events, disclosed follies, and dealt justice to the calumniated. But there is one point in which its character remains pretty nearly the same—its estimate of the ancient Church. It is very strange, that in all the endless and emulous cravings after novelty no bookseller ever suggested, or author undertook, an English history on the principle of supposing that the Church often acted serviceably to the country and creditably to herself. It is curious that such a work was never composed, if not in sincerity, yet on speculation. In default of other motives for fairness towards ecclesiastics, the love of paradox ought surely to have prompted it. But the poor Church never gets the benefit even of fickleness or fashion. It is in vain to look for a chapter, a lecture, or an essay in which she

is kindly represented. Mackintosh, Hallam, and Macaulay, on this point, advance not one step from the position of Robertson, Hume, and Bolingbroke. But of all her judges, Mr. Turner is at once the most tenacious and unrelenting. Neither does he content himself with a passing sarcasm; for of all modern histories of England, his assigns her the greatest share of influence, and accords her the most lengthened notice. Excursive chapters on the Church and the clergy are periodically interposed, and written, as he always writes, with great learning. His theory here is briefly this. That the supreme law of the "possessioned Church" was always the safety of its emoluments. That it was mainly instrumental in setting up the house of Lancaster against that of Plantagenet, because the former promised more efficient and active exertions against heretics. That therefore the clergy always supported the Lancastrian party: but that they were ready to desert this, or any other, for whatever offered them greater securities or privileges. After the death of Edward IV. the clergy about the court show an undeniable attachment to the widow and child of their former sovereign, "but being actuated," as the historian adds, "greatly by policy, they were ready to adhere to any other scheme of government which should be substituted instead." King Richard celebrates a second coronation at York, on which Mr. Turner's reflection is, that "the ceremonial religion of that day abounded with these self-misleading illusions;" and the nobles exchange the white for the red rose, because "their religion had a ceremonial pliability, which made pardon at all times an easy purchase." This remark may not be unfair, but it is certainly imprudent; for if treachery can be attributed to nothing but religion, how helpless will the historian be left in explaining the conduct of John Churchill, or Michael Ney.

The truth is, that in all these transactions the Church scarcely interfered at all. It is a fact which strikes us at once in the history of these times, for such is not often the case when a country is convulsed from north to south. Every school-girl could say on which side the Church stood in the great rebellion, or which part the priests took in the war of La Vendee. But here we meet no such intervention. No priest heads a regiment. No friars exasperate the cottagers. No sermon is recorded but that of Dr. Godard. The only appearance of a bishop or abbot is just before and just after a battle: before, to stop, if by any means possible, the shedding of blood; after, to give shelter and protection to the conquered. Nor is there the slightest partiality visible to the sufferers of either party. The sanctuary protects the Lancastrians after Tewkesbury, and the Yorkists after St. Alban's.

Henry's queen flies to Beaulieu, and Edward's to Westminster. A popular ballad of 1459, still extant, about the reconciliation of the rival lords, commemorates as the peace-makers the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester. No doubt monks and priests had sometimes their own partialities, like other men; and one of the Croyland writers tells us, that party feeling penetrated even into chapters and convents. But of any adoption of the quarrel by the Church, or any general encouragement to either side given by the clergy, as such, there is not the slightest evidence.

It would indeed be strange if there were. If any systematic participation in these unprincipled struggles could be proved against the Church, her representatives would be open to the gravest censure of history. A student might rise from the third volume of Mr. Turner with an impression that the security of the Church was involved in the success of one of the two parties, and that thus in self defence she was called upon to act. No conclusion could be more inaccurate. The times had not yet come when the Church had any thing to dread from the Sovereign. Richard II. hastened over from Ireland, just before his death, to put down the Lollards, and was always a peculiar favourite with the bitterest enemies of heresy, the mendicant orders. Henry IV. upheld the Church with all his power. Henry V. is called a persecutor and a bigot, and was in will a crusader. Henry VI. was the St. Louis of England. Edward IV. is characterized by a monkish historian, as most devoutly Catholic. Henry VII. deferred to his bishops, built a chapel for himself with his chancellor for the architect, and founded three houses of Observant Friars. There was no more dread of authorized heresy in those days, than there is of established socialism at present. The Church had nothing to gain from Lancaster, and nothing to fear from York. The prelates of the fifteenth century had no more to do with the Wars of the Roses, than the chaplain of the Swiftsure with the battle of the Nile, or the Bishop of Calcutta with the invasion of Scinde.

The other points reserved for our consideration were the peculiar obscurity of this portion of history, and the advances which had been made towards removing it. The reader will have remarked where our information was generally deficient. We have a very good record of dates. We have also a tolerably clear statement of all facts publicly known, excepting in 1470, when incidents multiplied so rapidly. What we want is a thoughtful narrative, showing the relation of these events to each other, and tracing the motives of the actors; and, in cases where any mystery hangs about the facts, giving us something more than the gossip

of the day. The causes which operated to the disadvantage of the Old Chroniclers on these points are several. In the first place, there was the difficulty of procuring information; "all things," as one historian says, "were so covertly demeaned, one thing spoken and another meant." Each party was working its own end by any means; what they could not justify, they tried to conceal. A knight or squire raises his tenantry, and if unsuccessful is executed on the spot without further enquiry; no man investigates the objects of his rising, and his followers probably never knew them. If a man of greater note offers impediment or obstruction, he is removed in the most convenient manner. No party in any age or state ever boasted of a murder, We know as little of the deaths of Pichegru and Captain Wright, as of those of Arthur of Britanny and Thomas of Woodstock.

In the next place, these writers did not always trouble themselves to collect such knowledge even as was accessible. It must be remembered, that the majority of them were writing the records of their abbey, as well as of the kingdom in general, and their private affairs received what they considered a due preponderance of attention. The continuator of Croyland remarks, that his predecessor omitted or curtailed many circumstances *tum sanctæ religionis, quæ rerum profanarum ignara esse solet, tum brevitatis studio.* Whethamstede evidently rejoices to detail the proceedings within his own walls, instead of those without.

They were also liable to the ordinary effects of fear, and wrote sometimes under terror. It is impossible not to suspect that the Croyland continuator (whom we cite as one of the best of his class) knew more about the deaths of Henry VI. and Clarence, than he has expressed in his singularly strange and mysterious phraseology. They often suffered too from the insidious blights of fashion and ambition. Few would be content at the confining themselves to their own times. In the early chroniclers we are almost sure to find the commencement at Brutus or his friends, and nothing less than universal history will satisfy the scribe. One man sat down to write the annals of England, under a Plantagenet monarch. He started with Adam, and laid the scene in Eden. But his life or his courage failed him, and he came to an immature termination about the times of Ezra. It may be here remarked, that it is hardly certain that we have faithful copies of all these authors; the authenticity of our present Ingulphus is strongly suspected, and that the Yorkist and Lancastrian chroniclers were tampered with in the sixteenth century we know from a comparison of copies. A glance at Sir H. Ellis's preface to Fabyan, will show how far this was carried. Still it is clear that no mutilation could have caused the deficiencies we have just

alluded to, nor is it very probable that any researches or discoveries will satisfactorily supply them. There are numerous brief chronicles and extracts remaining, besides those specified in these pages; many in the British Museum, many in the Heralds' College. It is also nearly certain that other documents exist unknown and unexamined, partly in private collections, but especially in college libraries. It is to be hoped that the Antiquarian Societies in either University will turn their attention to this point. That of Cambridge has already published a short chronicle from the library of Gonvile and Caius College, under the judicious care of Mr. Smith. But these unconnected, and often contradictory fragments, are only valuable because we can get no better. One decent historian would be worth the whole put together. Gibbon rests on Ammianus alone for a considerable period, and expresses his regret when compelled to exchange such guidance for the multifarious but insignificant authorities who follow. The disinterment of the Pompeian libraries might have given us fifty annalists of the eighth century *ab urbe condita*, but unless the fifth book of Tacitus had been among them, we should have had little more real comprehension of the fall of Sejanus.

It is not, however, to be at once concluded that mediæval history has made no advance in the century past, or is likely to make any in the century to come. Antiquarian research has brought to light many original documents, and recovered and illustrated a thousand facts of topography, genealogy, manners, and customs. And let no reader undervalue these points. If he should be inclined to do so, let him turn to the works of Turner and Lingard, and see the admirable ingenuity with which the most minute particulars of such investigations have been brought to bear on the most important historical events, with a clearness carrying conviction along with it, and an effect such as to change the traditional character of a king, or the narrative of half a reign. It is curious to compare the methods and the productions of these two historians with those of Hume. In a very clever recent article of a contemporary review, it was observed that Hume never entered into the spirit of ancient times. The truth is, that such was not his study. He was in no degree solicitous about original documents, or untouched authorities. When he was writing, there were a set of standard references which he duly quoted and consulted for their respective periods, without troubling himself much about the authenticity or relative merits of any of them. Further search he made none. At the period we have been here considering his problem was this; Given *Hall*, *Grafton*, *Holinshed*, and *Stowe*, to construct out of them a sensible modern history, such as may charm the reader by its equable

beauty, and edify him by its calm reflections. And in this he certainly succeeded. His stock in trade was his sagacity. Certain materials were in his hands; these he turned to nearly all the advantage of which they were capable. On the facts before him he exercised a most acute judgment, and pronounced (when no peculiar questions were involved) a most sober decision; and he clothed his conclusions and charges in a language and style which every reader must be pleased with. But that these materials and facts should be increased and multiplied by his own care and toil, was a reflection which never occurred to him, or was never heeded. A comparison of the reigns and deaths of Richard II. or Henry VI. in Hume and Lingard, or of the notes and *excursus* of these writers on any one point, will show in five minutes this distinction between them. Something, no doubt, must be set down to the account of the times when Hume was writing. Rymer had certainly been printed, but the Paston Letters were in obscurity. No Camden Society published inedited MSS., and the goodly quartos of the Archæologia had not appeared. The Archives of the nation were known to exist, but could hardly be called accessible; no Record commission had printed the result of its labours; and Sir Henry Ellis and Sir Harris Nicolas had yet to be born and knighted. But though Hume might have availed himself of these resources, had they been open to him, he would never have increased, and but imperfectly appreciated them. His spirit and inclination were in another way, and he was no more fitted to be an antiquarian than his arithmetical namesake is to be President of the College of Arms and Earl Marshal of England.

Antiquarianism has been pronounced, by high authority, to be "an indispensable element in history[6]." Unquestionably it is so. Yet nothing is more certain, than that histories of steady popularity and considerable renown have been written without it. In one sense, indeed, it is of very modern growth and culture. Real antiquarianism, defined as a lively knowledge of the past, comprehending the spirit of a period through the details of its customs, events, and institutions, may of course be exercised in any direction; in Athens and Attica, or at Stonehenge and Sarum. There is as much antiquarianism in Arnold's Thucydides, or Mitchell's Aristophanes, as in any cubic foot of the Gentleman's Magazine. And there are few generations without individual examples of this spirit. But the conventional import of the term is a particular and circumstantial knowledge of the men, manners, and events of the middle ages, a knowledge in

[6] Arnold's Lectures.

which the writers of the last century could hardly have been otherwise than deficient, since they openly treated it with contempt. Hume considers it a singular proof of Horace Walpole's eloquence, that he succeeded in attracting attention to so obsolete a subject as the reign of Richard III. The judgments of these writers have accordingly been liable to reversal, and their misstatements to exposure. Whether the opinions of later generations may have gone too far in an opposite direction, is a point which we shall not here discuss; but the change of sentiment has certainly been for the advantage of mediæval history. One remarkable improvement is in the circumstantial detail of the narrative. Compare the return of Edward IV., or the reign of Edward V., in Turner, with the like portions in Hume, and the contrast will be most striking. It is by this method of proceeding, by entering into the spirit of an age, by living for a while in the language of its writers, by handling its relics, by contemplating the monuments of its sciences and its arts, and by concentrating upon one object the numberless rays of light which are thus procurable, that the modern historian of the middle ages must hope to supply the deficiency of a contemporary authority.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Hahn's Life of Jesus. 2. Fragments of Democritus, edited by Dr. Mullach. 3. Bandlin's Life and Times of Pestalozzi. 4. Kohl's Travels in Ireland. 5. Umbreit on the Invention of Printing. 6. Abeken's Historical Statement concerning the Bishopric at Jerusalem. 7. Shérer on the State of the Reformed Church in France. 8. Thiel's Sermons preached at Rome. 9. Böhringer's Church of Christ and her Witnesses. 10. Four Documents from Roman Archives relative to the Reformation. 11. Wilke's Rhetoric of the New Testament. 12. Beck's Outline of Biblical Psychology. 13. Kirchhofer's Data for History of New Testament Canon. 14. Nork's Biblical Mythology of Old and New Testaments. 15. Wieseler's Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. 16. Moberly's Sermons. 17. Allies' Sermons. 18. Cooper's Anglican Church, the creature and slave of the State. 19. Hook's Church Dictionary. 20. Watson's Sunday Evenings at Home, and Prayer Book a safe Guide. 21. Tennant's Sermons preached at Florence. 22. Altars prohibited by the Church of England, by Rev. W. Goode. 23. Sermons, by Rev. Messrs. Warter, Woodhouse, Miller, Marsden, and Hill. 24. Burton's Lectures on the World before the Flood. 25. Browne's Ordo Sæclorum. 26. Rock's Early Irish Church. 27. Eylert's Religious Life and Opinions of Frederick William III. of Prussia. 28. Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, by Rev. R. C. Trench. 29. Lord Mahon's History of England. 30. Life of St. Stephen, Abbot, &c. 31. Gresley's Anglo-Catholicism. 32. Paget's Sermons. 33. Bonaventure's Life of Christ. 34. Tyler's Worship of the Virgin Mary in the Church of Rome. 35. Marriott's Analecta Christiana. 36. The Gospel before the Age, by Rev. R. Montgomery. 37. The Book of Symbols. 38. Fosbery's Hymns and Poems for the Sick. 39. Agathonia, The Old Church Clock, and Rodolph the Voyager. 40. Lawson's Episcopal Church of Scotland. 41. Biber's Standard of Catholicity. 42. Tracts, Sermons, &c. 43. Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Publications, &c. FOREIGN AND COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

I.—*Das Leben Jesu. Eine pragmatische Geschichtsdarstellung von* WERNER HAHN. Berlin: 1844.

THIS is rationalism in its dotage. Mr. W. Hahn is a very amiable person, thoroughly convinced that no reliance can be placed on the narratives of the four Evangelists; convinced, at the same time, that the person, of whose life they treat, was full of infinite love; and therefore anxious to rescue his memory from all the obloquy which the simple-minded writers of his history have brought upon his name. Deeply affected by the thought of so benevolent a design, Mr. Hahn hastens to the rescue; and out of the few fragments which the criticism of rationalistic writers has suffered to escape, he compounds a sentimental biography of Jesus, filling up the details from his own fertile imagination.

II.—*Democriti Abderitæ Operum Fragmenta, collegit, recensuit, vertit, explicuit, ac de philosophi vita, scriptis, et placitis commentatus est* F. G. A. MULLACHIUS, PHIL. DR. &c. Berlin: 1843.

WITH great diligence and critical acumen Dr. Mullach has collected all that is known of the celebrated philosopher of

Abdera. In his edition of the fragments, he has not only availed himself of the labours of Stephen, Orelli, and other collectors who preceded him, but has bestowed much care on the restoration of the Ionic idiom, and has added a translation which, for the most part, is his own. The fragments are preceded by *Quæstiones Democriteæ*, in two books. The first of these contains an account of the life of Democritus, with elaborate disquisitions on the date of his birth and death, which Dr. Mullach fixes, the former in Olymp. lxxx. 1, and the latter in Olymp. civ. 4. The second book treats of the writings of Democritus, of which Dr. Mullach gives a catalogue, arranged κατὰ τετραλογίας in the manner of Thrasyllos. Of these tetralogies he reckons under the head *moralia* two, *physica* four, ἀσύντακτα two, *mathematica* three, *musica* two, *technica* two, in all fifteen, distributing among them the different titles enumerated by Diogenes Laertius. The volume closes with an essay on the opinions of Democritus, in which Dr. Mullach confines himself entirely to the data contained in the fragments. Altogether, the volume forms a valuable addition to the stores of classical literature.

III.—*Pestalozzi, seine Zeit, seine Schicksale und sein Werken. Eine Schrift für Freunde der Menschenbildung und Förderer einer bessern Zukunft.* (The age of Pestalozzi, his history and influence.) *Von* Dr. T. B. Bandlin. Schaffhausen: 1843.

That Pestalozzi was, with all his faults and with his enormous deficiencies, more than a mere phenomenon of the age in which he lived, will be readily acknowledged by all who have made themselves acquainted with his views. His very blemishes prove that the man whose reputation and influence in the moral and intellectual world survived in spite of them, could have been no ordinary man. Throughout his whole life, Pestalozzi never succeeded in giving a clear statement of his ideas; his experiments all terminated in failure, and at last his sun set in a cloud so dark that few names would ever again have emerged from it. And yet we find that his name is honoured, the benevolence of his intentions acknowleged, and the beneficial impulse which he has given to education, appreciated.

Dr. Bandlin's work contains a memoir of the principal incidents of Pestalozzi's life, and a review of his method, and of the opinions pronounced concerning it by the more distinguished among his contemporaries. The great superiority of Pestalozzi over Basedow is clearly demonstrated: the system of the latter consisting in the mere process of inculcating external knowledge; whereas the leading idea of Pestalozzi was that of cultivating the inner life of his pupil, and assisting and regulating the development of his whole being. If we abstract from all the erroneous

and defective notions, through which Pestalozzi endeavoured, in vain, to work out this principle which lay at the root of his whole view of education, it cannot be denied that he made a great stride in advance upon all existing systems, both of intellectual and of moral training; nor can it be doubted that the impulse given by him will continue to be felt, and to exercise a salutary influence upon the science of education, which, as yet, is truly in its infancy, long after Pestalozzianism as a school and a system shall have sunk into not unmerited oblivion.

IV.—*Reisen in Irland* (Travels in Ireland), *von* J. G. Kohl. Dresden: 1843.

Mr. Kohl is a celebrated tourist, who has taken a run through Ireland, and written a book upon it, for the information of the German public. Like all tourists, he puts impressions in the place of facts, and pronounces opinions which sometimes are far beside the mark, and sometimes happen to be tolerably near it. The misery which he witnessed in the West of Ireland, to which his attention was principally directed, leads him to speculate on its causes and its remedies. Among the latter, he suggests a gradual redemption of the soil by its occupiers, so as to give them a permanent tenure and an interest in its improvement. From the present condition of the population, he anticipates the most terrible results, unless great sacrifices on the part of the Irish landlords, and great wisdom on the part of the government, should interpose to avert the immense social revolution to which the present state of Irish affairs seems to him to be tending. But, whatever may be Mr. Kohl's impressions of the misgovernment of Ireland, he has no sympathy whatever with the self-constituted redresser of Irish wrongs. His honest German heart revolts against the repeal rent speculation, which he plainly designates as a disgusting and contemptible imposture. The grievance oratory of the great agitator, and the applauding yells of his audience, left no favourable impression on the mind of Mr. Kohl, who appears to have been present at one of the repeal meetings. There is something quaint in Mr. Kohl's way of describing Tom Moore as the poetical, and Father Matthew as the ecclesiastical O'Connell: and we are inclined to think that there is as much truth as quaintness in this notion.

V.—*Die Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst.—Kritische Abhandlungen zur Orientirung auf dem jetzigen Standpunkte der Forschung*, (Critical enquiries into the origin of the art of printing,) *von* A. E. Umbreit. Leipzig: 1842.

Surrounded as we are by great practical questions, and im-

mersed in controversies respecting them, we can hardly realise that leisurely state of mind which permits our German neighbours to enter with singular zest and energy upon controversies of quite another sort. Mr. Umbreit in a series of elaborate essays, and in a bitter polemical tone, vindicates the claim of the city of Mayence to the paternity of the typographic art, against the rival pretensions of Strasburg and Haarlem. He goes to work in a most systematic manner, first laying down the principles and the method on which the investigation ought to be conducted, and then proceeding to their application. Much interesting matter connected with the history of the art of printing, and its gradual development, is introduced in the course of the enquiry, for which the centenary of the invention of typography, lately celebrated in Germany, furnished the occasion.

VI.—*Das evangelische Bisthum in Jerusalem. Geschichtliche Darlegung mit Urkunden.* (The Evangelic Bishopric at Jerusalem. An Historical Statement accompanied by Documents.) Berlin: 1842.

The establishment at Jerusalem of an Anglican bishopric, which should comprehend under its pastoral superintendence congregations belonging to the German Protestant Churches, has given rise to no less cavil and opposition in Germany than in this country. To meet the objections against the measure among his own countrymen, and to allay their jealousies and suspicions, was Dr. Abeken's object in the publication before us. Eminently qualified as he is, by his official position, to give an authentic account of the views with which the Prussian government entered upon the negotiations, which resulted in the Anglo-Hierosolyman Episcopate, he is no less qualified by his freedom from prejudice and his Catholic spirit, to lead his readers to a higher and more comprehensive view of the question than is commonly taken either here or in Germany.

It is not our intention in noticing Dr. Abeken's pages to revive the discussion upon the subject of which he treats, and which seems to us, after all that has been said upon it, to require the evidence of time, rather than argument, in order to bring out its real merits. Our object is, to afford our readers an insight into the state of thought and feeling of that section of German Protestantism which Dr. Abeken represents, and which is of all the most favourable to the establishment, if such should ever be attained, of intercommunion between our Church and the German Protestant Church; in order that it may be more generally understood, what we may, and what we may not, expect in regard to this matter.

The author of the historical statement is not one of those who take offence at the expression—"the less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of Europe;" on the contrary, he takes special pains to disabuse the minds of the German public on this point, by explaining that the expression had no reference whatever to doctrine, but only to the constitution of the Church's government, and that on this subject it was impossible for the Primate of the English Church to hold language other than he did. Indeed, he is in all his ideas far removed from a spirit of petty contention between the two Churches, as to their comparative excellencies and defects; he goes deeper into the life of religion, and seeks with a single eye the promotion of the kingdom of God in his own Church, yet not in her alone, but in her in connexion and co-operation, to the utmost extent to which this may be practicable, with other Churches, and especially with the Church of England.

He argues with great force and ability, that as there is no true way of extending civilization except by means of the Gospel, so no Church can truly fulfil her vocation as an evangelic Church, *i. e.* a body which has its root and its life in the Gospel, without engaging actively in the work of extending civilization on Christian principles; in other words, that every true Church must be a missionary Church. He speaks with deep feeling, and with an equally deep insight into human nature, of the evils which must arise from an isolated position of national Churches; and recognises mutual acknowledgment and intercourse between them, as an indispensable condition of their full development and their healthful action. He urges the truly Catholic principle, that in Christ there cannot be, there ought not to be, any wall of separation; and that, therefore, if separation, nay division, have ensued by the force of circumstances, it is the duty of all concerned to strive towards restoring union and communion. In applying these general views to the relative position of the Anglican and the German Protestant Churches, he is of opinion, (and we freely own that we share this opinion with him,) that while undoubtedly Germany may receive from us, we are not above receiving in return, a spiritual benefit; and he maintains, that whatever enlargement or deepening of the religious life of either Church may be, the result of their intercourse and co-operation must be the fruit of a conviction brought to maturity within her own bosom. He protests against the notion of one Church legislating for another, or one Church copying or adopting the constitution of another. He does not pronounce, as too many of his countrymen do with more haste than wisdom, upon the question of the Apostolic Succession; but he leaves his readers to infer, that

if the German Church is ever to remedy this alleged defect in her constitution, this must be effected by the German Church seeking for it on the ground of an enlightened conviction, not by our forcing it upon her under pain of excommunication. This is a view which assuredly must commend itself to the judgment both of wisdom and of charity. If we see sufficient reasons in the history of the German Reformation to excuse their departure from episcopal government under the pressure of a necessity, which cannot certainly be pleaded by some other Presbyterian communions, it seems but a consistent extension of that act of justice, to allow them time to discover their deficiency, and to retrace their steps in whatever way shall appear to them most practicable and most expedient. That there are in the German Churches at this moment great "searchings of heart," cannot be doubted; the feeling that there is something amiss, something wanting, is universal among them; and it is far from improbable, that their dereliction of God's ordinance in the particular in question, will, in the progress of their inquiry into the causes of their present unsatisfactory condition, present itself to their minds. It is, therefore, unwise to irritate them by statements calculated to create an impression, as if the constitution of our Church was intended to be forced upon them, to the extinction of their Christian nationality; it will be far more profitable, both for them and for ourselves, that we should make ourselves acquainted with all that is excellent among them, and calculated to quicken our brotherly love towards them, so that we may be better qualified to aid them with our counsel, and to lend them a helping hand, whenever and in what way soever they shall afford us the opportunity.

VII.—*De l'Etat actuel de l'Eglise Réformée de France; par* EDMOND SCHERER, *docteur en théologie.* Paris: 1844.

THIS account of the "actual state of the reformed Church of France" is the work of a reflecting and ardent mind, whom the cold, listless, vacillating congregationalism of that Protestant body fails to satisfy. He looks back with admiration and regret to its past history, when persecutions and death could not destroy its existence, impair its efficiency, or quench its love. He complains that the protection of the State has done that which persecution could not do—that it has destroyed the very existence of a Protestant Church in France. "We had *a Church*," he says, "but now we have only *churches;* we have sunk down into congregationalism." This result he attributes to the legal establishment of the Protestant worship by Napoleon in the year 1802;

because the State then took upon itself the appointment of those who should act as the religious instructors not of the people only, but of the future ministers. And as the State as such has no criterion of their religious qualifications, merely external conditions of fitness, compatible with the most glaring unfitness on religious grounds, are alone regarded in making those appointments.

"The consistories," says Dr. Schérer, "instead of being composed of Christians who have approved themselves to the flock, are formed of men of note, or of those who pay the largest amount of taxes. Our faculties of theology inculcate promiscuously orthodoxy and rationalism. A professor may, without being amenable for it, and, to speak truly, without violating any engagement, overthrow revealed religion by criticism, and natural religion by speculation. The pastors have the same latitude. They, and with them the Churches, even the consistorial Churches, stand in opposition to each other. . . . The suppression of the synod, *i. e.* of the organ of ecclesiastic authority, involved, necessarily, the loss of all union in doctrine, of all control over the instruction given. . . . Our Church, deprived at once of its social and its doctrinal character, of its form and of its doctrine, deprived of its distinguishing features as a Christian Church and as a particular Church, *has, in truth, ceased to exist amongst other religious communities;* its name remains, but it denotes a lifeless body, a mere phantom, or, if you like, a recollection and a hope."

The practical working of a Protestant ministry, appointed and paid by the State, is explained by the author in the following simple statement.

"The remuneration assigned by the State for the discharge of the pastoral office holds out a subsistence which, though humble, is sure. The office is a profession, like any other profession. There is a place and a salary for any one who spends three years as a member of a theological faculty, and gets his bachelor's degree and his consecration certificate. In all these preliminaries the faith of the candidate for the sacred ministry is not, and, as we have already pointed out, cannot be, taken into account. The candidate must, it is true, get himself approved of by a church, and put in nomination by a consistory. These churches and consistories have it, doubtless, in their power to demand guarantees both as to doctrine and as to character; but as their members are not bound in their choice by any united and superior authority, as they are bodies constituted upon no particular religious principle, they do not themselves afford any guarantee of orthodoxy or piety, with regard to their choice or to the nature of the qualifications they may require. Every consistory chooses an unbelieving or a believing pastor, according as the majority of the consistory itself happens to be unbelieving or believing; and in this way error is put on an exact level with truth: there is no difference made in this respect: they have both the same legal title to the sacred office of the ministry, and offer themselves with

a perfect equality of right for the exercise of the pastoral functions. . . . As these functions may, thanks to the salary, be looked upon in the light of a temporal profession, it is but natural that the majority of pastors should turn out to be worldly men, just as in every other profession there is a majority of worldly men. The thing is clear; the question is no longer about the reformed Church, about the peculiarities of the reformed faith, about our Gallican confession of 1559: no, Christianity itself, in its most general features, in its most fundamental verities, is at stake. Our Ecclesiastical constitution assails this by taking away from the truth what it bestows upon error, by throwing our pulpits and our academies open to heresy, by giving an artificial existence to doctrines which left to themselves would find themselves destitute, or, at all events, could not have an organised and regular action. Error is guaranteed by the very fact, that the purity of the Gospel is no longer guaranteed by the exercise of a doctrinal authority; the indifference of the law to all doctrine becomes, in fact, a positive encouragement to unbelief."

Such is the enormous evil, graphically delineated by Dr. Schérer; but as to the remedy, he himself confesses that he knows of none.

VIII.—*Sechzehn Predigten, zu Rom gehalten. (Sixteen Sermons preached at Rome.) Von* HEINRICH THIELE, *V.D.M. evangelischem Prediger an der K. Preussischen Gesandtschafts-Kapelle. Mit vorgedruckter Liturgie. (With a Liturgy prefixed.)* Zürich: 1843.

WE strongly recommend all such of our readers as are skilled in German lore, to procure this unassuming, inexpensive, and, withal, delightful little volume, from the perusal of which they will not rise without deep interest and edification. Especially we recommend it to those whose hearts yearn upon our much-erring brethren of the German reformation, and who, therefore, search with a longing eye for symptoms of a spirit with which we may hold fellowship.

Of such symptoms Mr. Thiele's little volume is full. There is nothing here to remind us of the unecclesiastic, anti-catholic tendencies of a bare Protestantism; nothing to perplex us with the verbose, unevangelic intricacies of an empty Christo-sophism. We shall find here the sterling ore of Gospel truth and grace; thoughts taken from the depths of Christian life in the heart and in the Church, clothed in language of affecting and unaffected simplicity.

The main body of the volume consists of sermons: but Mr. Thiele does not think that religion, or the public exercise of it, consists in preaching and in hearing sermons. He disclaims this

notion, so current in the communion to which he belongs, and, we may add, with many among ourselves, in the first page of his preface.

"Christianity," he says, "cannot be perpetuated in a way different from its origin. It originated in facts; words followed upon those facts, and represented them. Christ's nativity, his life, his death and resurrection, and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost; all these are facts which went before, as a living foundation, ere Peter, filled with the Spirit, could speak the word which gave to three thousand at once an insight into both those facts and their own hearts. Preaching alone may, it is true, awaken faith; but it cannot build a church, for the Church grows out of facts, and is built up on facts; and therefore at its very origin it manifested itself as an organic being, full of a common and all-penetrating life. While, therefore, much value is justly attached to the treasure of evangelic preaching, and great pains are very properly bestowed upon it among ourselves, it is much to be desired that we may be brought more duly to appreciate such standing *facts* as are undeniably essential to the building up of Christ's Church. For without these the sermon cannot truly be said to edify, nor can faith be preserved from self-delusion. Facts of this kind are, *e. g.* the assembling of the congregation in a certain place for evangelic worship, the celebration of the sacraments, the sanctification of holy days in general, and of the different festivals in particular, together with the observance of such customs as belong to them in the life of the Church and of the family, and various other forms of a life of grace to which a re-awakening sense of Church communion is likely to give birth. Such facts more eloquently declare, and more irrefragably prove, the truth of Christianity, than the wise and well-set speech of thousands of preachers."

Mr. Thiele next proceeds to offer, as he knows with a large portion of the German public he will need it, an apology for that which to our mind constitutes the very beauty of his, and not of his only, but of all really good and effective sermons, viz., that they are not general discourses on abstract propositions of Christian truth, but addresses suited to the very place, and circumstance, and congregation, and therefore marked throughout with a stamp of individuality. From this he goes on to make in some sort another apology, for a matter which we, for our part, conceive specially entitles him to the thanks of his readers, viz., the insertion of the liturgy in use in the chapel of the Prussian embassy at Rome. This document, we think with him, is a valuable contribution to the store of recent liturgical attempts, out of which it is to be hoped that, ere long, a truly Catholic German liturgy may arise.

The ground plan, so to speak, of this liturgic form for the morning service on Sundays and Holy days (which is all the

volume contains on this subject), at once reminds us of that of our own Church, which there is more than one reason for believing has been kept in view by its framers. It divides itself into three main portions:—

1. *The penitential office*, answering to our Morning Prayer;

2. *The Gospel office*, answering to our Communion office as far as the Nicene Creed, followed by the sermon; and,

3. *The altar office*, after the sermon.

In the "*penitential office*" the opening words, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. The Lord is in his holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before Him," are peculiarly striking and appropriate. After this exordium we are surprised to find, instead of penitential confession, which so naturally forms the commencement of a sinner's worship, portions of Psalms and other Scriptures, expressive of praise and adoration. After these follows what should, in our opinion, have preceded them, the proper penitential office, consisting of sentences, a short exhortation, the confession and the absolution, which latter is taken *verbatim* from our Liturgy. Then follows the Lord's Prayer with suffrages, the 23rd Psalm, to be said or sung with other Psalms and Canticles, closing with the Doxology. The lessons, the Creed, the collects, and Litany of our service are, we regret to see, wholly omitted.

The second, or "*Gospel office*," opens with the words, "The Lord be with you, and with thy spirit;" immediately after which comes the Collect of the day, with the Epistle and Gospel, preceded by a "prophetic sentence" by way of introit, and separated by intervening suffrages. Next follows the Apostles' Creed, and then, after the singing of a psalm, the sermon.

Another psalm is sung between the sermon and the "*altar office*." This opens, after a benedictory sentence, with a prayer upon the model of our Prayer for the Church Militant, not forgetting the commemoration of the faithful departed. In the place of this prayer certain shorter collects may be used. Then follows a thanksgiving, the former part of which is similar to the prayer which in our Communion office follows after *sursum corda*, with proper prefaces for the festivals. After this there is a pause for silent devotion, followed by the Lord's Prayer and the benediction.

We make no apology for this detailed outline of the liturgic form before us, which, though it must appear defective in some parts to a mind imbued with our more perfect form, is yet sufficiently akin to it in spirit, to be hailed with satisfaction.

We have left ourselves no space for even a short analysis of Mr. Thiele's sermons. We must, therefore, content ourselves

with pointing out the subjects of those in which we have felt most interested. They are:—No. 1. On the spiritual discipline connected with the progress of the Ecclesiastical year. No. 2. On the Evangelic Unity of the Church. No. 5. On the necessity of a positive and fixed foundation for our faith. No. 10. On true Charity towards other and erring Communions. No. 12. On the blessings of public, as distinguished from private, worship. No. 14. On the danger of admitting alien elements and influences into religion. On all these subjects Mr. Thiele holds the language of a pious and earnest churchman, a Catholic in the best and only true sense of the word.

IX.—*Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen, oder die Kirchengeschichte in Biographien. (The Church of Christ and her witnesses, or Church history in biographies.)* *Durch* FRIEDR. BÖHRINGER. Zürich: 1842.

THE object of this work is to familiarize the Christian reader generally with the character and state of Christianity in past ages, by exhibiting pictures of the Christian life, as it was from time to time embodied in the lives of the principal witnesses of the Church. The first volume (all that appears to have been published) contains sketches of the Fathers of the first three centuries, and the lives of St. Athanasius, St. Anthony, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzum, and St. Gregory of Nyssa.

The work is well calculated to do its part to counteract, according to the author's intention, the mania for metaphysical speculation and critical novelty which disgraces the modern theological literature of Germany, and to recall the public mind to the historical foundations of the Christian faith.

X.—*Vier Documente aus Römischen Archiven. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Protestantismus vor, während, und nach der Reformation. (Four documents from Roman Archives. A contribution to the history of Protestantism before, during, and after the Reformation.)* Leipzig: 1843.

UNDER this title an anonymous editor publishes four documents from original manuscripts in the Vatican and the Barberini libraries. The first of them is an original report of the proceedings of the Inquisition against the *Fraticelli*, a sect which appeared about the middle of the fifteenth century, in the March of Ancona. The last consists of a mere list of names of places and persons, connected, apparently, with the persecutions against the Waldenses. The second and third are opinions given about the time of

the Reformation by members of the Roman communion, one an Italian bishop, the other a professor of theology at Dillingen in Bavaria, on the abuses then existing in the Church, and the means of removing them. The object of the editor is simply to add to the store of historical documents which bear witness against Rome.

XI. — *Die neutestamentliche Rhetorik, (Rhetorick of the New Testament,) ein Seitenstück zur Grammatik des neutestamentl. Sprachidioms, von* CHR. GLO. WILKE, *Pastor.* Dresden: 1843.

To enable our readers to form a judgment of the tendency of this "Rhetorick of the New Testament," it will be sufficient to state, that the author censures the "tautology and macrology" of St. Luke, accuses St. John of "garrulity, *i. e.* the expenditure of many words upon a small stock of ideas," and adduces the Epistle to the Ephesians as "a model of prolixity, tediousness, and tautological verbosity."

XII. — *Umriss der biblischen Seelenlehre. (Outline of biblical psychology.) Ein Versuch von Dr.* F. T. BECK, *ord. Prof. d. Theol. in Tübingen.* Stuttgardt: 1843.

THIS "outline of the psychology of the Bible" is an attempt to establish a theory of the soul on the phraseology of Scripture. The internal economy of man's life is explained by Dr. Beck on the hypothesis that the *soul*, נֶפֶשׁ, ψυχὴ, holds a middle position between the *flesh*, and the *Spirit*, רוּחַ, πνεῦμα. The latter is pointed out as the determining power; and the seat and centre of the soul's life is laid in the *heart*, לֵב, καρδία. While he displays much ingenuity and considerable learning, the author has not escaped from the danger incident to all such attempts; that of making Scripture subservient to a human theory.

XIII. — *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Canons bis auf Hieronymus, &c. &c. (Collection of data for the history of the New Testament Canon, to St. Jerome.) Von* JOH. KIRCHHOFER, *Prof. der Theologie und Diacon am St. Johann zu Schaffhausen.* Zürich: 1842.

THIS is an interesting volume, both in itself and as an indication of a returning taste among the German Protestants for a department of theological investigation, which furnishes the most effectual weapons against the vain conclusions of rationalism. Following in the footsteps of Lardner and others, Professor Kirch-

hofer has collected in this volume the principal evidences for the authenticity of the New Testament Scriptures from the writers of the first four centuries. He first gives the ancient canons of Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, and St. Jerome; those of the councils of Laodicea and of Carthage, the canons of the apostolical constitutions, and the fragment ascribed by Muratori to the presbyter Cajus: then follow testimonies to the whole of the books, to the Gospels and to the Epistles, both collectively and individually. These are complete down to St. Irenæus: the later ones to St. Jerome are given chiefly for the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*. A separate section contains the evidences from profane writers and heretics, which are followed by quotations in reference to the apocryphal Gospels. Short explanatory notes are added throughout, and the volume closes with brief notices of the different authors and their writings. Without any pretensions to new discoveries in the field of patristic criticism, the collection is ably executed, and cannot but prove exceedingly useful as a work of reference.

The principal object of the author has been to show that the authenticity of the New Testament Canon is not as questionable as some critics would make the historically uninformed believe: but in addition to this his main object, he expresses a hope that some students of theology may be induced by reading these extracts to seek for a further acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers. On this subject we cannot forbear re-quoting a passage which Professor Kirchhofer quotes from the late Dr. J. G. Müller, brother of the celebrated historian.

"The writings of the Fathers are valuable not merely for the theologian. Every clergyman who wishes to extend his knowledge, and to discharge his office properly, should make himself acquainted at least with the more important and useful works of the principal Fathers; not only because there is much instruction, confirmation, and encouragement immediately to be derived from them, but because by doing so we learn to drink into the spirit of those ancient times, *cum Christiani adhuc recentes erant a Christo;* we enlarge our ideas, we shake off the narrow prejudice which makes us look upon the opinions current in the present *decennium*, as if they alone were true and worthy of regard; we arrive at those fruitful views of Gospel truth which penetrate beyond the letter, and which are applicable to the human heart alike in all ages."

XIV.—*Biblische Mythologie des Alten und Neuen Testamentes, &c. (Biblical mythology of the Old and New Testaments.)* Von F. Nork. Stuttgart: 1843.

The very title of this work is sufficient to warn us of its spirit. In two volumes the author has collected together materials from

every known system of idolatry and superstition, with a view to show that the holy mysteries of the Christian faith are nothing more than a mean imitation and repetition of the more ancient absurdities of paganism. In boastful insolence and atrocious profaneness this disgraceful production surpasses all its predecessors on the weedy and barren field of rationalism.

XV.—*Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien. (Chronological Synopsis of the four Gospels.) Ein Beitrag zur Apologie der Evangelien und Evangelischen Geschichte vom Standpunkte der Voraussetzungslosigkeit. Von* KARL WIESELER, *Lic. und Privat Docent in Göttingen.* Hamburg: 1843.

THIS historical and synoptical arrangement of the narratives of the four Gospels is intended by the author to furnish, in opposition to the theories of Strauss and other writers of the same school, a demonstration of the credibility of the Gospel, on the ground of chronological data, and of the harmony which exists between the accounts of the four Evangelists.

XVI.—*The Sayings of the Great Forty Days between the Resurrection and the Ascension, &c., in five Sermons. By* GEORGE MOBERLY, *D.C.L.* London: Rivingtons.

THESE thoughtful and beautiful discourses collect and explain the scattered notices which the four Evangelists have handed down to us, of the sayings of our blessed Lord, between his resurrection and ascension, during which, as we learn from Acts iii., he was seen of his disciples "forty days," and spoke "of the things *pertaining to the kingdom of God.*" The subjects which arise from an examination of these notices are reduced by Dr. Moberly to the following heads. 1. Our Lord's own royalty. 2. The Commission of the Apostles. 3. His own perpetual presence. 4. That He should not be touched till after his Ascension. 5. The Pastoral commission. 6. Holy Baptism and the law of obedience. 7. The Holy Ghost to remit and retain sins. 8. The privileges of the baptized. 9. The promise of the Holy Ghost.—pp. 18, 19. These subjects are very well and reverently treated in the discourses, from which we much wish that we could make extracts. On the power of the Church to forgive sins, and the defect of discipline, Dr. Moberly speaks thus.

"That we ourselves, in this portion of the Church, have lost a great portion of this sacred discipline, (i. e. the ancient discipline for penitents,) is, alas! too evident, and that the loss is a great and melancholy

one, none can doubt who knows what the weight of sin is, how grievous and difficult to be borne, the uncertainty of pardon, or what must needs be the efficacy of so gracious and express an institution of Divine forgiveness when fully used, . . . yet have we still a blessed means of Divine grace in the Holy Communion; yet have we still our own separate access to the Father in Christ the well-beloved. Still we have the joint prayers and general absolutions of our public services. Still we have the offer (O that we would think of it more readily and use it oftener!) of the benefit of private absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice to the quieting of conscience." —pp. 62, 63.

Perhaps the mere feeling of the "uncertainty of pardon," could not be entirely removed even by the absolution of the Church; because it would still be possible that the conditions have not been fulfilled. It is well to remember, too, that though our blessed Lord entrusted to the Apostles and their successors the power of remitting sins, there are other ways in which this remission is attainable, especially by forgiveness, Matt. vi. 14, and by conversion of sinners and the prayers of righteous men, James v. 15, 16. Altogether, we can safely say that this volume is quite worthy of the high reputation of its author.

xvii.—*Sermons on the Epistle to the Romans, and others. By* Thomas William Allies, *M.A. &c.* Oxford: Parker.

These Sermons are of unusual excellence. Mr. Allies is a clear and sound reasoner, and we can promise the reader that his interest will not flag in perusing them. The doctrine appears to us on the whole excellent. Mr. Allies earnestly and successfully opposes all tendencies to Antinomian heresy, and proves that justifying faith is inseparably connected with obedience to God's commandments. We can safely recommend these discourses to the clergy.

xviii.—*The Anglican Church, the Creature and Slave of the State. By the Rev.* P. Cooper. London: Dolman.

If the powers of "the Rev. P. Cooper, of the church of the Conception, Dublin, Prebendary, &c.," were at all in proportion to his enmity to the Catholic and Apostolic Church in this empire, we should not be suffered to exist for another moment. The eloquence of his denunciation of "Puseyite errors" is richly exuberant, and by dint of imputing all the doctrines of princes, and parliaments, and lawyers, to the *English Church*, he makes out, of course, a very bad case. He thinks it convenient to

forget that a case equally bad has been made out against the Roman Catholic Church, and would have us suppose that his course is as free in foreign countries as he finds it in Ireland and England. This is rather too clever; and savours a *little* of Clongowes or Stoneyhurst.

XIX.—*A Church Dictionary. By* WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, *D.D. (Fourth Edition.)* Rivingtons: London.

THE popularity of this work, which has supplied a great desideratum in our theological literature, renders it needless for us to recommend it to all members of the Church. The edition now before us has been carefully revised throughout, and contains many additional articles; and in every article which we have consulted, we have found valuable information and excellent principles. We have noticed an inadvertency (p. 573.) as to the *extent* of the Roman Patriarchate, which it would be well to correct in the next edition.

XX.—*The Churchman's Sunday Evenings at home. By the Rev.* ALEXANDER WATSON, *M.A.* Cleaver: London.
The Prayer Book, a Safe Guide. By the Rev. A. WATSON, *M.A.* Cleaver: London.

WE have perused several numbers of this pious and useful work with pleasure and advantage. It consists of a series of short lectures, adapted to be read aloud on the evenings of Sundays and holydays, and on Vigils throughout the year. The instruction is in each case based on the Lessons, the Epistle and Gospel, and Collect of the day, and occasional notes and elucidations of an historical character are subjoined. As far as we have seen, it appears to us that these Lectures are well adapted for their object. They are sober, practical, interesting, level to the comprehension of all classes, and full of sound principle; and we perceive that they are dedicated by "permission" to the Bishop of Exeter. The especial aim of this work is to promote the spirit of devotion in the Church, and it is calculated to cherish sentiments of attachment to her. The second work we have inserted above, will be useful in settling the minds of those who are disturbed by the controversies of the day, and bringing them to rely on the safe guidance of the Prayer Book.

XXI.—*Sermons preached to the British Congregation at Florence. By their late Chaplain, the Rev.* ROBERT JOHN TENNANT, *M.A.* London: Fellowes.

WE have here, indeed, as the preface well says, "some impress of a high and gentle mind, which found a sure resting-place in revealed truth." A lofty and serene philosophy, combined with great depth of Christian love, and a very interesting persuasiveness and grace, are amongst the most striking characteristics of these discourses. They were *admirably* adapted to the sort of congregation for which they were intended; and in spirit, and in the *mode* of inculcating truth, they seem to us amongst some of the best models that we have seen. Happy would it be for the English Church, if her children scattered throughout foreign nations, were under the guidance of such able and holy pastors and ministers as the lamented, and too early lost author of these truly Christian discourses.

XXII.—*Altars prohibited by the Church of England. By* WILLIAM GOODE, *M.A.* Hatchards: London.

MR. GOODE proves in this Pamphlet, what we presume is universally known, that at the Reformation in England, the stone altars which had been connected in the popular mind with so great a mass of *superstition*, were removed, and replaced by wooden communion-tables; and he might have added, that this substitution was only reverting to the practice of the early Church, and of the Oriental Churches at the present day. It is obvious, however, that in the present day there are no such popular superstitions, and that an eucharistic sacrifice and an altar may be acknowledged just as much by those who celebrate the eucharist from a wooden table, or a form, as by those who use a stone structure. Mr. Goode, however, makes it a question of vital importance, and presumes to say, that stone altars have been erected "under the auspices of some popishly inclined rector or *bishop*." That when erected, they stood "in *direct violation of* the repeated injunctions of the authorities of our Church" (p. 21). That this gives "*the sanction of our ecclesiastical authorities*" to "an *illegal* approximation to Rome in one of her worst corruptions of the Christian faith" (p. 47). We scarcely think it necessary to draw the attention of our ecclesiastical authorities to such sentiments and language, but at the same time would express our conviction, that all rational and sensible persons will believe, that the prelates understand what is, and what is not "*illegal*;" and

that they have not been in the habit of countenancing "*direct violations*" of the laws of the Church. We lament to see such an evidence of the revival of the puritanical spirit.

XXIII.—*Plain Practical Sermons. By* JOHN WOOD WARTER, *B.D.* 2 vols. Rivingtons: London.

Parochial Sermons. By the Rev. G. W. WOODHOUSE, *M.A.* Rivingtons: London.

Sermons preached principally at Bognor. By the Rev. EDWARD MILLER, *M.A.* Rivingtons: London.

Discourses for the Festivals. By the Rev. J. B. MARSDEN, *M.A.* Hamilton, Adams, & Co.: London.

Practical Sermons. By the Rev. G. D. HILL. Rivingtons: London.

MR. WARTER's volumes will, we doubt not, be gratefully received by the clergy, and by all who can value sound and wholesome doctrine, in perfect harmony with the formularies of the English Church. These discourses are rich in matter derived from our standard divines; indeed, we have rarely observed so thorough a command of the whole range of English literature. Nothing seems to have escaped Mr. Warter's attention. The style occasionally reminds us of the mingled simplicity and quaintness of our elder divines. Mr. Woodhouse's "Parochial Sermons" appear to be useful and practical. We have been particularly pleased with one "on the Adoption of the Daily Service," and another, entitled "Thoughts of Comfort for the Lonely." They are just what parochial sermons ought to be—plain, instructive, and affectionate. Mr. Miller's volume of "Sermons," includes discourses on public events, societies, schools, festivals, and other occasions. They are sound, eloquent, and able, and manfully proclaim the claims of the Anglo-Catholic Church. Mr. Marsden's "Discourses for the Festivals" afford an interesting evidence of increased attention to the ordinances of the Church, in quarters where one must wish to see it. Of the complexion of Mr. Marsden's theology, it will be enough, perhaps, to say, that he has no difficulty in admitting that all baptized persons are regenerate, *i. e.* "that they are pledged by solemn *vows* to the service of the Lord, and share in the *external* blessings of the Church" (p. 398); but the notion that baptism is accompanied by "receiving of the Holy Ghost," or that what is meant by being "born again," born of water and the Spirit, having "passed from death to life," &c. appears to him untrue, because many persons are guilty of sin after baptism, and the children of God (the *regenerate* in his opinion being the elect)

do not fall from grace (p. 401). We do not see how Mr. Marsden reconciles such views with the baptismal service, which distinctly declares that the baptized child has been "regenerated with God's *Holy Spirit*," and "made the *child of God* by adoption;" or, with the sixteenth article, which states that "after we have received the Holy Ghost, we *may depart from grace given, and fall into sin*;" or with his own admission of baptismal grace, when those who present the infant are themselves faithful; for he will not surely contend, that infants *thus* baptized cannot afterwards fall into sin. This would make salvation a sort of hereditary possession. While we are on this subject, we are reminded of a little work, by the Rev. T. B. Sandford, M.A., "The Doctrine of Regeneration Considered" (Parker: Oxford), which satisfactorily disposes of such objections. Mr. Hill's Sermons are plain, judicious, and practical.

XXIV.—*Lectures on the World before the Flood. By the Rev.* CHAS. BURTON, *LL.D.* London: Hamilton and Co.

IN this able volume, a mass of facts and argument connected with natural, moral, and intellectual philosophy are brought to bear on the early history of the world, and employed in the defence of revelation. There can be no doubt that the delivery of such a course of lectures at Manchester was of service to the cause of truth; and we are glad to find that they were repeated "at the earnest solicitation of the hearers," and afterwards published by request. The Church has reason to thank Dr. Burton for this very successful effort to meet the enquiring and philosophical spirit of the day on its own ground, and to enlist it in the cause of Christianity, and of the great doctrines of the Gospel. We are a little surprised at the weight which he seems to attach to *Mesmerism*, in deigning to admit the *facts* alleged by its advocates.

XXV.—*Ordo Sæclorum. A Treatise on the Chronology of the Holy Scriptures. By* HENRY BROWNE, *M.A., Principal of the Diocesan College, Chichester.* London: Parker.

IT would be quite impossible for us, as yet, to offer any opinion on the general merits of the system of Chronology developed in this elaborate and learned work. We observe that its author supports the Hebrew in preference to the Septuagint Chronology, and that he is not favourable to the interpretations of the periods of 1260 and 2300 days as equivalent to so many years. We can only say further, that the work bears every sign of research and

ability, and that we have no doubt that it will take a high place amongst publications on the difficult and important topics of which it treats. We hope to return to this subject on some future occasion.

XXVI.—*Did the early Church in Ireland acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy? By* DANIEL ROCK, *D.D.* London: Dolman.

DR. ROCK has taken much pains to prove what no one, we presume, of competent information denies,—that the ancient Irish, like other nations of the west, highly reverenced the see of Rome, as founded by the apostles Peter and Paul, and as having been from an early period the *first* of the Christian Churches in dignity, and the most powerful. Up to the eleventh century, however, it is plain, even from this tract, that the popes did not exercise *jurisdiction* over the *Irish Church*. We find no instances of appeals from its bishops, no papal ordinations of bishops for *Ireland*, no legates, vicars, palls, oaths, dispensations, bulls, erection of sees or metropoles, excommunications, absolutions, deposals, translations, &c. A supremacy which involved no *jurisdiction* would, we suspect, be very little to the taste of the Roman see at present. It may be added, that the language of Columbanus and of Cummianus, with regard to the Roman see, is that of individuals, the latter a partizan of Rome in the Paschal controversy, *against* the Irish; the former a resident in France, and appealing to the Pope against the formation of French bishops; —and even this last speaks of Rome, in one place, as the head of all the Churches of *Europe*, and, in another, *reserves* the prerogative of dignity to *Jerusalem above Rome*, as the see of the resurrection. Dr. Rock takes care to avoid mentioning that Columbanus also held Pope Vigilius to be a *heretic*, and wondered that his name was noted in the diptych.—See Bossuet.

XXVII.—*The Religious Life and Opinions of Frederick William III. King of Prussia. By* R. F. EYLERT, *Bishop in the United Evangelical Church of Prussia. Translated by* J. BIRCH. London: Hatchards.

WE regret that it is not in our power to speak favourably of this translation, which is very obscure and ungraceful; yet, amidst its manifold defects, we have perused it with great interest. Frederick William was a humble, pious, zealous Christian, bent in simple and holy sincerity on the spiritual welfare of his people. No one can peruse this work without feeling honour and reverence for its illustrious subject; and it proves that the

union of the Lutheran and Calvinistic communion, which he effected, did not arise, and could not have arisen, from any political view or latitudinarian tendencies, but from a simple and holy wish for union. We recommend this work to all who are interested in the state of religion in Germany. We trust that many good effects have resulted from his efforts, and wish they could have been more fully carried out.

xxviii.—*Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. By* Richard Chevenix Trench, *M.A.* London: Parker.

In this little volume Mr. Chevenix Trench has produced an instructive commentary on our blessed Saviour's Sermon, by selections from all the works of St. Augustine. The Preface contains some just remarks on the best mode of availing ourselves of the aid of the ancient expositions of Scripture, and a masterly sketch of the character of St. Augustine as a commentator.

xxix.—*The History of England from the Peace of Utrecht. By* Lord Mahon. Vol. IV. London: Murray.

Lord Mahon's work will supply a desideratum which has long been felt,—a really good history of the last 150 years. The fourth volume of this important work, which is now before us, is written with an ease of style, a command of the subject, and a comprehensiveness of view, which evince the possession of high qualifications for the great task which the noble author has proposed to himself. Lord Mahon avails himself extensively of the correspondence and private diaries of the times, which gives unusual interest and life to the narrative.

xxx.—*The Life of St. Stephen, Abbot, Founder of the Cistercian Order. The Family of St. Richard the Saxon.* London: Toovey.

It seems, from the "Advertisement" prefixed to these volumes, that the "Series of lives of the English Saints," announced last autumn as about to appear under Mr. Newman's editorship, has been "superseded." *A series* however we are to have; and Mr. Newman, *as editor*, introduces each volume with a short preface of his own. It is therefore of some importance to ascertain the views which are inculcated in the portion of this work which has been already published.

The biography of Stephen, abbot of Citeaux, has for its ostensible object the recommendation of the monastic system

in all its strictness and austerity; and we are bound in justice to say, that it is beautifully and accurately described in this volume; and we doubt not that many persons who cannot approve the principle of that system, may yet be edified by the sincere and fervent piety of many of its adherents. But this, after all, is not the most important feature in the "Life of St. Stephen:" what is more deserving of notice is, the mode in which the author throws himself, without any reserve, into the whole mediæval system of religion in the Latin Church. His reverence for the papacy is the same in kind and degree as that of St. Bernard, or any other zealous adherent of Rome at the period when its claims and its powers were most exalted. As a natural consequence, he assumes throughout the truth of every part of the Roman Catholic system. Pilgrimages to worship relics—the worship of saints, and especially of the Virgin—the selection of patron saints—confidence in their prayers—imputation of the superabundant merits of one man to another—monastic vows—a belief in legendary visions and miracles—the right of parents to devote their children to a monastic life—exemption of monasteries from tithe, and from episcopal control by the papal authority—these, and such things, are either directly approved, or spoken of as matters of course. We select two short passages:—

"The road to Rome was an indication of what the city was itself; it was *the head of the Catholic Church*," &c. (p. 10.) "It was *the principal treasure-house of Christ's blessings upon earth, the centre of Catholic communion.*" (p. 11.) "This was Stephen's object in going to Rome; he thought that his prayers would be most likely to be heard if he knelt near that *body*, the very shadow of which healed the sick, and which was often so close to our blessed Lord; and again, at the tomb which contained the *precious body* which gave virtue to handkerchiefs," &c. (p. 11.) "It (the white habit) was assumed in honour of the spotless purity of St. Mary, the special *patroness* of the Cistercians . . . The Cistercians thought it well that she should protect by her prayers their lowly houses . . . *and make them also the dwelling place of her Son.*" (p. 57.)

We need not offer any remarks on this: it speaks for itself.

The Lives of "St. Richard the Saxon, &c." do not so openly patronize Romish doctrines and practices: the principal feature in them is the *marvellous* credulity of their author, who reproduces a mass of legendary tales without the slightest attempt to ascertain the credit due to them. Such tales are stated as *facts;* and then the *incredulity* of the present age is severely commented on; so that, although the editor in his advertisement

leaves the reader at liberty to believe as much as he judges to be supported by "evidence," the lives themselves leave no such freedom, and do not condescend to supply *any* evidence.

If miracles are to be obtruded on us without evidence, and if it be a matter of piety to believe every legendary tale, it is impossible to calculate what extent of superstition and error may be received. Consistency would require a belief in all the modern miracles of Romanism[1]—the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius—the *flying* saints and images—the *three* sculls of the holy Baptist, &c. If such tales as the following are to be received, (and the editor undertakes its especial patronage,) there can be no difficulty in believing the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood, or indeed any thing else.

"The most remarkable and lasting miracle attesting the holy Walburga's sanctity, to which allusion has already been made, is that which reckons her among the saints who are called 'Elæophori,' or '*unguentiferous*,' becoming, almost in a literal sense, olive trees in the courts of God. These are they from whose bones *a holy oil or dew distils*. That oil of charity and gentle mercy which graced them while alive, and fed in them the flame of universal love in their death, *still permeates their bodily remains*." (p. 96.) "Walburga's remains were laid in an altar-tomb; 'and from it, year by year, at certain seasons, a fontanel distilled, flowing more freely at the time of the blessed sacrifice, which, drop by drop, fell into a silver shell placed to receive it.' . . . If the oil, when carried away any whither, is handled *irreverently*, or in any way disrespectfully treated, it evaporates away . . . If the vessel placed to receive it is not placed under directly . . . the oil *refuses to run;* nor will it fall into the vial except it be perfectly clean. When the state of Aichstadt lay under an interdict the fount *ceased*." &c. &c. (p. 96.)

The writer of this passage has certainly made an important discovery—that "the oil of charity and mercy" is *material!* Are we to infer that, if taken in proper quantities, it would infallibly produce those Christian graces? This is perhaps a point not yet decided.

XXXI.—*Anglo-Catholicism. A short Treatise on the Theory of the English Church, &c. By* WILLIAM GRESLEY, *M.A.* London: Burns.

IF it should be the will of God to bring to an end the dissensions prevalent amongst us, and to unite all faithful and devoted mem-

[1] *Of course* such faithful adherents of the see of Rome believe in the truth of all the miracles which have been admitted in the modern canonizations of saints.

bers of the Anglo-Catholic Church in one undivided effort for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ on earth, we verily believe that it will be through the prevalence of such a spirit, and the inculcation of such principles as those which pervade the little work before us. Its author has established claims on the respect and regard of all true Churchmen; and we believe that few writers of the day have had as much reason to rejoice at the amount of good which, through God's blessing on integrity and purity of purpose, they have been enabled to effect. Mr. Gresley in this short treatise has clearly and satisfactorily stated the position of the Anglo-Catholic Church; tracing its apostolical origin, and maintaining its catholicity against all opponents, whether Romish or Protestant; acknowledging the necessity for the Reformation, and approving of that great work, but without concealing the abuses and faults which may have mingled themselves with it. Mr. Gresley is led, by his faithfulness to the English Church, to advocate the removal of all practical defects in our ecclesiastical system; but we can say with truth, that his suggestions are offered in a spirit of unfeigned respect and loyalty. We observe that Mr. Gresley distinctly and emphatically expresses his disapprobation of the tendencies to Romanism which have manifested themselves in some quarters.

XXXII.— *Sermons on Duties of Daily Life. By* FRANCIS E. PAGET, *M.A.* Rugeley: Walters. London: Burns.

WE cannot too strongly recommend this volume of sermons to those who are desirous of aid and counsel amidst the difficulties of their spiritual course. They will find in its pages no exaggerated or unreal views of Christian life, but a calm, and sober, and rational piety, concentrating attention on the great practical realities of religion, and leading the mind away from all those shadowy and delusive forms of godliness which beset us in the present day. Sobermindedness and charity are the especial characteristics of these sermons; and we heartily wish that doctrines as sound, and as ably inculcated, might be heard from every pulpit in the land. Mr. Paget's remarks (pp. 203—205) on the duties of Churchmen, at a time when good men run into contradictory extremes, and the manner in which he urges a spirit of dutiful loyalty to the Church, are excellent in themselves and most seasonable.

XXXIII.—*The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. From the Latin of St. Bonaventure.* London: Toovey.

It is humbling, indeed awful, to reflect, that the author of this "Life of Christ," who discourses with so much reverence and affection on all its sacred incidents, and who with so much unction and zeal invites his readers to spiritual perfection, was also the author of the "Psalter of the Virgin," and of other devotions in which the name of the Virgin is substituted for that of God, and the prayers of the Church are perverted from their genuine object to the worship of a creature. On this subject we would refer to Mr. Tyler's valuable work "on the worship of the Blessed Virgin." Bonaventure, however, was a pious and devoted, though a most mistaken man. The system in which he had been educated, and the example of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, will, we hope, be accepted as his excuse. The "Life of Christ" is as free from objectionable matter as can be expected; but we cannot think it adapted to be a manual of devotion, because the extent to which the introduction of incidents supplementary to the Gospel history is carried, and the legendary character of some of the additions, seem calculated to excite a spirit of doubt and criticism, which is unfavourable to the exercise and growth of devotion.

XXXIV.—*The Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of Rome. By* J. Endell Tyler, *B.D.* London: Bentley.

Mr. Tyler's volume can not only be recommended as comprising a careful and accurate inquiry into the practice of the Church of Rome in reference to the worship of the Virgin, but as being written in so Christian a tone that it might be advantageously put into the hands of Romanists; and we think that it is likely to be effective in awakening their minds to a sense of the danger of such practices. It is, in short, a powerful and convincing book, and we may, therefore, expect that Romanists will not attempt to answer it, or to invite attention to it in any way. The quotations made by Dr. Wiseman from spurious and apocryphal writings, falsely attributed to the Fathers, are examined and criticised in this learned work; and the genuine sense of antiquity is satisfactorily cleared, and proved to be opposed to all worship of the Virgin.

XXXV.—*Analecta Christiana, in usum Tironum edidit, &c.* C. Marriott, *M.A., Coll. Oriel. Socius.* Oxonii: J. H. Parker.

This interesting and judicious selection from the writings of the Fathers in the original Greek was undertaken, in the first

instance, for the use of schools in New Zealand, and its connexion with the admirable prelate, who does the work of an evangelist in that distant land, lends additional interest to a work so well deserving of attention on its own account. Mr. Marriott's selection is adapted to general use in schools, and gladly should we see it extensively adopted in such places. It comprises extracts from all the most interesting parts of the first five books of Eusebius, including accounts of the martyrdoms, especially at Lyons; epistles of Ignatius, parts of St. Clement's Pædagogus; and St. Athanasius's Discourse against the Gentiles. It is to be followed by a second part, including selections from St. John Chrysostom.

XXXVI.—*The Gospel before the Age: or, Christ with Nicodemus. By the Rev.* ROBERT MONTGOMERY. London: Baisler.

EVERY believer must agree with the author of this work, that the age in which we live, to a vast extent, "treats the Gospel of Christ as if it were *behind itself;*" and therefore we are bound to wish success to the efforts of a writer who proclaims, in tones of such energy and power, that "the Gospel is *before* the age;" that it is the only remedy for our intellectual, moral, and physical evils. It may be, that the mode in which those evils are probed is occasionally rather harsh, and that the language and manner of the author do not always commend themselves to a pure and refined taste; but we see so many evidences of sincerity in this volume, and feel so much respect for the abilities and good intentions of the author, that we shall not dwell on any particulars which might create a contrary impression. The controversies now existing occupy much space in this work, and the author believes himself to agree to a great extent with Mr. Gladstone's views. He proclaims his conviction of the Apostolical origin and succession of the Anglo-Catholic Church, and condemns, with much severity, all tendencies to Romanism or to Sectarianism. He reproves those who disbelieve in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; and his remarks (pp. 281—289) on the prevalent neglect of parents to inculcate on their children a sense of the privileges and responsibilities attaching to the baptized, are good in every point of view. The whole volume is replete with interest, and, like Mr. Montgomery's publications generally, abounds in striking thoughts conveyed in highly rhetorical language. We think its usefulness would have been greater if it had been submitted to a stricter revision.

XXXVII.—*The Book of Symbols; or, a Series of Essays illustrative and explanatory of Ancient Moral Precepts.* London: Chapman and Hall.

WHETHER the author of this volume has been successful in disclosing the real meaning of the Pythagorean symbols we do not feel very certain; but that he has produced an interesting series of essays on philosophical subjects is beyond all doubt.

XXXVIII.—*Hymns and Poems for the Sick and Suffering. By the Rev.* T. V. FOSBERY, *B.A.* London: Rivingtons.

A SELECTION comprising 224 separate pieces of sacred poetry, 93 of which are taken from writers who lived prior to the 18th century, especially Herbert, Spencer, and Vaughan. This volume will, we trust, prove consolatory to many a suffering spirit. It is introduced by a preface full of Christian sentiment.

XXXIX.—*Agathonia. A Romance.* London: Moxon.

The Old Church Clock. By RICHARD PARKINSON, *B.D.* London: Rivingtons.

Rodolph the Voyager. By G. D. L. London: Burns.

OUR younger readers will peruse with interest the first of these volumes, the scene of which is laid in Rhodes, in the seventh century, and narrates the love and death of a Saracen and a Christian—the latter of whom is, we think, with not the best taste, actually *impaled*. We cannot compliment the author on his knowledge of Church history. On the whole, however, the tale is well told. "The Old Church Clock" is a story, deriving its chief attraction from the details which it presents of one whose name is familiar to the readers of Wordsworth — the venerable Robert Walker. "Rodolph the Voyager," is an allegory, designed, we presume, to pourtray the dangers of the soul. It is written with ability; but we really think that there is too much disposition to invest religion with a character of romance: we doubt how far edification is promoted by tales which have all the excitement of a romance or a fairy tale.

XL.—*The Episcopal Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the Revolution. By* JOHN PARKER LAWSON, *M.A.* Edinburgh: Gallie and Bayley; London: Burns.

AMONGST the pleasing evidences of a revival of sound and Catholic principles in the present day, is the interest which is so

generally felt in the history and condition of those Churches, whether in Scotland, America, or elsewhere, with which the English Church is united in fraternal communion. The appearance of Mr. Lawson's work is another sign of the times; and we feel that he has brought together much valuable and useful information on an instructive branch of our ecclesiastical history. We wish that he had avoided the term "Episcopal" in his title-page. It is a concession to Presbyterianism, which a sound Churchman should not make.

XLI.—*The Standard of Catholicity. By the Rev.* G. E. BIBER, *D.D. Second Edition.* London: Rivingtons.

WE are glad to see a second edition of this able and interesting volume, which is, doubtless, well known to most of our readers. We sincerely concur in the hope of the respected author, that its republication may contribute towards the restoration of unity, and to guard Churchmen against the influence of ultra Protestant no less than of Romanizing tendencies.

XLII.—TRACTS, SERMONS, &c.

THE volume of "Tracts for the Last Days" (Painter), which has been completed, professes to be written by persons of "different sects," and the object seems to be to make us dissatisfied with every existing form of Christianity, and to look to the second Advent of our Lord as the only panacea.—Mr. Harnage's "Early Ordinances of Scripture considered" (Hatchards) is heretical: it maintains that wicked men are really *devils*.—"National Catholicity," by the Rev. F. B. Gourrier (Rivingtons), is an interesting pamphlet on the state and prospects of religion in Europe. Popery is in his view crumbling away, and the only remedy is to be found in the general adoption of the Catholic system under the form of National Churches. The author writes with ability and knowledge of his subject.—The Rev. E. C. Kemp has published a pamphlet, entitled, "Separation of Church and State" (London: Bell), in which the dissenting arguments are ably met and overthrown.—The Rev. R. Wickham, M.A. has published a pamphlet on the "Offertory," adverse to its revival. —"Utilitarianism Unmasked," by the Rev. J. F. Colls, D.D., contains an able exposure of the Utilitarian system advocated by Jeremy Bentham and his disciples.—Sermons, by the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, on Fasting, and by the Rev. Dr. Hussey, on "Christian Obligations to the Poor," are well worthy of attention.—"A Lecture on Transubstantiation," by the Rev. E. C.

Kemp, is able as a controversial pamphlet against Romanism, but does not state the Catholic truth.—Mr. Macmullen's "Exercises for the degree of B.D." have been made the subject of much comment. We do not wish to enter on this controversy, which has, we trust, passed away; but we must say, that we have been unable to find in these exercises any sufficient ground for the measures which were adopted towards Mr. Macmullen.

We have received several interesting publications from the United States, amongst which we have to mention a Sermon by the Bishop of New Jersey, "On Ancient Charity." The success which has attended the efforts of this apostolical prelate in his judicious plans of introducing periodical *collections for Church purposes* in the churches of his diocese is cheering and remarkable. By the adoption of this plan of systematic charity, the funds applicable for the extension of the Church have, in *eight* years, multiplied *elevenfold!* Would that we could throw aside all our petty jealousies, and follow the same course.—The "Episcopal Address" of this same prelate at the Annual Convocation of his diocese, is an edifying example of what the episcopal office was in primitive times. We have been favoured with a copy of the Bishop of New York's "Address to the last Diocesan Convention." The extent of episcopal duties in America may be collected from the simple statement of his *annual* visitation,—"my journeyings have been to the extent of more than 4750 miles." In fact, it appears that the annual visitation of a bishop in America frequently occupies from three to six months. A Church thus governed cannot fail to prosper and increase. We cannot sufficiently express our sympathy with the excellent prelate last mentioned, under the opposition which he has lately experienced, and which has been met in so catholic a spirit in this Address, and in two Pastoral Letters to the clergy and laity of his episcopal charge. We trust that these disturbances may be only temporary, and that the fidelity of this zealous pastor may be rewarded by general harmony and united exertions in behalf of the Catholic Church in America.—The "Church Almanac," published at New York, and replete with interesting matter, describes the magnificent church of the Trinity, now erecting in that city. The length is nearly 200 feet; the height to the top of the spire nearly 300 feet.

XLIII.—MISCELLANEOUS ECCLESIASTICAL PUBLICATIONS, PERIODICALS, &c.

Mr. Dyce's publication of "the Book of Common Prayer with Plain Tune" (Burns), of which the second part is now before

us, will be a valuable help towards the restoration of that grave and solemn ecclesiastical music which has existed for more than twelve centuries in the Church. We are not prepared to say that Gregorian music should be *exclusively* used in our churches; but we think that it should occupy a prominent place, and that figured music should be sparingly used. Mr. Dyce has generally adopted the melodies selected by Marbeck from the ancient plain song; and where Marbeck's work is defective, he has resorted to "the use of Sarum," and other authentic sources of ecclesiastical music. While on this subject, we must call attention to "a complete Communion Service in the key of C, with the lesser third," composed by Mr. Uvedale Price. This service comprises, amongst other things, the Creed, Ter sanctus, and Gloria in excelsis, and we think that the composer has imbibed the spirit of the best ecclesiastical music. We have perused with pleasure Mr. A. J. Beresford Hope's beautiful and accurate translation of the "Hymns of the Church" (Rivingtons), by St. Ambrose, Prudentius, and others, which are adapted in this translation, to be chanted to their *original* melodies. We cannot speak so favourably of the translation of "The Seven Penitential Psalms, in verse," &c., by M. Montagu (Hatchards), which, however literal, is harsh and unpoetical. "Church Needlework," by Miss Lambert (Murray), and Mr. Gilbert French's "Remarks on the minor accessories in the Service of the Church" (Green, Leeds), are interesting volumes on the subject of Church decoration. The latter takes in a wider range of subjects; the former is more correct in its views; but neither can be implicitly followed. The study of these subjects is as yet in its infancy. We can however recommend both of these works to particular attention. We entirely concur in the anxiety expressed by the "Ecclesiologist," of which Nos. XXXI. XXXII. are before us, in reference to the proposed alterations in Westminster Abbey. We do not attach the least credit to the report that the stalls, &c., are to be replaced by the ordinary fittings of a parish church. The present Dean of Westminster would assuredly never permit such an innovation. The present state of the choir of Westminster Abbey must always be retained in *essentials*, because the *Coronation* service always supposes it. But we cannot see any impropriety in placing *open screens* between the choir and each transept and the nave, and permitting persons to assist at the service outside those screens as well as within the choir itself. We think that such an arrangement is sanctioned by the practice abroad, and it might be deserving of consideration, whether moveable benches or chairs might not be placed for the convenience of the congregation on Sundays, which might at other times be

removed. Possibly it might not be found difficult to protect the monuments in the nave.

"The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Great Britain," by Messrs. Bowman and Hadfield (Parker), promises to be an interesting and valuable publication. Considering that some of the plates are coloured, the price seems to us moderate. Mr. Bell's "Compositions from the Liturgy" (Longmans), appear to be rather unequal, but some of them are beautiful. Dr. Barrington's "Pocket Chart of Foreign Architecture" (Bell), will be found useful to beginners (in the study of architecture). "The Parish Record," being some account of the home operations of the Church, to be continued quarterly (Rivingtons), is calculated for distribution in parishes, and will, we have no doubt, be very useful. "The Christian Mother's Magazine," edited by Mrs. Milner (Whittaker), appears to be a pleasing little publication, conducted however on Dean Milner's views. We are glad to see in the fourth number of the "Classical Museum" (Parker), that papers by Mr. Cornwall Lewis, Sir Edmund Head, Professors Long and Donkin, and other distinguished scholars, adorn its pages.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

ALGERIA.

Organisation of the Roman Catholic Church.—The erection of churches in the different towns of Algeria is proceeding rapidly, and extensive orders have been given at Paris for church furniture. Twenty-two Trappists sailed from Toulon in March last, to join eighteen brethren of their order who had preceded them.

Protestant Congregations in Algeria.—In answer to the representations made by the Protestants in Algeria, the French government has increased, from 1500 to 2000 francs per annum, the stipends of the two Protestant Ministers, one of whom, belonging to the reformed confession, resides at Oran; the other, a Lutheran, at Dely Ibrahim.

AMERICA.

The late Ordination at New York.—The sensation which had been produced in the American Church, by the occurrence which took place at the ordination of Mr. Carey, has not yet subsided. The Bishops of Illinois, Vermont, and Ohio, having publicly expressed their disapprobation of the course pursued by the Bishop of New York, the latter addressed to them a formal demand that they should bring him to trial before the General Convention, agreeably to the canon in that case provided. This they have declined doing, and the Bishop of New York has thereupon addressed a pastoral letter to his own diocese, in which it appears that he is meeting with general support. Mr. Carey, whose ordination to the Diaconate gave rise to all these troubles, has since died.

Church History.—The Rev. Dr. Jarvis is about to publish the first volume of a work which he has undertaken under the direction of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in accordance with a resolution passed by the two houses of the Convention in September, 1838, appointing him "Historiographer of the Church, with a view to his preparing, from the most original sources now extant, a faithful Ecclesiastical History, reaching from the Apostles' times to the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

German Protestant Church in the United States.—The King of Prussia has presented the sum of 1500 dollars (£225 sterling) to the German Protestant Seminary at Mercersburg. The professorship of theology in that seminary, which was first offered to Pastor Krummacher, and declined by him, has since been accepted by Dr. Philip Schaf, of Berlin. The Dresden Association for assisting German Lutheran Congregations in North America has sent out Dr. W. Sihler. His station will probably be Chicago, in the State of Illinois.

Progress of Romanism.—The Roman Catholic Bishop at Natchez is erecting a splendid cathedral, 130 feet long, in the Gothic style. Four new Roman Catholic sees have been created within the territory of the United States: viz., Hartford, in Connecticut; Milvankia, in Wisconsin; Chicago, in Illinois; and Littlerock, in Arkansas. The Oregon territory has been constituted into a vicariate apostolic.

Died.—At Rome, Sept. 25th, *Joseph Rosati*, Bishop of St. Louis, in the United States, aged 53. He was the founder of the first monastery of Lazarists in the New World.

Irish Romanists at Philadelphia.—The peace of the city of Philadelphia has been disturbed by a riotous attack of the lower order of Irish papists upon a meeting of the Society of Native Americans, whose object is to counteract the Romanist influence of Irish emigrants, and to maintain the use of the Bible in all the district schools of the States.

AUSTRALIA.

Frightful Spiritual Destitution.—It appears from an authentic statement forwarded to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that in the district of Port Phillip there is a population of 12,000 souls, one-third natives and two-thirds whites, of whom 9000 are wholly destitute of all religious ordinances whatever, and the remaining 3000 are visited by a minister of religion only occasionally and at long intervals. To remedy this frightful destitution, the Church Society of Port Phillip proposes, under the sanction of the Bishop of Australia, to establish at each of the four central stations appointed by government for the use of the Aborigines, a mission, consisting of two missionaries, who are in turns to be itinerant, and a schoolmaster. Aid for the accomplishment of this object is most earnestly implored.

AUSTRIA.

Protestant Converts from Romanism.—Three Roman Catholic clergymen of Austria have lately abjured Romanism, and joined the Protestant Church at Breslau. A spirit of opposition to Romanism, and especially to Ultra-Montanism, is said to prevail extensively among the Roman Catholics in the Austrian dominions, and especially in Hungary. Two Romish bishops of the latter country, it is reported, have joined the Greek Church, and others are preparing to do the same.

Infringements of religious toleration.—An imperial decree recently published, prohibits in the case of marriages between Roman Catholics and Protestants, every species of religious solemnity in non-catholic places of worship. Another imperial decree enacts, that every Roman Catholic who contemplates joining the Protestant Church, is to make a full deposition before the civil magistrate, touching his reasons for taking such a step; and it is for the magistrate to decide upon their sufficiency.

Seizure of Bibles.—By virtue of a requisition from the Prince Bishop of Prague, a translation of the Bible into Bohemian, made from the

German version of Luther, has been seized by the police; the bookseller, in whose warehouse the seizure took place, had only a few copies left, nearly 300 having been sold within a few weeks.

BELGIUM.

Consecration of a portable church.—A portable church for the use of the Belgian emigrants, who are about to set out for Santo Thomas, in Central America, has been constructed at Brussels, and was consecrated on the 22nd of February last, by the Archbishop of Malines.

CANADA.

Diocese of Quebec.—This diocese, which consists of a narrow strip of land, 600 miles long, on both banks of the St. Lawrence, contains an area of 200,000 square miles. The population is estimated at 650,000, about two-thirds of whom are French Roman Catholics. The number of English clergy is sixty.

Visitation of the Diocese.—The Bishop of Montreal completed his third diocesan visitation, in March, 1844. This laborious task was accomplished at different intervals, having been commenced in January, 1843, when the bishop set out on a winter tour, which lasted two months and a half[1], and during which he visited the districts on both shores of the St. Lawrence, between Quebec and Coteau du Lac, extending his journey southward and eastward, as far as the Champlain and Massawippi Lakes, and the Nicolet river. In the month of May, the bishop proceeded to the missions up the Ottawa river, and in September, down the St. Lawrence, to the district of Gaspé. The district south of Quebec was visited in February, and several detached missions in March, of the present year. The number of miles travelled over, is 3752; there were eight churches consecrated, and seventy confirmations held, the number of persons confirmed being all together 2316. Among these the bishop remarks, there were many adults, and persons who had formerly been dissenters. On the whole, the Church is decidedly gaining ground, though not as rapidly as she might do, if there were a sufficient number of clergy provided. Many of the missionaries have several churches, scattered over a wide extent of country, under their charge, and serve them in turns; an arrangement by which, while the missionary is exhausted through the fatigue of continual travelling, each station obtains the ministrations of the Church only perhaps once in a fortnight, sometimes only once a month.

Evils of Schism in Missionary Labours.—The bishop complains repeatedly of the evils arising from the preaching of schismatic missionaries. In one place he found that a tract reviling the ordinance of confirmation, (printed at Winchester in England,) had been industriously circulated before his arrival; in another place, he thus describes

[1] The bishop's journal of this part of the visitation, giving an interesting and often painful picture of the state of the Church in that diocese, has recently been published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

the effects of religious division. "The village of Huntingdon (Beauharnois) may be taken as one among many examples of the deplorable effects of schism in a new country. Here, in a spot scarcely reclaimed from the woods, is a little collection of houses, a good mill, a tavern or two, some few tradesmen, and some commencing indications of business; one good spacious church might contain all the worshippers; one faithful pastor might tend them all; and their resources for the support of religion, if combined, might provide for all the decencies of worship in a reverent manner, and for the comfort of the minister and his family. But here are four Protestant places of worship, altar against altar, all ill-appointed, all ill-supported; discordant preaching is going on, and unholy leagues are made of two or three irregular sects against the Church."

Visitation of the Bishop of Toronto.—The Journal of a Visitation held through the western parts of his diocese by the Bishop of Toronto, in the summer and autumn of 1842, which has recently been published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, gives a most interesting account of the state of that diocese generally, and especially of its Indian missions. The number of persons confirmed by the Bishop during his progress was 756; of which 156 were Indians. One of these was the great Chippawa Chief Cunatuny, who received baptism at the hands of the Bishop previously to his confirmation. "His admission into the Church," says the Journal, "by the Sacrament of Baptism, and his public profession of the faith in coming forward for confirmation, had been with him for years matter of deep and solemn consideration."

The principal Indian Missionary Stations visited by the Bishop were those on Manatoulin Island, and those of the Mohawk and Tuscorora Indians. In the account of his visit to Manatoulin Island, the Bishop says,—"Mr. O'Meara read the greater part of the Church Service, which has been translated into the Ojibaway language. I then addressed the congregation, through my interpreter, and proceeded to the Confirmation, which I caused to be explained, sentence by sentence; this being done, slowly and deliberately, so that all could understand, I administered the rite of Confirmation to forty-four Indians and five whites. The Confirmation service being concluded, I again addressed them at some length, through my interpreter, upon the great responsibility which they had undertaken; and this being finished, we proceeded with the Holy Communion. The service, from the necessity of an interpreter, was long; but it was solemn and interesting; and no person of a right mind could have witnessed it, and heard the plaintive and beautiful singing of the sons and daughters of the forest, without being deeply affected. I confess that I was nearly overcome by the bright promise of this day's service, and I felt, with becoming gratitude to God, that the miserable condition of the long-neglected Indians of this country would now be ameliorated through the medium of our Holy Catholic Church."

Evils of Schism in Missionary Labours.—The following circum-

stance, which occurred on the Bishop's visit to the Tuscorora tribe, throws light upon the mischief done by schismatic missionary labours: —"The services being ended, the chiefs requested a council; they mentioned some religious differences which had arisen among them, and given them much pain, differences which had originated with some Indians who had recently come from the United States, and who, it appears, had embraced the opinions of the Baptists. Before the arrival of these men, they had been at unity among themselves; but, since their coming, some of their friends had been deluded, and induced to forsake the Church; and they entreated my advice as to the course which they, the great majority of the chiefs, who still adhered to the Church, ought to pursue." This advice the Bishop gave them; and it is pleasing to find that he himself had every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which they received it. "The Indian chiefs," he says, "evinced great shrewdness in the course of this conference, as well as much quickness of apprehension, in regard to the superior excellences of the Church in her doctrines and government; and there is little doubt that this partial schism will soon be at an end, and that its present existence may even conduce to the firmer establishment of apostolic order and discipline among the people."

New Churches.—During this visitation, the Bishop consecrated three new churches,—at Penetanguishine, at Adelaide, and at Hamilton.

Mission to the Walpole Indians.—A new mission was opened among the Indians at Walpole Island in November last, by one of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. An offer being made on that occasion to the head chief, to pay him rent for his house, for the use of the missionary, until a mission-house could be erected, his reply was: "I want no rent; but I want the minister to be near me, and to teach me what is the good way."

Church Society of Toronto.—An interesting pamphlet, setting forth the constitution and objects of this society, has lately been received at the office of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It contains, 1. the Constitution; 2. the Correspondence between the Lord Bishop of Toronto and the Hon. Mr. Chief Justice Robinson; 3. the Report of the Speeches at the Meeting held on the 28th of April, 1842; 4. the Lord Bishop's Pastoral Letter. In the latter, the Bishop thus expresses himself, as to the necessity of local efforts for the support of the Church: "The time has arrived when we ought to do something for ourselves. Our fellow-subjects at home are still willing to encourage us, still ready to give us an ample share of their benevolence; but they begin to look for the fruits of what they have already done; and, as they have assisted us so long, they think that we ought now to begin to assist one another. And it is to induce you to meet their just expectations that I now address you; for with willing hearts you can do much towards supplying our spiritual destitution." On the manner in which this is to be brought about, the Bishop says: "We may consider ourselves in the primitive times, when the Bishop sent out his missionaries from the cathedral, or principal church, and left it to the various

districts or settlements to say whether they were disposed to have a resident pastor or not. If the inhabitants of any such district or settlement said, 'Here is a house to live in, a glebe to furnish provisions, and an endowment to rent for the supply of other necessaries; abide with us, and be faithful not only to us but to your Bishop, and to his Master, and your Master,'—a parish became established. In this way arose the parochial system in Great Britain, and over the whole continent of Europe; and thus must it arise in this diocese."

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Church Accommodation.—The number of members of the Church of England at Cape Town amounts to about 2500, scattered over a space of more than four miles. For these there is at present but one church; but it is proposed to erect a second, capable of holding 500 persons, at an estimated expense of 3000*l.*

CHINA.

Anglican Mission at Hong Kong. — The Rev. Vincent Staunton arrived at Hong Kong on the 2nd of December last, and commenced his labours on the following Sunday. It is contemplated to build a handsome church, on an extensive scale, for the use of the mission.

German Protestant Mission.—A letter, received at Berlin from the Chinese missionary, Gützlaff, dated Tinghai, Isle of Chusan, January 8th, 1843, gives the most favourable account of the effect which the late war and pacification with England has had upon the character of the Chinese. The freedom of intercourse which has been brought about, leads him to anticipate the happiest results for the propagation of the Gospel in that vast empire. Mr. Gützlaff was busy erecting schools in the island. He was on the point of publishing a revised edition of his Chinese version of the New Testament, which he intends following up by a translation of the Old Testament.

FRANCE.

The Education Question.—The question which has brought the Church and the State, as represented by the University, into open conflict, continues to occupy public attention, and assumes a more and more serious aspect. The "*projet de loi*" of Mr. Villemain is the subject of hot debates in the Chamber of Peers. Pamphlets and newspaper articles add to the flood of words poured forth in the senate. The government institute legal proceedings against authors, editors, printers, and publishers, sometimes with and sometimes without success; and address reprimands and menacing circulars to the dignitaries of the Church. The bishops send in protests upon protests to the office of the "*Ministre des Cultes*," and issue pastoral letters on the subject to the inferior clergy and to the laity of their dioceses, from whom petitions begin to crowd in upon the Chambers; nay, the Archbishop of Auch has invited his clergy to offer up prayers for the pro-

tection of the Church against the invasion of her rights. On the occasion of the king's fête, the conflict broke out personally between the heads of the Church and the State. The archbishop of Paris, in his address to the king, adopted for himself and his clergy the saying of St. Bernard, "*Non veniat anima in consilium eorum qui dicunt vel Imperio pacem et libertatem Ecclesiarum, vel Ecclesiis prosperitatem et exaltationem Imperii nocituram.*" The whole address being somewhat in the tone of a lecture, the king replied, it is said under evident excitement, that "considering the proofs he had given of his attachment to religious freedom, and his respect for the Church, he might perhaps have been spared the admonition he had just heard."

Protestant Freedom of Worship.—The Minister of Justice has addressed a circular to the prefects of the departments, enjoining them to give full effect to the provisions of the law, by which Protestants are permitted, in places where they are not sufficiently numerous to constitute themselves into a church, to hold assemblies for common worship under certain regulations.

The Working Classes at Paris.—Great efforts are being made by the clergy at Paris to collect the working classes in their churches. Services and sermons were provided specially for them during Lent as early as six in the morning; and on Easter-Day the Archbishop of Paris administered the Holy Communion to a numerous association of working men, enrolled under the title "*Œuvre de St. François Xavier*," at seven o'clock in the morning, in the church of St. Margaret, the nave of which was crowded on the occasion.

The Propaganda.—The revenues of the French society for the propagation of the faith amounted, in 1842, to the sum of 3,233,480 francs (about 130,000*l.* sterling), made up chiefly of weekly contributions of less than one penny each. From this fund 40,000 francs are sent annually into the French cantons of Switzerland for the promotion of Roman Catholic objects.

Conversion of Mahommedans.—Two Mahommedan converts, one a kinsman of the prophet, received Christian baptism and confirmation in the cathedral of Marseilles on Easter Eve last.

Died. — January 1, *Gustavus Maximilian Justus, Prince De Croï*, Archbishop of Rouen, and Great Almoner of France, aged 70.

False Wonders of Relic Worship.—For some time past the village of Argenteuil, in the vicinity of Paris, has become a place of pilgrimage, in consequence of a distinguished relic shown in the church, which is no less than the seamless coat of Christ, on which the soldiers cast lots. This precious relic, says the legend, was presented by the Empress Irene, in the year 800, to Charlemagne, and deposited by him in the Benedictine monastery of Argenteuil, from which it was transferred to the church at the time of the revolution. Numberless devotees come to pay their worship to the "*Sainte Tunique;*" and of miracles wrought by it there is no lack.

A false Christ.—A new sect of blaspheming fanatics has just been started at Paris by a Polish refugee, named Mickiewicz, a celebrated

poet and professor of the Sclavonic languages at the *Collège de France*, who, at the close of a lecture, presented himself to his astonished audience as a new manifestation of the "*Verbe*," *i. e.* the Word.

GERMANY.

New Liturgy.—A new Liturgy was introduced in all the Evangelic Churches of the Duchy of Nassau, by order of the Government, on New Year's-day last.

Church Discipline with regard to Banns of Marriage.—A new regulation on matters of Church discipline, in the Grand Duchy of Saxe Weimar, directs that in the publication of banns a distinction shall be made, describing those whose previous conduct has been unchaste, simply as "single persons;" and those on whom no such imputation rests, as "respectable bachelors" and "respectable spinsters." Any party claiming the last-named designation, and proved afterwards not to have been entitled to it, is liable to a penalty.

The Gustavus Adolphus Association.—This association, which but a short time ago seemed to enjoy great popularity, and which announced itself as a centre of union, as far as Protestant Germany was concerned, for those whom nothing else could unite, bids fair to become an apple of discord all over Germany. The constitution of the association, which concentrated its power and its wealth in Leipzig, and the tone adopted by some of its members at a recent meeting at Halle, have excited the watchfulness of the Prussian Government, which has taken the branch associations formed within the Prussian territory under its own special patronage. The prevalence of the rationalistic party in its councils has given umbrage to the more orthodox divines, some of whom, it appears, refused their co-operation from the very first, on this ground, that it was not merely an association for giving pecuniary aid to poor Protestant congregations, especially to such as are located in Roman Catholic countries, but that it proposed itself as a bond of Protestant unity among those who, on matters of *faith*, are divided *toto cœlo*, and who are to unite in this association for purposes of *charity*. This view of the association is advocated by Dr. Zimmerman, one of the editors of the *Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung*, conducted in the rationalistic interest, who was one of the most active among its first founders. The orthodox party object to a basis of unity which consists in nothing more than the bare name of Protestantism; and Dr. Hengstenberg, the editor of the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, justly observes, that in point of fact, such men as Fenelon, Count Stolberg, and Sailer, have much more in common with the Evangelic Church than the men with whom, under the name of Protestants, she is called upon to make common cause, although they deny the most fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. While there is thus any thing but unanimity on the subject among the Protestants, the Roman Catholics have taken up the question in reference to their Church, and complain of the association as of an hostile demonstration of Protestantism, which is calculated to disturb the peace of Germany.

The King of Prussia has therefore deemed it necessary to address a circular to the Roman Catholic bishops of his dominions, disavowing, on the part of the association, all intention of hostility against their Church; while the King of Bavaria has prohibited the association, which he designates as sectarian, and dangerous to the public peace, and has carried his hostility to it so far as to compel some Protestant congregations within his dominions to return the grants which they had received from the association. A very plausible argument on the Roman Catholic side of the question is taken from the very name of the association, the memory of Gustavus Adolphus carrying back the mind to the thirty years' civil and religious war which desolated Germany; and the Augsburg Universal Gazette asks, not unaptly, what would be said, if the Roman Catholics were to form a counter-society called the Tilly Association?

Symbolical difficulties in Missionary Societies.—Difficulties having arisen in the North-German Missionary Society, which comprehends the Missionary Association of the duchies of Mecklenburg, Bremen, Holstein, Lüneburg, and the Hanse towns, and embraces the two Protestant Confessions, it has been determined to concede to the Lutherans an acknowledgment, on the part of the Society, of the Augsburg Confession and Luther's smaller Catechism; and the Lutherans have, not without strong protestations from the more orthodox members, given up the Apology, Luther's larger Catechism, the articles of Schmalkalden, and the *Formula Concordiæ*, all of which are acknowledged as symbolical books in the Church of Mecklenburg.

Romish Proselytism in Bavaria.—The Supreme Consistory of the Protestant Church in Bavaria has lately addressed the Government with a view to obtain a prohibition of all interference, on the part of Roman Catholic priests, with the orphan children of Protestant parents during their minority, with a view to their conversion. The Government has refused the application, on the ground that such a prohibition would be a violation of religious liberty as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Conversion of a Protestant Minister to Rome.—The German journals publish various particulars relative to the previous career of *Dr. Karl Haas,* (not *Hua,* as the name was erroneously given in our last,) whose abjuration of the Protestant faith had created considerable sensation, and was made much of by the Romanists. It appears that he had formerly indulged in violent polemical attacks upon the Roman Church, to such an extent as to subject himself to penalties for injurious language and interference with a Roman Catholic parish adjoining his own. Somewhat inconsistently with this warlike attitude, he had married the sister of Dr. Hefele, one of the Roman Catholic Professors at Tübingen. His resolution to join the Roman Communion was taken at the unfortunate moment when, in consequence of various breaches of ecclesiastical order, he was to have been removed from his charge at Gröningen to another post, which he refused to accept. Like other Romish converts, he has at once opened his

polemical batteries upon the Communion which he has forsaken, in a "letter addressed to his beloved congregation at Gröningen, on the occasion of his return to the Catholic Church." In this letter he commits himself, with apparent good faith, to the statement, that "in England, within a short time, at least 9000 souls, almost all of them Clergymen, have made profession of the Catholic faith,"—a specimen of critical acumen which, as a German reviewer pithily observes, shows a tolerable capacity of belief. Dr. Haas has, since his abjuration, been appointed co-editor of the Roman Catholic journal "Sion."

Interment of Protestants by Roman Catholic Clergymen.—The Vicar-general of the Bishop of Würzburg has issued a circular to the clergy of the diocese, directing them in cases where a Protestant dying within their parishes can have Protestant burial, not to interfere at all; and in cases where Protestant burial cannot be had, simply to accompany the funeral in the character of witnesses, omitting all religious rites and prayers whatsoever. This regulation has given great offence amongst the Protestants, and has been remonstrated against by some of the clergy themselves, on the ground of its being impracticable where Protestants are numerous, and mixed up in all the relations of life with the Roman Catholics.

Compulsory Adoration of the Host.—The Protestant soldiers in the Bavarian army and militia are compelled, at the word of command from their officers, to bend the knee at the elevation of the host. This practice has become the subject of complaint, as being contrary to the constitutional guarantees of religious liberty. A pamphlet showing its illegality has been seized by the police; and a Protestant minister, Pastor Redenbacher, of Sulzkirchen, has been suspended from his office and condemned to four years' imprisonment in a fortress, for the publication of a discourse on the subject, delivered by him at the meeting of the diocesan synod; the ground on which criminal proceedings were taken against him being, that he "abused religion for the purpose of disturbing the public peace." A royal ordinance of the 28th of March last partially remedies the grievance, by directing that Protestant soldiers shall never be marched to Roman Catholic churches for purposes of worship; but when they are ordered there on service, for the preservation of order, or for parade on great occasions, the original regulation continues in force.

Roman Catholic Missionary Society.—The Roman Catholic Missionary Society in Bavaria, whose head-quarters are at Munich, devotes part of its funds to the erection of Roman Catholic churches and chapels in England.

The O'Connell Rent in Germany.—The Government of Bavaria has refused its sanction to a subscription which it was proposed to raise there in favour of O'Connell.

Restoration of Spires Cathedral.—The king of Bavaria is projecting the restoration of the ancient Cathedral of Spires, at an expense of 220,000 florins (nearly 20,000*l.*). Of this sum, 10,000 florins per

annum are to be appropriated in ten successive years to the restoration of the fresco paintings, and the remaining 120,000 florins to general purposes.

Roman Catholic Church at Eisenach.—It is in contemplation to build a Roman Catholic Church in the town of Eisenach, one of the strongholds of Protestantism. Luther used to call it his beloved Eisenach, and close to it is the Wartburg where he was so long immured, and where he executed his translation of the Bible. A general collection in aid of the undertaking has been ordered in the churches of Bavaria.

Religious Orders.—The Order of the Sisters of Mercy is extending itself over Bavaria.

Promotions.—*Dr. Hesse*, professor extraordinary, to be professor ordinary of theology, in the University of Giessen, and university preacher.—*Dr. Daniel Haneberg*, professor extraordinary, to be professor ordinary of Hebrew, and of Old Testament exegesis, in the University of Munich.—The theological faculty of Gröningen has conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity on the Chinese Missionary, *Gützlaff.*—Pastor *J. G. F. Müller*, of Segringen, to be librarian of the University of Erlangen.

Died.—Feb. 20th, Dr. *K. W. C. Weinmann*, Dean of Aubstadt in Bavaria, and Inspector of schools in the district; aged 63.—March 3rd, *Leonhard Creuzer*, Doctor of Theology, professor of philosophy in the University, preacher at the Lutheran Church, and member of the Consistory of Marburg, aged 75.

Theological Prize Essays.—The theological prize of the Von Ammon Foundation at Dresden, for the year 1844, has been adjudged to C. G. Schmidt, Candid. Theol. of Caditz near Dresden. The subject was: "*Pericula conjungendarum ecclesiarum, quæ Augustanam et Tridentinam Confessionem sequuntur, a Leibnitio facta cum similibus nostræ ætatis moliminibus conferantur.*" The subject for the ensuing year, is "*Unde Judæi tempore Christi hauserint opinionem de proximitate sedis piorum atque impiorum in altera vita.*" *Comm. exeget. ad loc. Lucæ* xvi. 19—26.

Cast-iron Stereotype.—Experiments have for some years been in progress, chiefly under the superintendence of Mr. Dasse, Inspector of mines at Rübeland, in the duchy of Brunswick, with a view to make cast-iron, as the cheaper and more durable material, applicable to the preparation of stereotype plates. The success of these experiments is attested by the publication of a cast-iron stereotype edition of the Bible, by T. G. Müller, printer and publisher at Nordhausen. The price of this Bible, which has marginal readings, is 9*ggr*, or 13½*d.*

Origin of Censorship.—The father of the law of censorship was Berthold, Archbishop and Elector of Mayence, the city which boasts itself the cradle of the art of printing; alarmed by the facility with which ideas might be diffused through the world by this means, he issued on the 4th of January, 1486, a decree, in which he prohibited the printing, publication, or sale, within his territory, of any work not

previously licensed by a commission appointed by him for that purpose, and which consisted of four professors of the University of Mayence, one from each faculty.

The Roman Catholic Church and the Free Masons.—Bishop Laurent has issued injunctions to the Roman Catholic clergy of the diocese of Luxemburg, to refuse the sacraments and other rites of the Church to all persons who continue to be members of any masonic association.

Pietism in Würtemberg.—Accounts from Würtemberg give the most shocking details of the carnal excesses to which a body of pietists at Lenhingen, near Münsingen, had proceeded, on the plea that "to the pure all things are pure." The authorities have suppressed the investigation of the matter, to avoid further scandal.

GIBRALTAR.

Ordination.—On the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, the Bishop held the first English ordination at Malta, when two missionaries, one of whom had originally been in Lutheran orders, were ordained priests.

Italian Visitation.— The Bishop of Gibraltar has set out on his primary "Italian Visitation." He held a Confirmation at Rome on the 28th of March, and administered the Holy Communion on Palm-Sunday to no less than 150 communicants. From Rome he proceeded to Nice and Genoa, at both which places he held Confirmations, and thence to Leghorn, where he arrived on the 10th of April. On Sunday the 14th he consecrated the English Chapel, and on the following day held a Confirmation, at which eighteen persons were confirmed. On the same day he also consecrated the English burial-ground, near the town. On Sunday the 21st he consecrated the English Chapel at Pisa, whence he proceeded to Florence.

GREECE.

Constitutional recognition of the Greek Church.—The first chapter of the new constitution of the kingdom of Greece, accepted by King Otho on the 15th of March last, runs as follows: "In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity.—Ch. i. Of religion.—Art. i. The established religion in Greece is that of the oriental orthodox Church of Christ. Every other known religion is tolerated, and the ceremonies and holy rites thereof are to be solemnized without hindrance. Proselytism is prohibited.—Art. ii. In spirit and in doctrine the Greek Church is inseparably connected with the Metropolitan Church of Constantinople, and with all *homodox* Churches (Churches of like doctrine); politically she is independent, and governed by an holy Synod."

GUIANA.

Offertory Collections.—From an official account of the Offertory collections in the diocese of Guiana, during the year 1843, it appears that they amounted altogether to upwards of 6400 dollars; of which 900 dollars were reserved for parochial purposes in the several parishes;

1900 dollars were transmitted to the sufferers in Antigua; and the remainder, nearly 3600 dollars, was placed at the Bishop's disposal for diocesan purposes. In distributing these funds the Bishop strictly reserves the collections made in each deanery for the wants of that deanery, and under this restriction gives one quarter to the local funds of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, one quarter to the building and enlarging of churches and chapels, one quarter to schools and teachers, and one quarter to an Additional Curates' fund.

HOLLAND.

Church Statistics.—The reformed Church in the ten provinces consists of 1,622,339 souls; they are divided into 1233 parishes, with 1453 ministers; giving an average of 1300 souls to one parish and of 1100 souls to one minister.

Schism in the reformed Church.—From the acts of the general synod of the ten provinces, held in July last, it appears that "separation" is still on the increase, and that during the preceding year thirty separatist congregations had been formed. The synod was occupied with a consideration of the means of arresting the evil, and came to the conclusion that a synodical declaration of principles would be of no avail for such a purpose, the only effectual remedy being faithfulness, on the part of the ministers, in preaching the Gospel, and establishing their people in the faith.

Conversions to Romanism.—From the same synodal transactions it appears, that conversions to the Roman Church are on the increase, especially in the province of North Brabant. The synod attributes them chiefly to the activity of the Sisters of Charity, and the Beguines, and to the travelling missionaries of the order of Redemptorists, whose preaching is run after by thousands.

Singular mode of confirming a Bishop.—The recent election of Mr. Van Bruul to the bishopric of Haarlem has given occasion for the repetition of the singular practice which obtains with reference to the Jansenist Bishops. Whenever a Bishop is elected in any of the Jansenist churches, which acknowledge the supremacy, but not the infallibility of the Pope, his first act is to address his holiness in a petition, soliciting his confirmation of the election. As the reply to this is known to be invariably a bull of excommunication, a declaration is at once prepared, requiring only the date of the bull to be inserted, in which the Bishop elect solemnly protests against the excommunication, and appeals to the next general council. Thereupon the consecration is proceeded with, and the Bishop enters upon the exercise of his functions.

JAMAICA.

Diocesan Church Society.—A Diocesan Church Society was formed on the 1st of March last, at a meeting of the clergy and laity assembled at the Court House, Spanish Town.

JAPAN.

Massacre of Christians at Corea.—The clergy of the Roman Catholic mission at Corea, with two hundred and fifty of their flock, have been massacred, some being beheaded and others strangled.

JERUSALEM.

Romish Bishop.—The court of Rome, it is said, contemplates the appointment of a resident Bishop *in partibus* at Jerusalem: his title is to be Bishop of Babylon.

INDIA.

Extensive progress of the Gospel in Tinnevelly.—Ninety-six villages in Tinnevelly have, by a spontaneous movement, utterly abolished their idols, and solicited Christian instruction at the hands of the Rev. G. W. Pope, one of the Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Bishop of Madras, who communicates this cheering intelligence in a letter of the 14th of March last, earnestly appeals to the Society to send out at least two more missionaries.

Romish Missions.—It is currently reported at Rome that a central branch of the society *De propaganda Fide* will shortly be established in India, similar to that which from Lyons extends its operations all over France.

Vicar Apostolic of Ceylon.—In September last Mgr. Cajetano was consecrated at Pondicherry Bishop of Usula, and Vicar Apostolic of Ceylon.

ITALY.

The Bible in Italy.—A letter has been addressed by the Pope to the Archbishops and Bishops of Italy, exhorting them to watchfulness against the operations of various Bible Societies.

Russia and the Court of Rome.—Cardinal Pacca, in the oration delivered by him at the opening of the "Academy of the Catholic religion" at Rome, speaks of the condition of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia as of a *status plorandus, non describendus;* and in a tone of prophecy announces that the judgments of God will no doubt fall upon Russia and upon her sovereign.

Persecution of Jews at Rome.—The Great Inquisitor has published stringent regulations against the Jews resident at Rome and in the Papal territory: it is hoped that these measures will be neutralized by the influence of Baron Rothschild, with whom his Holiness has had dealings, the prohibition of the canon law notwithstanding.

Died, Jan. 25th, *P. Aloysius Landes,* Provincial of the Order of Jesuits for Germany, and Rector of the German College at Rome, in his 77th year.—April 19th, Cardinal *Pacca,* Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, and Dean of the Sacred College, in his 88th year.

Restoration of the Jesuits.—By an ordinance of March 20th, the

Archduchess Maria Louisa of Parma has restored the order of Jesuits within her territories, with permission for the erection of a Jesuit monastery in the city of Parma. The order is to have charge of all schools for secondary instruction, and of the colleges for preparatory instruction in philosophy.

Protestant Communities in Piedmont.—An old church abandoned by the Roman Catholics has, with the sanction of the Government, been purchased for the use of the Protestant congregation of Pramol; a new church has been built at Massel, and another is in progress of erection at Raudoret, the expense of which, as well as of a school-house at La Tour, is in great part defrayed by Col. Beckwith. The number of scholars in all the parochial schools of the valleys is 4378. The subsidies granted by the Churches in Holland to those in Piedmont during the year 1842, amounted to 12,967 lvs. (about 500*l.* sterling.)

Conversions to Rome.—On the 7th of January, twelve Vaudois, and, again, on the 25th of March, a similar number, embraced the Roman Catholic faith in the Cathedral of Pignerol. The Bishop of Pignerol is the author of "Historical Researches on the History of the Waldenses," and of a "Guide for the *Vaudois* Catechumen;" his sermon preached on the first of the two occasions before named, has been printed, with an historical appendix.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Consecration and Departure of the newly-appointed Bishop.—Dr. Edward Feild, the newly-appointed Bishop of Newfoundland, was consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, on Sunday, the 28th of April, and sailed from Liverpool on the 4th of June. On the morning of his departure, twenty clergymen and about forty laymen joined the bishop at St. Martin's Church, in the celebration of the Holy Communion.

Subscription for Ecclesiastical Purposes.—The Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, of which Dr. Feild was formerly a Fellow, are raising a subscription towards the formation of a fund for Ecclesiastical purposes in Newfoundland, to be placed at the bishop's disposal. Upwards of 1500*l.* have already been subscribed.

Statistics of the Diocese.—The area of Newfoundland is 37,000 square miles; annexed to it are the islands of Bermuda, from eight to fourteen days' sail distant. The population scattered along the east and south coasts exceeds 80,000, of which not one half are members of the English Church. Many, it is said, have fallen away to the Romanists, in default of the ministrations of our Church, the number of clergy being only 26.

Wants of the Diocese.—Besides an increase in the number of clergy, the most urgent wants of the diocese are: A suitable church, to serve as cathedral and parish church of St. John, in the place of the present wooden building, which is falling into decay: of this the first stone has been laid; but funds are wanting at present to carry the plan into effect. Next to this, an official residence for the bishop, a library, and

a missionary ship, are mentioned by Dr. Feild, as requisite for the purpose of putting the Diocesan Government on an efficient footing. The necessity of a missionary ship is evident, as all visitation journeys are made by sea: it is intended to be used, when stationary, as a floating chapel.

NEW ZEALAND.

Ordination.—The bishop held his third ordination at the Waimate church, on the 24th of September last, when three candidates, who had been previously prepared at St. John's college, were admitted to Deacon's orders.

Visitation Journey.—The bishop set out from the Waimate on the 1st of October last, on a visitation journey: he proceeded by Auckland, Rotowa Lake, Matamata, Taupo Lake, New Plymouth, and Nelson, to Wellington, whence letters have been received, dated Dec. 23rd, from which it appears that the bishop intended to proceed to the Southern islands, whence he would return to the Waimate in about ten weeks.

Confirmation.—On his passage through Auckland, the bishop held a confirmation there on the 17th of October, at which 55 natives and 8 English were confirmed.

St. John's College, the Waimate.—The members of St. John's college, Cambridge, are raising a subscription for the purpose of founding a Scholarship of 30*l.* per annum, to be held for five years, from the age of 18 to ordination, at St. John's College, founded at the Waimate by the Bishop of New Zealand.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Visitation of the Diocese.—The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has published the Journal of the visitation, held by the bishop in the Summer and Autumn of 1843. The visitation extended over the greater part of the diocese, the bishop travelling over 3000 miles in less than six months. During this progress he held 44 confirmations, at which 1197 persons were admitted to that holy rite.

Attachment to the Church is evidently on the increase throughout the diocese. In one place, at Nekum Tough, a school-house, in which a congregational minister teaches, and on Sundays officiates, was very conveniently fitted up for the bishop's service; at another place, at Ship-harbour, in the Strait of Cançeau, a Methodist chapel, which had long fallen into neglect, was prepared for the purpose. Two of the new churches, at River John and at Pugwash, were originally built for dissenting meeting-houses. In Prince Edward's Island, the bishop states that there was not on his arrival in the diocese, eighteen years ago, a single church. Now there are in it nine very respectable churches consecrated, and several others would soon be in hand, if clergymen could be obtained to serve them. At this moment there is an immediate demand for six additional missionaries. The colonists

are making increased efforts for supporting their own churches and ministers, and the local Church Society is spreading throughout the diocese.

The bishop held two ordinations at Halifax, on July 2nd and Sept. 24th, at which he ordained four priests and four deacons. Of the latter, three had been educated at King's college, Windsor [1]. During his progress, the bishop ordained one priest at Sydney, and one deacon at Shediac.

A tabular statement appended to the Journal shows a considerable increase of episcopal labour in the year 1843, as compared with the two preceding years. The increase is most striking in the consecration of churches and burial-grounds. Of the former, there were consecrated, 3 in 1841, 7 in 1842, and 22 in 1843; of the latter, 7 in 1841, 7 in 1842, and 20 in 1843.

New Brunswick.—The erection of this colony into a separate diocese will probably take place at no very distant period, as it is stated, on good authority [2], that the necessary endowment fund has, within a little, been provided. This will be the third subdivision of the diocese of Nova Scotia, the oldest of our colonial dioceses. At its first foundation in 1787, it extended over the whole of the British North American Provinces; in 1793, Canada, and in 1839, Newfoundland, were separated from it. Still its extent and population far exceed the reach of a single bishop, the area of the entire diocese consisting of 48,418 square miles, with a population of 402,000 souls. Of this the proposed diocese of New Brunswick will take off 26,000 square miles, and 156,000 souls; still leaving to the diocese of Nova Scotia an area of 22,418 square miles, and a population of 246,000 souls. The number of clergy is disproportionately small, amounting to no more than 78, of which 30 belong to the future diocese of New Brunswick.

PERSIA.

Chaldæan Christians.—The journal of Dr. Wolff contains an account of the Chaldæan Christians, whose metropolitan resides at Ooroomiah. They are, according to a tradition of their own, descendants of the children of Israel; their language is Hebrew; in their churches they

[1] In the Preface to the Visitation Journal of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, by the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, it is stated "as a happy indication of the progress which the Church has of late made in the colonies, that *there is now a college in each of the principal North American provinces;* and that consequently *by far the greater part of the clergy are now educated in the country where they are afterwards to minister.*"

[2] We make this statement on the authority of the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who has done the cause of the colonial churches an essential service by the recent publication of "*Documents relative to the Erection and Endowment of Additional Bishoprics in the Colonies;*" to which is prefixed, "*A short Historical Preface,*" containing an admirable and most interesting sketch of the efforts that were made for supplying the colonial churches with bishops, and the difficulties which obstructed them, from the first design of Laud in the year 1638, to the erection of the first colonial see in 1787, and the new impulse given by the meeting of April 27th, 1841.

have a holy of holies, and a veil; their bishops are said to be of the tribe of Levi. They have seven sacraments, viz., ordination, consecration of churches, baptism, the Lord's Supper, the blessing of the old leaven, matrimony, service for the dead. They trace the origin of their Church to the preaching of St. Thomas.

PORTUGAL.

The Holy Inquisition at Madeira.—Sentence of death has lately been passed at Madeira upon Maria Joaquina, a Portuguese subject, for the offence of having embraced the Protestant faith, or, as the court expressed it, for the crimes of heresy and blasphemy. The attention of the British Government has been called to the subject.

PRUSSIA.

Roman Catholic and Protestant Worship within the same walls.—It is in contemplation to rebuild the chapel erected in the fifteenth century at Tenkitten, near Fischhausen, on the spot where St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia proper, was martyred, and which has fallen into ruins. The population of the district being almost exclusively Protestant, and the project of restoration originating with the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, it has been determined to erect a church, the nave of which is to be used for Protestant, and the choir for Roman Catholic worship.

Controversial Catechism.—Great excitement has been produced in Rhenish Prussia by the publication of "A Catechism of the Doctrinal Differences of the Evangelic and Roman Catholic Churches." It was drawn up in pursuance of a resolution of the district synod of Duisburg in 1842, adopted by the synod at its sitting in 1843, and printed under the *imprimatur* of the censor; with a view to obtain the sanction of the provincial synod for its introduction into the schools of Rhenish Prussia. Meanwhile the sensation which it produced, and the protestations of the Roman Catholic clergy of the archbishopric of Cologne, have induced the Provincial Government to discountenance it, and to prohibit the printing of a second edition, the first edition of 5000 copies having been sold off in the short space of four weeks. The matter has been carried by appeal before the higher authorities, whose decision is looked forward to with great anxiety.

Imprisonment for Libel against Protestantism.—Three Roman Catholic clergymen, Canon Dr. Ritter, and Chaplains Gebauer and Göttner, have been sentenced to different terms of imprisonment for polemical language against Protestantism. The former is to be sent to some fortress in Silesia, his offence being aggravated by injurious expressions used towards the tribunal of Breslau.

Mixed Marriages.—The question of mixed marriages continues to produce much irritation between the Roman Catholics and the Protestant clergy. The Bishop of Trèves has directed the sacrament to be withheld from a RomanCatholic who had recently married a Protestant, unless she and her husband would promise, that in the event of their

having children, they should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. On the other hand, the Protestant clergy of Silesia have come to a resolution to exact from all Protestant bridegrooms a promise to resist the encroachments of the Romish clergy upon their constitutional privileges, and in the event of a refusal, to throw every possible obstacle in the way of such marriages.

Church Statistics.—The number of parishes in the arch-diocese of Cologne is 730; they are distributed among 44 deaneries, and served by 1465 ecclesiastics.

Sisters of Mercy.—The order of the Sisters of Mercy is establishing itself in Silesia and Westphalia under the auspices of the Prussian government. The Queen of Prussia has presented a costly *tabernaculum* of silver, accompanied by an autograph letter, to the church of the order at Gesecke in the last-named province.

Roman Catholic Missions to the Heathen.—The Bishop of Emland (West Prussia) has warmly recommended the formation of missionary associations for the propagation of the Gospel in India throughout his diocese. The members are to pay a small weekly contribution of five *pfennige* (one halfpenny sterling), and to say daily a Pater-Noster and Ave-Maria, with the addition, "St. Francis Xavier pray for us," for the success of the missions. In return, they obtain certain indulgences, transferable to the souls in purgatory.

Disciples of Hermes.—The two Roman Catholic priests, Achterfeldt and Braun, whom the coadjutor of Cologne had suspended, have likewise been dismissed from their posts as professors at the University of Bonn by the Prussian government, which, however, has determined that they shall continue to receive their full salaries. The point at issue between them and the Roman court is one not of doctrine, but of fact. They admit the heterodoxy of the doctrines condemned in the papal bull against Hermes, and they have also promised to submit to the prohibition of the writings of Hermes; but they contend that Hermes did not hold the doctrines which were imputed to him, and that he was not a man of bad character, as he is represented in the same bull. These, they say, are matters of fact, and not matters of faith; and concerning them therefore the pope is not to be held infallible, nor his decision of absolute authority.

Week-day Services in Protestant churches.—Week-day services, with a short exposition of Scripture, are being resumed by some of the Protestant clergy, who are of opinion that their churches are too much shut up. Agreeably to some of the old Lutheran liturgies, it appears there was to have been in large towns a sermon every day.

Church Fees Extraordinary.—A correspondent of the *Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung* complains, that by a royal ordinance of the year 1803, the clergy are compelled to levy a certain sum for the education and support of midwives at every baptism, and prospectively, at every marriage solemnized by them.

Emigration of Separatists.—The old Lutheran Separatists, of the Uckermark and Pomerania, still continue to emigrate to America in

great numbers. Their leader, pastor *Ehrenström*, is undergoing a sentence of imprisonment.

The Order of the Swan.—The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* contains an appeal to the Israelites of the Prussian dominions, to enroll themselves as members of the Order of the Swan, into which it is taken for granted that they will be admitted, as no religious peculiarity is to operate as a disqualification. It remains to be seen how this interpretation of the programme of Christmas Eve will be received in higher quarters.

RUSSIA.

Greek churches in the Protestant Provinces.—At the end of the year 1843, the number of Græco-Russian churches in the diocese of Riga, which extends over the Lutheran Provinces of Livonia and Courland, was seventeen, that of the clergy seventy-one. Of these, thirteen are attached to the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul at Riga.

Died.—Oct. 3rd, *A. F. J. Knüpffer*, Pastor of St. Catherine's Wierland in Esthonia, aged 66. He was one of the commissioners at the Evangelic Synod at Dorpat in 1822, charged with preparing a new law for the Evangelic-Lutheran Church in Russia. In 1833 he was appointed General Superintendent of Esthonia, which post, however, he resigned in 1834. The Esthonian language has lost in him a distinguished patron.

The Catechism of Autocracy.—The Catechism printed at Wilna, 1832, "by Sovereign Command, for the use of the Roman Catholic Churches and Schools in Russia," contains, among others, the following: "Q. Of what nature is the obedience to be, which we owe to the Emperor? A. It must be a perfect, passive, and in all respects unlimited obedience." The reason assigned in support of this doctrine is, that the Emperor is the representative and minister of God.

SPAIN.

Church observances restored.—For the first time, after a long interruption, orders have been given this year for closing the theatres, and all other places of amusement on the Fridays during Lent. The payment of tithes during the Holy Week is also to be resumed.

SWEDEN.

Present Condition of the Church.—The *Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung* contains a series of interesting articles on the Swedish Church, by an eye-witness, from which we take the following brief notices.

The Church and the State are in Sweden most intimately united. The Lutheran clergy constitute the second estate of the realm; none but Lutherans are admissible to public offices; the Universities and schools are under the superintendence of the clergy.

The toleration accorded to the English and to the Reformed Churches since 1741, and to all other Christian denominations since 1787, extends no farther than the liberty of worship; and all attempts to

make proselytes on the part of any of the tolerated communions, are prohibited under the severest penalties.

All public business is commenced by public worship; a rule which extends from the highest to the lowest courts of justice, and even the opening of fairs is preceded by the performance of Divine service. In watering-places there is daily service during the season.

Persons removing from one parish to another, or candidates for any public office, are required to produce certificates of good conduct, and of proficiency in religious knowledge from their pastors.

Every sentence pronounced in the civil courts is notified to the minister of the parish, to which the delinquent belongs, who is bound forthwith to impose ecclesiastical penance. The practical benefit of this arrangement seems to be questionable, if we are to judge by two anecdotes told by the relater: on one occasion, he observed, after the Holy Communion, a rush towards the pulpit, which he found on inquiry, arose from the desire of seeing two convicted thieves do penance. On another occasion, a young lady who had committed a theft, answered the questions: "Dost thou repent," &c. with a sulky "no," on two successive Sundays, and could not be induced till the third Sunday to make the answers necessary for the performance of the penitential service.

The clergy are, in addition to their spiritual duties, compelled to execute many secular functions, which elsewhere devolve on the civil servants of the government. Financial and sanatory regulations are to be enforced by them; they have to publish not only official notices, but advertisements of sales by auction, and other unsuitable matters[1] in the church on Sundays during Divine service; and after the conclusion of the service, they have to license the sale of inland-manufactures which are brought to the church, or to some adjoining locality for that purpose; thus making the Lord's Day a day, and the Lord's House a house of merchandize, and the minister of the Gospel an excise-officer. Generally speaking, the Lord's Day is habitually desecrated. Agricultural operations in the country, and trade and manual labour of every kind in towns, are carried on as on week-days.

The more spiritually-minded members of the Church distinguish themselves in various ways, by the simplicity of their dress, avoiding gay colours, by a strict observance of the Lord's Day, by abstaining from all kinds of games, dances, and other worldly fashions and entertainments. They are designated by the term *Läsare*, i. e. Readers, from their diligent perusal of the Scriptures. They are generally discountenanced by the clergy, among whom a worldly spirit extensively prevails.

Church music is miserably neglected; the people do not respond during the liturgy, which is read by the clergy, for the most part in an

[1] Not excepting notifications *de locandis equis admissariis!* On one occasion, when the writer of this account was present, the publication of these notices, though performed as rapidly as possible, occupied half an hour in the middle of the service.

impressive manner. The reading of the liturgy is followed by the sermon, which is read from the manuscript, and this, after the publication of the secular notices, by the Holy Communion.

The description given of the state of the clergy, as regards both literary and theological attainments, and piety and zeal in the performance of their office, is truly afflicting; and among the people it appears that morality is at an exceedingly low ebb.

Under these circumstances, it is pleasing to observe that individuals are not wanting among the clergy, who labour under a deep sense of the degraded condition of their church; and that in consequence of a resolution of the diet, a commission is now sitting to take into consideration measures for effecting a general reformation.

Lutheran persecution.—A painter, named Nilson, having gone over to the Roman Catholic Church, has been sentenced to perpetual exile, and the forfeiture of all his civil rights. This sentence, which is said to be at variance with art. 16 of the Swedish constitution, has produced a great sensation.

SWITZERLAND.

Romish Movements.—The great council of the Canton Lucerne has come to a resolution to establish a college of Jesuits at Lucerne, and to commit to their management the schools of the canton. The erection of five Roman Catholic chapels at Nyon, Morges, Rolle, Vevay, and Yverdun is strongly opposed by the inhabitants of the Canton de Vaud, on the ground that they are not required for *boná fide* residents, but are intended as centres of propagandism.

Darbyism in the Canton de Vaud.—Most of the dissenting congregations of the Canton, and some of the established Church, had latterly become infected with the errors of the Plymouth Brethren, by the influence of John Darby, who, assisted by Henry Olivier, a dissenting minister at Lausanne, inculcated his notions of the universality of the Christian priesthood with such success, that the office of the ministry was altogether disregarded, and even the administration of the sacraments intruded upon by the people generally. A reaction has, however, taken place, and Darbyism is on the wane.

TASMANIA.

Church Education.—The Bishop addressed the Legislative Council on the 31st of October last, at length, in support of his petition, "that the money about to be devoted for the purposes of education in the colony may be apportioned to the various denominations, in proportion to their numbers according to the late census." He dwelt forcibly on the duty of the Church to see her children brought up in the faith, and contended that the attainment of this object was impossible in schools based on the principle of neutrality between all denominations of Christians. He supported the justice of the claim which he preferred on behalf of the Church, by the fact that the Church of England is the established Church of the empire, and therefore of the colonies; and by

the further fact, that the members of the Church constitute a vast majority of the whole population of Tasmania, the numbers being :— Church of England, 34,811; Scotch Presbyterians, 3729; Roman Catholics, 4492; Wesleyans, 2263; and other denominations, 1929.

Vicar-Apostolic of Van Dieman's Land.—A vicar-apostolic is about to be intruded by Rome into the diocese of Tasmania. A Dr. Wilson has embarked for the colony, accompanied by three missionaries, one of whom is a Trappist. Dr. Wilson intends to assume the title of Bishop of Hobart Town.

TURKEY.

Encroachment of the Russian Church.—The clergy of Moldavia have been induced to break off their connexion with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and to give in their adhesion to the Russian Church. This resolution, to which some of the higher clergy gave their assent but reluctantly, is said to be almost universally disapproved of by the inferior clergy of Moldavia.

Persecution of Christians in Albania.—The Christians in Albania have been subjected to the most inhuman persecutions from their infidel and sanguinary rulers. The Bishop of Scopie has addressed a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, imploring his interference with the Turkish Government; but hitherto the efforts of the Turkish troops to reduce the rebellious Albanians to order have been wholly unsuccessful, and the violence of the persecution is increased rather than abated.

Persecution of Christians in Kurdistan.—Another persecution against the Christians has been set on foot by Beder Khan Bey, the most powerful of the Kurdish chiefs. Abdoul Ahad, the aged Primate of Gibel Toor, and patriarch elect of the Jacobite church, has been barbarously murdered on the road between Mediad and Jezirah. Another Bishop, an hundred years old, is said to have been murdered at the same time in another part of the country.

Punishment of Renegades.—The capital punishment hitherto inflicted on Christians who had embraced Islamism, and abjured it again afterwards, has been abolished.

WEST INDIES.

Romanism in the Dutch Settlements.—A public complaint was made at the last synod of the Reformed Church in Holland, of the activity of the Romish missionaries in the island of Curaçoa, where they are endeavouring to get the schools into their power.

INDEX

OF THE

REMARKABLE PASSAGES IN THE CRITICISMS,

EXTRACTS, AND NOTICES.

Abbey of Croyland, Chronicles of, 423.

Æschylus, the Agamemnon of, 105; its surpassing excellence, 108; character of the dramas of Æschylus, 112; his philosophy practical, 114; his apparent scepticism, *ib.*; design of the Agamemnon, 115, 122; Orientalism of his illustrations, 117; his peculiar ethical character, *ib.*; viewed as a theologian and a moralist, 118; difficulty of the choruses, *ib.*; the Orestea, 121; defence of the Areopagus, 121, 142; the chorus, the impersonation of Æschylus himself, 127; grandeur of his conception of Cassandra, 134; character of Clytemnestra, 142; law of the "Avenger of Blood," *ib.*

Albania, persecution of the Christians in, 508.

Acre, the fall of, in 1291, its effect upon the power of the order of the Knights Templars, 4.

Albans, St., chronicles of the monastery of, 423; first battle of, 436, 446; second battle of, 441.

Albigenses, crimes imputed to them, 26; Act of the Council of Toulouse against their possessing copies of the Scriptures, 370; statement of Reinerius Saccho, 385.

Algeria, Protestant congregations there, 486.

Altars, stone ones replaced by wooden communion tables at the time of the Reformation, in England, 471.

American Slave States, their tenets respecting the inferiority of the African races, 275.

Anglo-Catholic Church, her present position, 478.

Antiquarian research, important discoveries made by, in recent times, 452, 453.

Architecture, ecclesiastical, undue importance given to it of late, 187.

Aristophanes, his excellence as a dramatist, 111; his charge against Euripides, 113.

Aristotle, his observations on Tragedy, 108.

Art, the handmaid to Reason, 106.

Asaph (St.), projected union of the see of with that of Bangor, 46, 50; observations respecting the diocese, 49.

Athenian life, no privacy in it, 120.

Auricular confession, remarks on, 359.

Australia, imperfectly explored, 302.

Baptism, (Infant,) the rite implies the early and careful religious education of the child, 395, 400.

Bede, his arguments for the increase of the episcopate, 55.

Bedell (Bishop), excellence of his character, 80, 96.

Bellemains (Jean aux), archbishop of Lyons, banishes Waldo, 387; retires to the monastery of Clairvaux, 388; his assiduous study of the Psalms, 389.

Benedict XI., his elevation to the pontificate, 5; poisoned by Philippe-le-Bel, *ib.*

Bequests, temptations to invade property made over by them, 2.

Bible, less read in latter than in the middle ages, 378-9; singular complaint of Luther, *ib.*

Bishop, office of, as defined by the

Canons, 52; familiar relation between the bishops and their churches, 53.
Bishops holding two sees, origin of the practice of, 50.
Bishoprics, additional ones, arguments in favour of, 46, 105; extent to which the number of bishops should be enlarged, 90; revenues for the endowment of them, 100.
Boniface VIII., his quarrel with Philippe-le-Bel, 4; suspicious circumstances attending his death, 5.
Borromeo, Cardinal, his exemplary life, 80.
Bristol, projected union of the see of, with that of Llandaff, 46, 47; united with Gloucester, 48; moral considerations respecting the population of Bristol, 48.
"*Brothers of the Christian Doctrine*," 413.
Burnet (Bishop), on the three orders, 182-3; schoolmen, 183.
Butler (Bishop), his doctrine of habits, 341.

Calhoun (Mr.), the representative of the slave-holding interest in the Southern States of America, 275; his observation on slavery, *ib.*
Cambridge, colleges established there in the fourteenth century, 34.
Camden Society of London, 415.
Camper's facial angles, 291; fallacy of his theory, 292; base of the skull, 293.
Canons of the primitive Church respecting bishops, 96.
Canterbury, primacy of, whence derived, 97.
Carlyle (Mr.), on the present condition of the Church of England, 81.
Catechetical instruction, 180; importance of it, 400.
Chaldean Christians in Persia, 502.
Chartism and *Socialism*, their designs and proceedings, 70.
Children employed in mines, their deplorable condition, 66.
Chinese war, early advances of the Chinese in civilization and manufactures, 194; services of the *Nemesis* in the war, *ib.*; her voyage out, 195, 196; events which led to hostilities, 198, 199; wall of China, 200; surveys of the Chinese sea, 201; capture of the Boca Tigris forts, 202; Canton invested, *ib.*; a truce, 203; ransom of the city, *ib.*; Ning-po captured, 204; severe frost, *ib.*; capture of Wu-sung, Shang-hai, and Chin-kiang-fu, 205; the fleet moves up to Nan-king, 207; treaty signed, *ib.*; future prospects, 209; means of acquiring the Chinese language, 213; facilities for the introduction of Christianity, 215.
Christian population, difficulty of reclaiming a lapsed one, 89.
Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelonda, 377.
Church, the visible, unity of, 74; rules by which it has always proceeded in the founding of sees, 96.
Church of England, her peculiar duties at the present day, 71, 72; state of, at the Revolution, 78; the Wesleyan separation, *ib.*; inefficiency of Church discipline, 79; diversities of theological opinion, 82; emphatically the Church of the English people, 84; adoption of Church principles, 310; non-interference of the Church in the Wars of the Roses, 449, 450; recent attempt to bring about an approximation between the Church of England and the Protestant Church of Germany, 145.
Civilization, its tendency to make a people more difficult of pastoral control, 88; not identical with Christianity, 89.
Classical literature, importance of, in a sound system of education, 106, 107.
Clement V., his elevation to the pontificate, 6; his treatment by Philippe-le-Bel, 6, 7; agrees to the revocation of the bulls, Clericis laicos, and Unam sanctam, 7; his proceedings against the Knights Templars, 15, 16; flees from Poictiers to Avignon, 18; founds the schools of Orleans in rivalry of the university of Paris, 35.
Colleges, era of their rise, 34.
Collieries, condition of the, 66; prevalence of Methodism, 67.
Colonial Bishops, 86.
Colonies, the religious condition of the, 45.
Colonna (Egidio), preceptor of Philippe-le-Bel, 42.
Confession, the duty of, 350.
Confiscation of Ecclesiastical property, its progress traced, 3.
Confirmation, nature of the rite, 401.
Controversies, religious, advantages attending them, 309.
Corporate bodies, their property less secure than that of individuals, 1.
Cranmer (Archbishop), on the Power of the Keys, 182; on the Three Orders, *ib.*

Croyland, Abbey of, Chronicles of, 423; Continuator of, 424.

Dante, Lord John Russell's translation of the "Francesca da Rimini," 164; excellence of the original, 165; Hallam's observations on it, *ib.*; Carlyle's Lectures on Dante, *ib.*; difficulty of translating him, 166. 172; characteristic of his poetry, 167. 179; passage in Virgil referred to by him in the "Francesca da Rimini," 176.
Delphin edition of the Classics, character of it, 107.
Democritus, account of his life and writings, 456.
Destruction of religious houses, 416.
Diocesan and parochial schools, 392.
Diocese, size of a, to be determined by its *moral extent*, 54.
Discipline of the Church, present inefficiency of it, 79—81.
Dissent, prevalence of in North and South Wales, 50; general observations on dissent, 73; the middle classes the strongholds of, 84.
Disturbances in 1842; observations on them, 72.
Doctrine, agreement in, mode of effecting, 83.
Dog, the wild, its characteristics, 284. 286.
Domestication, effect of upon the inferior animals, 285.
Dramatic Poetry, importance of cultivating a taste for it, 110.
Druot, undisturbed in his religious opinions in the midst of Napoleon's staff, 30.
Dunstan (St.) holds the sees of London and Worcester, 50.

East, the, the hot-bed of heresy, 28.
Ecclesiastical Commissioners, their appointment and proceedings, 45, 46; extracts from the reports respecting the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor, and Llandaff and Bristol, 46, 47.
Ecclesiastical matters, temper of the public mind respecting them after the passing of the Reform Bill, 44.
Edinburgh Review, singular views recently put forward in it respecting the unity of the Church, 363.
Education, no remedy for the moral debasement of the people, 85; the due education of children must begin with the reclaiming of their parents, 86; principles of a sound education, 105; defeat of the opponents of religious education, 391.
Edward V., doubts respecting the mode of his death, 433.
Ellen Middleton, a Tale, by Lady Georgiana Fullerton, 336; design and character of the novel, 336. 356; defects of the volume, 360.
English Church, a branch of the Church Catholic, 317; inward and spiritual evidences, 320, 321.
English Episcopate, view of the progressive increase of it, 54. 59; arguments of Bede, 55; relation of, to the corrective discipline of the Church, 78; office of, with respect to false doctrine, 83; episcopal occupations, *ib.*; seats in the House of Lords, 97, 98, 99.
Episcopate, the, essentially the same with the apostleship, 52; opinion of St. Jerome, *ib.*; the necessity of episcopal oversight increases with the age of political states, 88; condition of a church without a bishop, *ib.*; duties of the episcopate, 93; especially towards the clergy, 96.

Fabyan's "Concordance," 428.
Faith, necessity of it, 326.
False wonders of relics worship, at the village of Argenteuil, near Paris, 492.
Fathers, value of their writings, 467.
Fear, not Horror, the feeling which it is the true object of tragedy to excite, 133. 138; its two elements, 134.
Fifteenth century, uncertainty that characterizes the annals of this country throughout the greater part of it, 417.
"*Fleetwood's* Chronicle," 427.
France, number of dioceses in, 64; condition of the Reformed Church there, 460; education question, 491.
Free will, and the responsible agency of man, 340.

German churches, their present condition, 460; contrast between the national mind of England and that of Germany, 146.
Gibbon, his dependence upon the testimony of Ammianus, 452.
Gibraltar, Italian visitation of the bishop of, 497.
Gnosticism, its origin and character, 28.
Greek Church, constitutional recognition of, 496.
Greek drama, its unrivalled excellence, 110. 138; its connexion with certain theological, political, philosophical,

and ethical systems, 113; Euripides the poet of the sophists, *ib.*; charges brought against him by Aristophanes, *ib.*; Sophocles commences the work of corruption in tragedy, 125; followed by Euripides, *ib.*; erroneous principles upon which modern translations of the Greek drama have been executed, 145.

Hallam, Mr., his character of Henry VIII., 40; his opinion respecting the Episcopate of the English Church, 68.
Harford's version of the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, 115.
"*Hearne's* Fragment," 427.
Henry VI., death of, 433, 434; the St. Louis of England, 450.
Henry VIII. and *Cromwell*, their proceedings with respect to ecclesiastical establishments contrasted, 24; Henry's reign attended with as much misery and suffering as that of Edward IV., 39; his character, 40, 41; contrasted with that of Philippe-le-Bel, 40—42.
Heresy, the East, the hot-bed of, 28.
Hog, the, the same species with the wild boar, 284.
Holland, Church statistics of, 498.
Holy places, moral result of a visit to, 29.
Homer, the founder of the Greek Neology, 114.
Hong Kong, Anglican mission at, 491.
Hooker on the faith of baptized infants, 399.
Horse and ass, their offspring a barren hybrid, 277; wild horse, its characteristics, 284.
Hottentots, the Korah race of, 301; their treatment, *ib.*; degenerate into the bushmen, *ib.*
Hume, his character as an historian, 452; contrasted with Turner and Lingard, *ib.*
Humphry (Duke), death of, 434.

India, extensive progress of the Gospel there, 499.
Industrial Schools, 407.
Infant training, proper mode of conducting it, 397, 400.
Iron steam boats, unwarrantable carelessness in the construction of some of them, 195—197.
Isidore, the spurious decretals of, 389.

Jerome (St.), his opinion respecting the identity of the Episcopate with the Apostleship, 52, 53.
Jerusalem, establishment of an Anglican bishop there, 458.

Kirchofer's History of the New Testament Canon, 466.
Kniewel (Dr.), his account of the English Church, 150—156; his admiration of the Liturgy, 157; his erroneous ideas on the Apostolic Succession, 157, 158.
Knights Templars, churches in England which once belonged to them, 1; circumstances attending the suppression of the order, 2; number of Frenchmen connected with it, *ib.*; proceedings of Philippe-le-Bel and Edward II. of England, *ib.*; its condition at the commencement of the fourteenth century, 4; bravery and misfortunes of Jacques de Molay, *ib.*; grounds of the quarrel with Philippe-le-Bel, 8, 10; conduct of Clement V., 9, 11; condemnation of the order, 12: their imprisonment and the charges against them, 12, 13; proceedings against them at London and York, 14; and at the Temple at Paris, 15; behaviour of de Molay, 16; the papal commission, 19; register of its acts, *ib.*; proceedings against the order in Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Spain, Cyprus, and Naples, 19; council at Vienne, *ib.*; the order finally abolished, 23; the members go over to the other orders, *ib.*; fate of de Molay, 21; the statute de Terris Templariorum, 23; fate and fortunes of the Temple of London, *ib.*; solitary instance of apostasy, 29; tendency to deism, 29; impotence of the order against the power of Philippe-le-Bel, 31; countenanced the usurpation of King John of England, 32; conduct of the secular clergy, *ib.*; rise of *I Cavalieri gaudente*, 33; proceedings of the University of Paris, 34; secrecy in which the measures against the Knights Templars were enveloped, 36; charges against them, 37; motives by which Philippe was actuated in suppressing the order, *ib.*
Knox (Alexander), his views respecting the influence of the Church of England, 68.
Kohl's Travels in Ireland, 457.

Language, viewed as an instrument of thought, 109.
Latimer, inveighs against non-preaching prelates, 53.

Lingard and Turner contrasted with Hume, 452.
Llandaff, See of, projected union of, with that of Bristol, 46, 47.
London, (Bishop of), his remarks on the episcopal office, 92.
Luther, common mistakes respecting his early life, 380—384.

Maitland, (The Rev. S. R.), on the Dark Ages, 372; his exposure of historical inaccuracies in the writings of Robertson, Henry, and Milner, 364—369; proofs that the Scriptures were well known in the middle ages, 376, 377; Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelonda, 377; Luther's early acquaintance with the Scriptures, 380; mistake in D'Aubigné's account of the Reformation, 381.
Manchester, necessity of a resident bishop of, 49.
Manufacture of paper and the invention of printing, both tend to the general diffusion of learning, 374, 475.
Mark's (St.) training school, 408.
Mediæval writers, erroneous notions prevalent respecting their character, 363.
Michelet's History of France, its singular excellence, 3; his reflection on the death of Philippe-le-Bel, 44; article in the Edinburgh Review, 363.
Middle Classes, in large towns, their character and condition, 67; their views of the nature of the Church; 68, 86.
Milner's Church History, exposure of historical inaccuracies in it, 366; his erroneous statement respecting Luther's early life. 380, 383; misled by the authority of Seckendorf, 383; his ignorance of the writings of Mathesius, *ibid.*
Monastic endowments, their merits and defects, 414.
Music, viewed as an instrument of education, 109.

Negro, the skin of, 288, 289; the hair, 290; the cranium, 291.
Newman (The Rev. J. H.), "Sermons bearing on the Subjects of the Day," 305; mixed character of the writer's influence, *ib.*; character of his mind, 307; advantages attending the recent Oxford movement, 308, 309; character of the Sermons, 311; extracts, 313—332; on the internal and external evidences of the Church, 320, 321; exaggerated statement, 322; Tract XC., 324; severe censures of the Church of England, 326; exceptionable language, 327; the example of Elijah, 330; admits the see of Rome to be the centre of unity, *ib.*; countenances the worship of the Virgin, 332; Romish tendency of his writings, 334.
New York, magnificent church of the Trinity, now in course of erection there, 483; Episcopal address of the bishop, *ib.*; sensation produced by the recent ordination of Mr. Carey, 486.

Old English Chroniclers, 415; causes which operated to their disadvantage, 457; Whethamstede, 419; William de Wyrcestre, 420; Continuator of Croyland, 424; Booke of Croniques, 425; Leland's Chronicle, *ib.*; Fleetwood's Chronicle, 427; Hearne's Fragment, 427; Fabyan's Concordance, 428; Sir H. Ellis's preface to it; the Paston Letters, 429; Hall, Stowe, and Polydore Vergil, 430; Ingulphus, 451.
Orleans, Clement V. founded the schools of, as rivals to the University of Paris, 35.
Oxford, recent religious movement, advantages attending it, 308, 309; colleges established there in the fourteenth century, 34.

Painting and Sculpture, their respective merits, 109.
Palmer (Mr.), his observations on the spiritual destitution of the people of England at the present day, 61; arguments in favour of an increase of the Episcopate, 61—64.
Parents, their duty respecting the religious education of their children, 399.
Paris, Temple of, proceedings against the Knights Templars there, 28.
Paris, colleges founded there in the fourteenth century, 34.
Paris, the University of, its great influence in the fourteenth century, 34.
Parishes, multiplication of, 59.
Parliamentary grants for Church Extension, neither likely nor desirable, 85, 91.
Paston Letters, 429.
Peel (Sir Robert), his declarations and duties with reference to the Church, 91.
Persia, Chaldean Christians there, 502.

Pestalozzi, his merits and deficiencies, 456.
Petri's "Aids for appreciating the nature and significance of Puseyism," 148.
Philippe-le-Bel, his proceedings against the order of the Knights Templars, 2—4, 18, 20; his quarrel with Boniface VIII., 4; death of the pontiff, 5; his treatment of Clement V., 6; his death, 22; motives by which he was actuated in his proceedings against the Templars, 37; his character, 40—43; his education by Egidio Colonna, 42; his treatment of the Jews, 43.
Philippe de Commines, Memoirs of, 430.
Poetry, importance of cultivating a taste for it, 110.
Polydore Vergil's Historia Anglica, 430.
Probability, meaning of the term when used with reference to works of imagination, 360.
Prichard's Natural History of Man, 271: his vindication of the right of the Negroes to the privileges of the great human family, 274: American slave states, 275; hypothesis of an aboriginal diversity of races refuted, 276; the most dissimilar human varieties capable of propagation with each other, 277; test of identity of origin, 278; slave-trading school of philosophy, 280; singleness of origin never known to exclude a very large amount of individual and provincial diversity, 282; case of animals that have never been domesticated, 283; the hog, *ib.*; permanence of a developed variety, 285; no necessity of multiplying species in order to account for diversity of breeds, 286; capacity of transmitting a *second nature*, 287; races of men, subjected to varied agencies of climate, *ib.*; varieties of organization, 288; the skin, hair, and structure of the body, and especially of the *cranium*, 288; discoveries of the microscope with respect to the skin and hair, *ib.*; the skin of the Negro, 289; Camper's *facial angles*, 291; fallacy of his theory, 292; the base of the skull a safer test, 293; summary of the evidence, 295; psychological diversities, 299; general conclusion of the argument, 302.
Prussian Liturgy, used at the chapel of the embassy at Rome, 463; Controversial Catechism in Rhenish Prussia, effect of its introduction, 503.
Public Opinion, its vast influence in matters of religion at the present day, 82.
Public Worship, improvement in the tone of, 410.
Pythagoras and *Plato*, their orientalism, 114.
Races, hypothesis of an aboriginal diversity of, 273—276.
Reformation, the different modes by which it was effected in England and in Germany, 146, 147.
Religion, dislodged of late from the pre-eminence which it was wont to possess, 345.
Religious Tract Society, erroneous statements put forward in their publication entitled "The Lollards," 385.
Richard II., doubts respecting the mode of his death, 433; his persecution of the Lollards, 450.
Robertson, the historian, exposure of inaccuracies in his statements, 368, 369.
Romish Church, never enacted any general law against the perusal of the Scriptures, 370. 372; act of the council of Toulouse, *ib.*; first inhibition, by Leo X., at the fifth Lateran council, 372; decrees of the council of Trent, *ib.*; the celebrated constitution of Clement XI., called "Unigenitus," 373.
Romanists, their vigilance and activity, 73. 76; the unity of the visible Church their palmary argument, 74; recent proceedings of, 75; recent notable converts, 77; hopelessness of their efforts to supplant the Church of England, 77.
Russell (Lord John), his translation of the "Francesca da Rimini" of Dante, 164; character of it, 166. 179; specimens, 167—178; defects of the version, 179.

Sales (François de), anecdote of, 80.
Schoolmasters, their qualifications, 404.
Socialism and *Chartism*, their designs and proceedings, 70.
Sodor and *Man*, contemplated union of the see with that of Carlisle, 49; the measure rescinded by Parliament, at the unanimous petition of the Church, *ib.*
Spiritual destitution of the population of England at the present day, 60, 61.
Suffragan Bishops, their original establishment, and suppression, 94.
Sweden, present condition of the Church there, 505.

Temple of London, its fate and fortunes, 23; leased by the Knights of St. John to the students of the laws of England, *ib.*
Temple, the, in Paris, the centre and treasury of the order of the Knights Templars, 2; its great extent, and circumstances attending the suppression of the order, *ib.*; proceedings there, 9. 22.
Thucydides, his character of the democracy of Athens, 124.
Tract XC., condemnation of, 322—324.
Tragedy, regarded by Aristotle as the highest form of art, 108.
Training of teachers, 402, 403. 406.
Training School at Chelsea, 410, 411.
Translations of the Scriptures into English made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, 371.
Translation of the Scriptures, by De Saci, with the commentary of Quesnel, condemned by the celebrated constitution of Clement XI., called "Unigenitus," 373.
Translations from the Classics, important mental discipline involved in accurate ones, 143, 144.
Turner (Mr.), notions of the church, 449; contrasted with Hume, 452. 454.

Uhden (Mr.), his account of the English Church, 160—163; enumeration of religious parties, 162.
Unity, the law of, 109, 110.
Upper Classes, passive churchmanship of, 84.

Wales, prevalence of dissent in, 50.
Wars of the Roses, 415; Margaret of Anjou, 431; first battle of St. Albans, 436; consequences of it, 437, 438; Duke of York claims the crown of England, 440; slain at Wakefield, 441; second battle of St. Albans, *ib.*; Edward of March declared king, 442; battle of Towton, *ib.*; fortunes of Henry VI., 443; Edward IV. taken prisoner by Warwick, 444; his death, 445; the claims of York based on hereditary right; those of Lancaster on parliamentary establishment, *ib.*; non-interference of the Church, 449, 450.
Weber's Dialogus de Ecclesia Anglicana, 419.
Weekly Communions, importance of reviving them, 316.
Wesleyans, their activity, 67; period of the Wesleyan Separation, 78.
Westminster Abbey, proposed alterations in, 484.
Whethamstede's Chronicon, 419; character of the work, *ib.*
Wiclif, his denunciation of universities and degrees, 34.
William Botoner de Wyrcestre, Annales Rerum Anglicarum, 420, 421, 422 (note).
Wilson (Bishop), his exemplary character, 80. 96.
Wolf, the, and the Dog, 284.
Wolsey, his proceedings with respect to monasteries and colleges, 34.
Women, sphere of duty for devout ones in a Christian community, 104.
Wordsworth (Dr. C.), Theophilus Anglicanus, 180; authority of an Apostolic ministry, 181; plan and design of the work, 184; nature and functions of the Church, 185; extracts, 189—193; lines from William Wordsworth to the author, 193.

George Shaw B.A.

THE

ENGLISH REVIEW;

OR,

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

No. II.

JULY, MDCCCXLIV.

LONDON:

FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE.

Gilbert & Rivington, Printers, St. John's Square.

CONTENTS.

Prichard's Natural History of Man.

Newman's Sermons on Subjects of the Day.

Ellen Middleton, a Tale; by Lady Georgiana Fullerton.

Maitland on the Dark Ages.

Progress of Education.

Old English Chroniclers; the Wars of the Roses.

Notices of Recent Publications.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
3 0112 121559675